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JOURNAL

OF THE

25/ Feb 74
Calcutta
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

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VOL. XLII.

PART I. (HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.)

(Nos. I to IV.—1873 : with ten plates.)

EDITED BY

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted ; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM. JONES.

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CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY G. H. ROUSE, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.

1873.

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ERRATA

IN

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- Page 61, line 36, *for* मन *read* मनो.
— 64, line 30, *for* चंपका *read* चंपको.
— 71, line 17, *for* जाया *read* जायो.
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— 85, line 22, *for* Skr. Pr. and गोखामी *read* Skr. गोखामी and Pr. गोसामी.
— 80, line 37, }
— 86, line 9, } *for* मिरिच *read* मरिच.
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— 103, line 1, }
— 85, line 16, } *for* दधिनः *read* दध्नः.
— 101, line 7, }
— 222, line 10, *for* river *read* G'hágrá river.
— 235, line 1, *for* to *read* and to.
— „ line 25, *for* downfall *read* downfal.
— 236, line second note, *for* Koch *read* of Koch.
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1873.

Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India.—By BÁBU RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.

Sages and moralists have, in all ages and in every clime, expatiated in strong terms on the impropriety of indulgence in spirituous drinks, and some physiologists have recently discovered that such drinks do not possess any of the virtues which tradition has all along ascribed to them. We are told that they do not add to our strength, or power of digestion; they have no influence on the heart's action; they are powerless to increase the temperature of the body; they cannot help us to resist the chilling effect of cold; and are inert as aliments, failing alike in affording fuel for the lungs and material for the formation of the tissues. But neither the anathema of sages and moralists, nor the dicta of the professors of science, have anywhere sufficed to suppress their use. They prevail in some form or other in almost every part of the world; and those primitive races which have no knowledge of them, seize them with the greatest avidity the moment they find them; for, like tobacco, spirituous drinks have a peculiar charm which enables them, if not to defy, at least to hold their own alike against the deductions of science and the mandates of religion. In the eye of reason, voluntary inebriation may appear in the most offensive light; but there seems to be a craving in human nature to elevate the spirit above the dull routine of every-day existence, and to produce a temporary frenzy during which the cares and troubles of life are forgotten, and trains of delightful ideas fill the mind, which nothing can completely eradicate.

The history of Muhammadan civilization affords a most striking illustration of the truth of this assertion. None condemned the use of wine

more emphatically than the Prophet of Arabia, and yet there is no Muhammadan country where the consumption of wine is other than considerable, or as the great historian, Gibbon, has aptly expressed it, “the wines of Shiraz have always prevailed over the laws of Muhammad.”

The annals of the Indo-Aryans yield a no less remarkable illustration. The earliest Brāhman settlers were a spirit-drinking race, and indulged largely both in Soma beer and strong spirits. To their gods the most acceptable and grateful offering was Soma beer, and wine or spirit (for in connexion with India the two words may be used synonymously, there never having been any such thing as pure wine,) was publicly sold in shops for the use of the community. In the *Rig Veda Sañhitā* a hymn occurs which shows that wine was kept in leather bottles,* and freely sold to all comers. The said wine was, likewise, offered to the gods, and the *Sautrámani* and the *Vájapaya* rites, of which libations of strong arrack formed a prominent feature, were held in the highest esteem. Doubts have been entertained as to the nature of the Soma beverage, and people are not wanting who repudiate its intoxicating nature; but none will venture to deny that the *surá* of the *Sautrámani* and the *Vájapaya* was other than arrack manufactured from rice-meal, and that will suffice to show that the Vedic Hindus did countenance the use of spirit. As to the Soma, if any reliance is to be placed in the directions given for its preparation, and on the Vedic descriptions of its effect on the gods, it is impossible to take it to have been other than a fermented intoxicating beverage. Of this, however, I shall treat lower down.

In the hot plains of India, over-indulgence in spirituous drinks, however gradually bore its evil consequences, and among the thoughtful a revulsion of feeling was the result. The later Vedas accordingly proposed a compromise, and, leaving the rites intact, prohibited the use of spirit for the gratification of the senses, in language very similar to Sydney Smith’s “Think not, touch not, and taste not,” saying “Wine is unfit to be drunk, unfit to be given, and unfit to be accepted,”† and denounced drinking to be heinous in the last degree, quite as bad as the murder of a Brāhman. The Smṛitis, following in their wake, included the sin of winebibing among the five capital crimes or *mahápatakas*, and ordained the severest punishment against the offender.

It is said that the prohibition was first promulgated by S’ukráchārya, the high priest of the Asuras, who was disgusted by the remembrance of certain excesses to which he himself had been led by over-indulgence in strong drink. The Mahábhārata has euphuised the story in the 76th chapter

* “I deposit the poison in the solar orb, like a leather bottle in the house of a vendor of spirits.” Wilson’s *Rig Veda*, II, p. 204.

† मद्यमपेयमदेयमग्राहं । श्रुतिः ।

of its first book. According to it, Kacha, son of Vrihaspati, had become a pupil of S'ukráchárya with a view to obtain from him the charm of reviving dead men, which none else knew. The Asuras came to know of this, and, dreading lest the pupil should obtain and afterwards impart the great secret to the Devas, assassinated him, and mixed his ashes with the wine of his tutor, and thus transferred him to the bowels of S'ukráchárya. It happened, however, that during his pupilage Kacha had won the affection of Devayáni, the youthful and charming daughter of S'ukráchárya, and that lady insisted upon her father to restore the youth to her, threatening to commit suicide if the request was not complied with. S'ukra, unable to decline the favour to his daughter, repeated the charm, and anon, to his surprise, found the youth speaking from his own belly. The difficulty now was to bring the youth out, for this could not be accomplished without ripping open the abdomen of the tutor. S'ukráchárya thereupon taught the youth the great charm, and then allowed himself to be ripped open, and Kacha, in grateful acknowledgement of his restoration to life, revived his tutor. Now S'ukráchárya, seeing that it was the influence of drink which had made him insensibly swallow the ashes of a Bráhmañ, and that Bráhmañ his own pupil, prohibited the use of wine by Bráhmañs, "From this day forward," said he, "the Bráhmañ, who through infatuation will drink arrack (*surá*) shall lose all his religious merit; that wretch will be guilty of the sin of killing Bráhmañs, and be condemned in this as well as in a future world. Let all pious Bráhmañs, mindful of their duty to their tutors, as also to the Devas and mankind in general, attend to this rule of conduct for Bráhmañs ordained by me for all the regions of the universe."*

S'ukráchárya was followed by Kṛishṇa, who also cursed the wine-bibber because his kith and kin, the Yádavas, proved the most intractable and unruly of drunkards.

The legends on which these prohibitions are founded may be, for ought we know, after-thoughts, designed to illustrate the heinousness of excessive indulgence, and to give weight to the prohibitions, by invoking the authority of great men against over-indulgence. But the fact remains unquestioned that, from an early period, the Hindus have denounced in their sacred writings the use of wine as sinful, and two of their greatest lawgivers, Manu†

* यो ब्राह्मणोऽयप्रभृतीह कश्चिन्नोहात्सुरां पास्यति मन्दबुद्धिः ।

अपेत धर्मा ब्रह्महा चेव स स्यादस्मिन् लोके गर्हितः स्यात्परे च ॥

मया चतां विप्रधर्मा कृसीर्मा मर्यादां वै स्थापितां सर्वलोके ।

सन्तो विप्राः शुश्रुवांसो गुरुणां देवां लोकाश्चोपशृण्वन्तु सर्व्वे ॥

आदिपर्व्वणि ७६ अ० ।

† Manu XI, 91 to 96.

and Yajñavalkya* held that the only expiation meet for a Brāhman who has polluted himself by drinking spirit, is suicide by a draught of spirit or water, or cow's urine, or milk in a boiling state, taken in a burning hot metal pot. Angira, Vas'istha and Paithīnasi restricted the drink to boiling spirits alone.† Devala went a step further, and prescribed a draught of melted silver, copper or lead as the most appropriate.‡ Even in cases of accidental drinking of spirits through ignorance on the part of any of the three twice-born classes, nothing short of a repetition of the initial sacramentary rites, effecting a complete regeneration, is held sufficient to purge the sin.§ The Brāhman woman who transgresses this law, is denied access to the region of her husband, and is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow, or a vulture.||

Manu likewise provides for judicial cognisance of such offence by Brāhman, and ordains excommunication and branding on the forehead the figure of a bottle as the most appropriate punishment. “237. For violating the paternal bed, let *the mark of a female part be impressed on the forehead with hot iron*; for drinking spirits, a vintner's flag;¶ for stealing sacred gold, a dog's foot; for murdering a priest, the figure of a headless corpse.

“238. With none to eat with them, with none to sacrifice with them, with none to read with them, with none to be allied by marriage to them, abject and excluded from all social duties, let them wander over the earth.

“239. Branded with indelible marks, they shall be deserted by their paternal and maternal relations, treated by none with affection, received by none with respect: such is the ordinance of Manu.” (IX.)

Even drinking of water kept in a wine bottle is held sinful, and various expiations are recommended for removing the sin.**

* सुराम्बुष्टगोमूत्रपयसामग्निसन्निभं ।

सुरापोन्यतमं पीत्वा मरणाच्छुद्धिमुच्छति ॥

याज्ञवल्कीये ३ अ० ।

† सुरापश्चाद्र्वाससा चाग्निवर्णां सुरां पिबेत् ।

‡ सुरापाने ब्राह्मणे रूप्यताम्रसीसकानामन्यमतग्निकल्पं पीत्वा शरीरत्यागात्पूयते ।

§ अज्ञानात् सुरां पीत्वा रेतो विष्मूत्रमेव वा ।

पुनः संस्कारमर्हन्ति त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ॥

|| पतिलोकं न सा याति ब्राह्मणी या सुरां पिबेत् ।

इहैव सा शुनी गृध्री शूकरी चोपजायते ॥

¶ The words are सुरापाने सुराध्वजः ॥ “For drinking, a liquor-flag,” but as there is no flag known as peculiar to arrack, or arrack-sellers, commentators take the term *surādhvaja* to mean the particular kind of jar or flagon which was formerly used to hold liquor. What the shape of this jar was, I cannot ascertain

** मद्यभाण्डस्थितं तोयं यदि कश्चित् पिबेद् द्विजः ।

पद्मोदुम्बरबिल्वानां पलाशस्य कुशस्य च ॥

एतेषामुदकं पीत्वा त्रिरात्रेण विशुध्यति ।

Other authorities on law and religion are in no respect less stringent. And yet it would seem that at no time in their history have the Hindus as a nation altogether abstained from the use of spirituous drinks as a means of sensual gratification. Elders, anchorites, sages and learned men, forming the bulk of the priestly race, doubtless scrupulously abstained from them, as they do now in this and other countries ; and a good number of pious and respectable householders, and men of rank and position of the other classes followed their example, even as they do now ; but as they constituted but a fraction of the sum total of the community, their abstinence could not lead to abstinence on the part of the whole nation, or the bulk of it. There was probably also a considerable amount of hypocrisy, or outward expression of horror against wine on the part of the higher orders of the people, such as we know does prevail in the present day ; but Sanskrit literature, both ancient and modern, leaves no room for doubt as to wine having been very extensively used in this country at all times, and by all classes.

Manu, notwithstanding his stern anathema, found the public feeling or practice so strong against him as to be under the necessity of observing in one place that “there is no turpitude in drinking wine,” but “a virtuous abstinence from it produces a signal compensation.”* Elsewhere he provides that the soldier and the merchant should not deal in spirituous liquors, leaving the S’údras to follow the trade at their pleasure.† The prohibition in the case of the soldier and the merchant refers to arrack only, so they were at liberty to take all other kinds of liquor, and accordingly the Mitákshará comes to the conclusion that Bráhmans alone have to abstain from all kinds of spirituous drinks, the Kshatriya and Vaishya from arrack or *paishṭi*, leaving the S’údras to indulge in whatever they liked.‡

Coming from the age of the Vedas to that of the Sútras, I find that not only the soma and the surá of the Sañhitás and the Bráhmanas retained their firm hold on the people, but several new candidates for public favour appeared in the forms of *Mádhvika* or *mowá*, *Gaudí* or rum, *tála* or toddy wine, and so on. They could not have been manufactured had there been no demand for them, and the conclusion becomes irresistible, that they were used to a considerable extent as a means of sensual gratification, though they seem never to have found a footing in religious ceremonies.

* न मांसभक्षणे दोषो न मद्ये न च मैथुने ।

प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महाफला ॥

† X, 89.

‡ चैवर्षिकानामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति पैथीप्रतिषेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्रप्रतिषेधोऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्येव । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तु न कदाचिदपि गौड्रादिमद्यनिषेधः । शूद्रस्य तु न सुराप्रतिषेधो नापि मद्यप्रतिषेधः । इति मिताक्षरा ।

Turning now to the Mahābhārata we have abundant evidence to show that most of the leading characters in that great epic were addicted to strong drinks, and no picnic or pleasure party was complete in which wine did not hold a prominent part. The extract from the *Harivaṃśa* published in the last volume of this Journal (p. 340 et seq.) affords a very graphic account of the manner in which such distinguished personages as Baladeva and Kṛishṇa and Arjuna indulged in drink in the company of their wives, sisters and daughters, and other extracts equally precise and full, might be easily multiplied, if needed. The description of Arjuna's picnic on the Raivata mountain given in the Ādiparva, offers a remarkable instance in point. Elsewhere Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are described as "having wine-inflamed eyes." "Both Kṛishṇa and Arjuna have been seen by me, both lying on a cot, or in their cars, besprinkled with sandal paste, and having their eyes reddened by mādhi and āsava."* Sudeshnā, the queen of Maharājā Virāṭa, in the *Virāṭa Parva*, feeling thirsty, sends her maid, Draupadi, to her brother, Kichaka, to obtain from him a flagon of good wine for her use.† In the *Mausala Parva*, the Yādavas are described to have been so overcome by drink at the sea-side watering-place of Prabhāsa as to have destroyed each other in sheer drunkenness.

According to the Bhagavata Purāṇa, when questioned by his brother Judhisthira as to how the Yādavas were doing, Arjuna is reported to have said—"O king, our friends, of whom you are inquiring, losing, through a Brāhman's curse on the house of our well-wishers, their senses by over-indulgence in Vārūni liquor, have, without recognising each other, exchanged blows and destroyed themselves. Now only four or five are left alive to tell the tale."‡

The Rāmāyaṇa also frequently notices wine and drinking. In one place no less a personage than the great sage, Viśvāmitra, who is the author of a considerable number of the hymns of the R̥ig Veda, is said to have been entertained with *maireya* and *surā* by his host, Vasishṭha.§ Bharadvāja

* उभौ मध्वासवक्षीवौ उभौ चन्दनचर्चितौ ।

उभौ पर्यङ्गरथिनौ दृष्टौ मे केशवार्जुनौ ॥

† पर्वणि त्वं समुद्दिश्य सुरामन्नं चकारय ।

तत्रैनां प्रेषयिष्यामि सुराहारी तवान्तिकं ॥

उत्तिष्ठ गच्छ सैरिन्ध्रि कीचकस्य निवेशनं ।

पानमानय कल्याणि पिपासा मां प्रबाधते ॥

‡ राजंस्तथानुष्टयानां सुहृदां नः सुहृत्पुरे ।

विप्रशापविमूढानां निघ्नतां मुष्टिभिर्मिथः ॥

वारुणीं मदिरां पीत्वा नदोन्मथितचेतसां ।

अजानतामिवान्योन्यं चतुःपञ्चावशेषिताः ॥

श्रीमद्भागवते १ स्कन्ध १५ अध्यायः ।

another great sage, offered wine to Bharata and his soldiers when they spent a night under his hospitable roof. “O ye drinkers of spirits,” said the sage, “drink spirituous liquors; O ye hungry, eat; fill yourselves with frumenty and various kinds of juicy meats.*” This sage welcomed Ráma by slaughtering “the fatted calf,” but he is not reported to have offered the exile any liquor for his regalement. Two passages, however, occur in the second book of the Rámáyana which afford the most conclusive proof of wine having been extensively used, and held in considerable estimation as a favourite drink in former days. The practice of making vows at times of danger and misfortune to offer something choice to the gods, was universal in former days, and is common enough now in most parts of the world. The nature of the offering doubtless differs under different circumstances; but the offering is made all the same. The candles for the Madonna of Roman Catholic countries in Bengal represented by milk, or frumenty, or richer offerings, and rarely is a child sick in the house, or a cow suffering from the pains of parturition, for which some milk is not vowed to the lares and penates. Sitá, the model of feminine grace and virtue, was not above this custom; and when crossing the Ganges in her way to the wilderness of the south, is said to have made a similar vow; but instead of mentioning milk or frumenty, she pledged herself to offer a plentiful supply of arrack. Addressing the river, she said; “Be merciful to us, O goddess, and I shall, on my return home, worship thee with a thousand jars of arrack and dishes of cooked flesh-meat.†” When crossing the Yamuná she said, “Be thou auspicious, O goddess; I am crossing thee. When my husband has accomplished his vow, I shall worship thee with a thousand head of cattle and a hundred jars of arrack.”‡ Again, Bharata, returning from his ineffectual mission to bring back Ráma, mourns the lost glories of the capital: “No longer the exhilarating aroma of arrack, nor the enchanting scent of garlands, of sandalwood, and of agallochum now wafts through the city.”§ After these, the presence of wine in the palaces of Rávana and Sugriva, and the greatest glory of the streets of Kiskindá having been the aroma of arrack|| are not matters of wonder, seeing that those persons were

* Rámáyana, Carey’s edition, III, p. 297.

† सुराघटसहस्रेण मांसभूतैर्दानेन च ।

यक्ष्ये त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता ॥

‡ स्वस्ति दवि तरामि त्वां पारयेन्मे पतिव्रतम् ।

यक्ष्य त्वां गोसहस्रेण सुराघटशतेन च ॥

§ वारुणीमद्गन्धश्च माल्यगन्धश्च मूर्च्छितः ।

चन्दनागुरुगन्धश्च न प्रवाति समन्ततः ॥

११४ अ० २० श्लो० ।

|| चन्दनागुरुपद्माभ्यां गन्धैः सुरभिगन्धिभिः ।

सैरयाणां मधूनाञ्च समावृतमहापथाम् ॥

किष्किन्वाकाण्डे ३३ सर्ग ।

not included in the pale of Hinduism and the city belonged to a race of monkeys.

Buddhism must have contributed much to check the spread of drunkenness in India, as it did in putting down the consumption of flesh-meat, but it never was equal to the task of suppressing it. The Jātakas and Avadānas abound in stories of drunkenness, and among the sculptures of Sānchi, several ladies of high rank, standing in the verandahs of the upper storeys of their mansions to behold religious processions in the street, are represented with attendants holding forth tazzas and flagons, which evidently were intended to contain something more potent than water or sharbat. In three love-scenes, the lovers are represented offering overflowing goblets to their mistresses, certainly not with a view to smother the flames of Cupid with a cooling draught. In a Buddhist drama, entitled *Nāgānanda*, lately translated into English by Mr. Ralph Boyd, a scene occurs, the plot of which depends upon the vagaries of a drunkard, who had for his lady-love a maid of honor of the queen.

In the time of Kālidāsa drinking seems to have been very common, for we find in the *Sakuntalā*, the Superintendent of Police, who was no other than the king's brother-in-law, proposing, like an English policeman, or cabby, to spend the present offered him by the fisherman who recovered the lost ring, at the nearest grog shop.

“FISHERMAN.—Here's half the money for you, my masters. It will serve to purchase the flowers you spoke of, if not to buy me your goodwill.

“JA'NUKA.—Well, now, that's just as it should be.

“SUPERINTENDENT.—My good fisherman, you are an excellent fellow, and I begin to feel quite a regard for you. Let us seal our first friendship over a glass of good liquor. Come along to the next wineshop, and we'll drink your health.”*

In his graphic description of the triumphal march of Raghu, Kālidāsa specially notices drinking-booths set up by the soldiery at Rājamundri, to drink the famous cocoa-nut liquor of the place.† The proper way to drink it was in betel leaf cups. So profusely was this liquor partaken of, that, in the hyperbolical language of the poet, the water of the Cauvery was tainted by the smell.‡ In a subsequent part of the description, the same soldiery appear to have in Persia drunk grape-wine, seated on leather

* Williams's *Sakuntala*, p. 153.

† ताम्बूलीनां दलस्तत्र रचिता पानभूषयः।

नारिकेलसर्वं योधाः शत्रवञ्च पपुरशः ॥ ४ । ४२ ॥

‡ स सन्यपरिभागेन गजदानसुगन्धिना ।

कावरीं सरितां पत्युः शङ्कनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥ ४ । ४५ ॥

cushions spread under umbrageous vineyards.* A passage in the *Kumára Sambhava*, of the same author, extols a crystal palace on the Himálaya as so exquisite as to be best adapted for a drinking hall.† Drinking must have been common in high circles to justify this comparison. Elsewhere drinking halls, as specially reserved apartments in a palace, are frequently mentioned.

Kálidása is also lavish in his references to drinking by women of quality. In the *Raghuvaṅśa*, he makes Aja bemoan the loss of his wife, Indumati, by this apostrophe: “How will you, dear one of wine-reddened eye, who have quaffed delightful liquor from my mouth, drink the mist-befouled water which I offer with my tears.”‡ Adverting to a practice of making Vakula trees (*Memusops elengi*) flower by gargling wine on them, the same author says: “Sprinkled over with arrack from charming faces, the blossoms partook of the character of the liquor.”§ Again: “Liquors, which excite delightful recreation, overcome by their bouquet the aroma of vakula flowers, never break the current of enjoyment, and are friendly to Cupid, the ladies drink with their husbands.”|| Again, “The ladies in private drank highly exhilarating liquor from the mouth of Agnivarna, and he on his turn blossomed like the vakula by drinking of arrack from their mouths.”¶

In the *Kumára Sambhava*, Rati, mourning the loss of her lord Cupid, says:—Rice liquor, which causes the reddened eyes to roll, and speech to get

* विनयन्ते स्म तद् योधा मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।

आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ॥ ४ । ६५ ॥

† यत्र स्फटिकहर्म्येषु नक्तमापानभूमिषु ।

ज्योतिषां प्रतिविम्बानि प्राप्नुवन्त्युपहारताम् ॥

६ सर्गे ४२ श्लोकः ।

‡ मदिराक्षि ! मदाननार्पितं मधु पीत्वा रसवत् कथं नु मे ।

अनुपास्यसि बाष्पदूषितं परलोकोपगतं जलाञ्जलिम् ॥

रघु० ८ सर्गे ६८ श्लोकः ।

§ सुवदनावदनः सवसम्भृतस्तदनुवादिगुणः कुसुमोद्गमः ।

मधुकरैरकरोन्मधुलोलुपैर्वकुलमाकुलमायतपङ्क्तिभिः ॥

रघु० ९ सर्गे ३० श्लोकः ।

|| ललितविभ्रमबन्धविचक्षणं सुरभिगन्धपराजितकेसरम् ।

पतिषु निर्विविशुर्मधुमङ्गनाः स्मरसखं रसखण्डनवर्जितम् ॥

रघु० ९ सर्गे ३६ श्लोकः ।

¶ सातिरेकमदकारणं रक्षतेन दत्तमभिलेपु रङ्गनाः ।

ताभिरप्युपहृतं मुखासवं सोऽपि वदकुलतुल्यदोहदः ॥

रघु० १९ सर्गे १९ श्लोकः ।

disjointed at every step, has, in thy absence, become a torture to loving women.”*

In the 7th book of that work, when describing Siva's approach to the palace of Himaláya, the poet says that “the faces of the ladies who rushed to the windows in great haste and with half finished toilettes, to behold the procession, evolved the odour of the arrack they had drunk, and their dark eyes appeared like black bees on charming lotuses.”†

Mágha, in the *Sisupálabhadha* describing Baladeva, says “when he spoke, the aroma of liquor which had obtained sweetness by lodging in the mouth of Revatí, issued from his mouth.”‡

The Puráṇas abound in descriptions of wine and drinking, and, though the object of many of them is to condemn the use of wine, the inference is clear, that there was a widespread malady which they proposed to overcome. In some instances, moreover, the object was not reprobation, but mere description, and no less an authority than the Bhágavata Puráṇa enjoins the use of spirit by Bráhmans at the *Sautrámani* rite. So does Vrihaspati, the high priest of the gods, whose Sañhitá is a standard authority on law.§ In the *Markandeya Purána*, the great goddess Durgá is represented as particularly addicted to strong drinks. Kuvera serves her with overflowing goblets of strong liquor, and she drinks and drinks till her eyes become flaming red, and she bursts out in wild laughter. When girding herself to prepare for her combat with the fierce demon Mahisa, she says: “Roar, roar, you fool, for a moment only, till I finish my drinking.”||

Other instances may be quoted *ad libitum*, but they are not wanted. I shall abstain also from extracting more passages from the poetical literature

* नयनान्यरणानि घूर्णयन् वचनानि स्वलयन् पदे पदे ।

असति त्वयि वारुणीमदः प्रमदानामधुना विडम्बना ॥

४ सर्गे १२ श्लोकः ।

† तासां मुखैरासवगन्धगर्भैर्याप्तान्तरासान्द्रकुतूहलानाम् ।

विलोलनेत्रभ्रमरैर्गवाक्षाः सहस्रपत्राभरणा इवासन् ॥

७ सर्गे ६२ श्लोकः ।

‡ ककुब्जिकन्यावक्त्रान्तर्वासलब्धाधिवासया ।

मुखामोदं मदिरया कृतानुव्याधमुद्रमन् ॥

माघस्य २ सर्गे २० श्लोकः ।

§ सौत्रामण्यां तथा मद्यं श्रुतौ भक्ष्यमुदाहृतं ।

Apud Viramitradaṇya.

|| ददावशून्यं सुरया पानपात्रं धनाधिपः ।

ततः क्रुद्धा जगन्माता चण्डिका पानमुत्तमम् ।

पपौ पुनः पुनश्चैव जहासारणलोचना ॥

गर्ज गर्ज चणं मूढं मधु यावत् पिबाम्यहं ।

of the last fifteen or sixteen hundred years to show how frequently reference are made to drinking among the higher classes of the community. But I cannot omit noticing the Tantras, which afford the most indubitable proofs of a strong attachment on the part of a large section of the Hindus to over-indulgence in spirituous drinks. These works profess to be revelations made by S'iva to his consort Párvati, and constitute the life and soul of the modern system of Hinduism. In the way of religious rites, nothing is done in the present day, and nothing has been for the last fifteen hundred years in Bengal, which does not, or did not, borrow its main characteristics from the Tantras. They govern alike the conscience of the followers of S'iva, the worshippers of S'aktí, and the adorers of Vishṇu. In the present day, some few ceremonies are called Vedic, and Vedic mantras are used in a great many others; but in most instances, the mantras used have been transmitted through a Tántric medium, and it may be said with very little exaggeration that the life of a Hindu from birth to burning-ground is one eternal bondage to the ordinances of the Tantras. Doubtless the Tantras are of various kinds, some Vaishṇavite, others S'ivite, and others designed for the glorification of S'aktí, or the female energy, and the last two classes of works are described by the Vaishṇavas, and very justly, as *sanmohini* or "delusive," designed with a view to mislead mankind in this sinful iron age; but even the most bigoted Vaishṇava dares not question their character as revelations by S'iva, and most faithfully owns his allegiance to such Tantras as are of a Vaishṇavite tendency. The S'ivite and S'ákta Tantras are, however, much more numerous, and their followers in the present day may be reckoned by hundreds of thousands. Before the advent of Chaitanya, four hundred years ago, their influence was much greater; and the great bulk of the Hindus professed the faith inculcated in those works. The doctrine of equality which Chaitanya and his successors preached, won over over to their side the major portion of the lower orders of the people, and the Vaishṇavas, therefore, now prevail in Bengal; but the Brahmans could never brook the idea of owning equality with low caste men, so most of them stuck to, and still follow, the doctrines of S'aiva or S'ákta worship, and the Tantras which inculcate them give free liberty to their votaries to indulge in drinking spirits. The S'ákta Tantras go further, and insist upon the use of wine as an element of devotion. According to them no worship of the Deví can be complete which is not celebrated with the five great essentials, "fish, flesh, wine, fried grain, and female society," technically called the five Ms, from the circumstance of the initial letters of their Sanskrit names being M. To describe the details of the worship would be so shocking that I cannot venture upon the task. Suffice it to say, that the Kaulas, who are the most ardent followers of the S'ákta Tantras, celebrate their rites at midnight in a closed room, where they sit in a circle round a jar of country arrack, one or more young women of a lewd character being in the

company; they “drink, drink, and drink until they fall down in utter helplessness, then rising again they drink, in the hope of never having a second birth.”* In such circles (*Bhairavi chakra*) Kaulas of all castes are admissible, for, say the Tantras, when once in the mystic circle, all castes are superior to Bráhmans, though on coming out of it, they revert to their respective ranks in civil society.† It is true that this “left-handed” or secret worship (*vámáchára*) is observed by a few of the most ardent votaries of the sect, at long intervals; and the Tantras inculcate absolute secrecy in its performance, and disclosure is condemned as calculated to frustrate all its merits, and prove highly disreputable; but the use of wine is enjoined at the ordinary daily prayers or sandhyás, and on particular occasions it is a *sine qua non*. I knew a highly respectable widow lady, connected with one of the most distinguished families in Calcutta, who belonged to the Kaula sect, and had survived the 75th anniversary of her birthday, who never said her prayers, (and she did so regularly every morning and evening) without touching the point of her tongue with a tooth-pick dipped in a phial of arrack, and sprinkling a few drops of the liquor on the flowers which she offered to her god. I doubt very much if she had ever drunk a wine-glassful of arrack at once in all her life, and certain it is that she never had any idea of the pleasures of drinking; but, as a faithful Kaula, she felt herself in duty bound to observe the mandates of her religion with the greatest scrupulousness. That thousands of others do so, I have every reason to believe. In some parts of Bengal, where arrack is not easily accessible, such female votaries prepare a substitute by dropping the milk of a cocoa-nut in a bell-metal pot, or milk in a copper vessel, and drink a few drops of the same. Men are, however, not so abstemious, and the Tantras ordain a daily allowance of five cupsful, the cup being so made as to contain five tolás, or two ounces,‡ *i. e.* they are permitted to take ten ounces or about a pint of arrack daily.

The most appropriate way of drinking liquor is in the mystic circle above noticed; but as this cannot be got up every day, the devotee takes the bulk of his potation alone after the evening prayer. He is also at liberty to drink wherever he likes, and in whatever company chance may

* पीत्वा पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा पुनः पतति भूतले ।

उत्थाय च पुनः पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥

सहानिर्वाणतन्त्रं ।

† आगता भैरवीचक्रे सर्व्वे वर्णाः द्विजोत्तमाः ।

निर्गता भैरवीचक्रात् सर्व्वे वर्णाः पृथक् पृथक् ॥

‡ पानपात्रं प्रकुर्वीत नपञ्चतेलकाधिकं ।

throw in his way, provided he faithfully observes one condition, and that is, never to drink without neutralising the curse of S'ukráchárya and purifying the drink. This is done by drawing a triangular figure on the ground with the right index finger dipped in liquor, placing the flagon thereon, and repeating over it three mantras which say—(1) “ Om ! The great Brahma is one alone ; verily, he is both material and immaterial. Through him I destroy the sin of Bráhmanicide which has originated in (the murder of) Kacha (son of Vrihaspati. (2) Om ! O goddess, dweller in the orb of the sun, born in the abode of waters, and consisting of the sacred mantra of Amá, remove the curse of S'ukráchárya. (3) Om ! If the Pranava be the source of the Vedas, and essentially and solely the felicity of Brahma, by it, the truth, O goddess, cast away the sin of killing Bráhmans.*” After repeating the mantras, the word *vañs'a* is to be muttered several times, and then repeating his own especially *viñamantra*, the votary should meditate on the form of his favourite divinity, which is generally a manifestation of Káli, and then on that of S'íva who is described as “ blood red in complexion, four-handed, three-eyed, benign, beneficent, bearing a mass of matted hair on his head, a necklace of snakes round his neck, a diminutive tomtom, a skull, a club, and a noose in his hands, and arrayed in a tiger skin.”† Ten repetitions of the gáyatri after this and of the words *hum* and *phat* effect the complete purification of the grog, and the neutralization of the curse. At the formal mystic circle, several other mantras are repeated, and some formulæ gone through ; but they are not absolutely necessary for the ordinary every day ritual, or for the purification of the drink. In practice the ritual above set forth, or a modification of it, including of course the three important mantras, does not take much time, and I have seen it completed in two or three minutes. But whether an epitome is adopted, or the whole ritual be gone through, some ceremony is imperatively necessary, for the Kaula who drinks wine without purifying it, becomes a criminal of the worst class. According to the

* ॐ एकमेव परं ब्रह्म स्थूलसूक्ष्मसं ध्रुवं ।
 कचोद्भवां ब्रह्महत्यां तेन ते नाशयाम्यहं ॥
 ॐ सूर्यमण्डलसम्भूते वरुणालयसम्भवे ।
 अमावीजमये देवि शुक्रशपाद्विमुच्यतां ॥
 ॐ देवानां प्रणवो बीजं ब्रह्मानन्दमयं यदि ।
 तेन सत्येन ते देवि ब्रह्महत्यां व्यपोहतु ॥
 कैवल्यतन्त्रे २ पटलः ।

† रक्तवर्णं चतुर्बाहुं त्रिनेत्रं वरदं शिवं ।
 जटाजूटधरं देवं वासुकीकण्ठभूषितं ॥
 डमरुश्च कपालश्च मुद्गरं पाशमुत्तमं ।
 धारिणं तं यजेद्देवं व्याघ्रचर्माम्बरं शिवं ॥
 कैवल्यतन्त्रे २ पटलः ।

Utpatti Tantra, “the Bráhmaṇ who drinks unpurified liquor is guilty of killing a Bráhmaṇ ; drinking purified arrack he becomes as pure as a flaming fire. At the Sautrámaṇi rite and in the Kaula circle, a Bráhmaṇ should always drink arrack ; but by drinking elsewhere for the mere gratification of his senses, he loses his Bráhmaṇhood.*

The *Mátriká-bheda Tantra* is most eloquent in praise of drinking. It makes S'iva address his consort thus : “ O sweet-speaking goddess, the salvation of Bráhmaṇs depends on drinking wine. I impart to you a truth, a great truth, O mountain-born, (when I say) that the Bráhmaṇ who attends to drinking and its accompaniments forthwith becomes a S'iva. Even as water mixes with water, and metal amalgamates with metal ; even as the confined space in a pot merges into the great body of surrounding space on the destruction of the confining vessel, and air commingles with air, so does, dear one, a Bráhmaṇ melt in Brahma, the great soul. There is not the least doubt about this, O mountain-born. Similitude with the divinity, and other forms of liberation are designed for Kshatriyas and others ; but true knowledge can never be acquired, goddess dear, without drinking wine ; therefore should Bráhmaṇs always drink. No one becomes a Bráhmaṇ by repeating the gáyatri, the mother of the Vedas ; he is called a Bráhmaṇ only when he has a knowledge of Brahma. The ambrosia of the gods is their Brahma, and on earth it is arrack ; and because one attains the character of a god (*suratva*), therefore is arrack called *surá*.†” The work, nevertheless, will admit of no

* असंस्कृतां सुरां पीत्वा ब्राह्मणे ब्रह्महा भवेत् ।
संस्कृतान् सुरां पीत्वा ब्राह्मणे ज्वलदग्निवत् ॥
सौत्रामण्यां कुलाचारे ब्राह्मणः प्रपिवेत् सुरां ।
अन्यत्र कामतः पीत्वा ब्राह्मणादेव हीयते ॥

† ब्राह्मणस्य महामोक्षं मद्यपाने प्रियंवदे ।
ब्राह्मणः परमेशानि यदि पानादिकं चरेत् ॥
तत्क्षणात् शिवरूपोऽसौ सत्यं सत्यं हि शैलजे ।
तोये तोयं यथा लीनं तैजसं तैजसे यथा ॥
घटे भग्ने यथाकाशं तापौ वायुर्यथा प्रिये ।
तथैव मद्यपानेन ब्राह्मणे ब्रह्मणि प्रिये ॥
लीयते नात्र सन्देहः परमात्मनि शैलजे ।
सायुज्यादि महामोक्षं नियुक्तं क्षत्रियादिषु ॥
मद्यपानं विना देवि तत्त्वज्ञानं न लभ्यते ।
अतएव हि विप्रस्तु मद्यपानं समाचरेत् ॥
वेदमाता जपेनैव ब्राह्मणा न हि शैलजे ।
ब्रह्मज्ञानं यदा देवि तदा ब्राह्मण उच्यते ॥
देवानाममृतं ब्रह्म तदेव लौकिकी सुरा ।
सुरत्वं भोगमात्रेण सुरा तेन प्रकीर्तिता ॥

drinking without the purification aforesaid. “The three mantras for the neutralization of the curse of the Bráhmaṇ (S’ukráchárya) should always be repeated. Then only does arrack become full of Brahma. Even as a fire flames up when clarified butter is poured on it, so does arrack become the giver of salvation on the neutralization of the curse. Therefore should Bráhmaṇs always drink (after purifying his grog). Such a drinker, is a true Bráhmaṇ ; he is proficient in the Vedas ; he is truly an Agnihotri ; he is thoroughly initiated ; what more can I say, O noblest of goddesses, when I add that he rises above the three qualities (inherent in matter). This is the true path to salvation ; but it should be kept a secret from bestial people (*pásu*, men who do not drink wine), for disclosure leads to want of success, and is highly disreputable.”*

The *Kámákhyá Tantra* speaks very much in the same vein. “Whoever,” it says, “after being initiated in the salvation-giving mantra of Káliká, fails to drink wine, is a fallen man in this iron age. He has no right to the performance of Vedic and Tántric ceremonies ; he is called unbráhmaṇ, ignorant as an elephant ; and whatever oblations he offers his manes, becomes as impure as the urine of a dog. Having obtained the mantra of Káli or Tára, he who conducts not himself as a Vira (or hero, *i. e.*, drinker of wine), unmistakeably acquires in his person the degradation of a S’údra.”†

It will be naturally supposed that those who wrote the above panegyric must have had various kinds of liquor for their use ; and the S’ástras afford the most convincing proof on this head. Pulastya, an ancient sage and author of one of the original Smṛitis, enumerates twelve different kinds of

* हविरारोपमात्रेण वज्रिदीप्तो यथा भवेत् ।
 शापमोचनमात्रेण सुरा मुक्तिप्रदायिनी ॥
 अतएव हि देवेशि ब्राह्मणः पानमाचरेत् ।
 स ब्राह्मणः स देवज्ञः सोऽग्निहोत्री स दीक्षितः ॥
 ब्रह्म किं कथ्यते देवि स एव निर्गुणात्मकः ।
 मुक्तिमार्गमिदं देवि गोप्तव्यं पशुसङ्कटे ।
 प्रकाशात् सिद्धिदानिः स्यान्निन्दनीयो न चान्यथा ॥

† कालिका तारिणी दीक्षां गृहीत्वा मद्यसेवनं ।
 न करोति नरो यस्तु स कलौ पतितो भवेत् ॥
 वैदिके तान्त्रिके चैव जपहोमवह्निस्तृतः ।
 अब्राह्मणः स एवोक्तः स एव हस्तिमूर्खकः ॥
 शुनीमूत्रसमं तस्य तर्पणं यत् पितृष्वपि ।
 काली तारामनुप्राप्य वीराचारं करोति न ।
 शूद्रत्वं तच्छरीरेण प्राप्नुयात् स न चान्यथा ॥

कामाक्षातन्त्रे ५ पटलः ॥

liquor besides the soma beer, which is not usually reckoned under the head of *madya*, and his successors have added largely to the list. The twelve principal liquors of this sage are 1, *pánasa*, or jack liquor; 2, *dráksha*, or grape liquor; 3, *mádhúka*, or honey liquor; 4, *kháryjura*, or date liquor; 5, *tála*, or palm liquor; 6, *aikhshava*, or cane liquor; 7, *mádhvika*, or mowa liquor; 8, *saira*, long pepper liquor; 9, *aríshṭa*, or soap-berry liquor; 10, *maireya*, or rum; 11, *nárikelaja*, or cocoa-nut liquor; 12, *surá*, or arrack, otherwise called *váruṇi* or *paishṭi*.* This verse, as quoted in the *S'abda-kalpadruma*, gives *ṭáñka*, or wood apple liquor, and the Vishṇu Sanhitá *koli* or jujube liquor in lieu of *Saira*.

The mode of preparing these liquors is briefly described in the *Matsya-s'ukta Tantra*. It says, "Place unripe jack, mango, and plums, in a jar, and pour on it daily a quantity of unboiled milk, and add some flesh meat; put therein hemp leaves and sweet lime on alternate days, and when duly fermented, distil, and this is jack wine."†

For the 2nd, the grape juice is to be fermented with curds, honey and ghi, distilled in the usual way, and flavoured with manjit, and chiretta.‡ This is of course brandy-bitter, pure and simple, dyed with manjit instead of burnt sugar. The 3rd has honey for its principal ingredient, and with it is to be associated *Vidañga* (a bitter drug), salep misri, long pepper, and salt.§ The 4th has ripe dates for its basis, and with it is mixed jack fruit, ginger and the juice of the soma vine.|| The 5th is made with the

* पानसं द्राक्षमाधूकं खार्जूरं तालमैक्षवं ।

माध्वीकं सैरमारीष्टं मैरेयं नारिकेलजं ॥

समानानि विजानीयात् मद्यानेकादशैव तु ।

द्वादशन्तु सुरामद्यं सर्वेषामधमं स्मृतं ॥

† अपक्वं पनसञ्चैव आम्रञ्च वदरं तथा ।

स्थापयित्वा घटे नित्यं दद्यादामपयःफलम् ॥

त्रैलोक्यविजयाञ्चैव मातुलङ्गं तथैव च ।

समेऽहनि ततो दद्यात् सन्धानात् सत्त्वमीरितम् ॥

‡ दधिमधुघृतञ्चापि मञ्जिष्ठं तिक्तकं तथा ।

अनुपाने तु देवेशि द्राक्ष-मद्यं सुनिश्चितं ॥

§ विडङ्गं शालवो मूलं ।

मधुना सह संस्थाप्य शेषे पाकं समाचरेत् ।

पिप्पली लवणं दत्त्वा मधुना मद्यमीरितं ॥

|| पानसं पक्वखार्जूरं आर्द्रं सोमलतारसं ।

एकोक्त्याग्निमन्धानात् खार्जूरं मद्यमीरितम् ॥

ripe palm fruit spiced with danti (*Croton polyandrum*) and the leaves of the *kakubha* plant.* The 6th has sugar-cane for its basis, and black pepper, plums, curds, and salt for adjuncts.† The 7th is made of the blossoms of the *Bassia latifolia*, mixed with sugar and ripe bel fruit.‡ The 8th is made of molasses and long pepper. The Tantra follows the reading of Rájá Rádhá-kánta Deva, and has *tanka* instead of *saira*, and it should be made, according to it, with the root of the *Asparagus racemosus*, the root of the wood-apple-tree, a drug called *laksman*, lotus flowers, and honey.§ The 9th, according to the reading of the Mitákshará, is a liquor made from soap-berry plant with molasses, but according to the Tantra of the root of the ægle marmelos, plums, and sugar.|| The 10th of the above list occurs in the Tantra under the name of *gaudi*, or rum, made from molasses, the adjuncts during fermentation being curds, hemp leaves, and a drug called *karikaná*.¶ The 11th is made of the milk, or toddy, of the cocoa-nut, mixed with plantains, ripe emblic myrobolans, and the drug *Indrajihvá*.** The 12th has half-boiled rice, barley, black pepper, lemon juice, ginger, and hot water for its ingredients. The rice and barley are to be digested in hot water for two days, then boiled, then spiced with the other ingredients, and allowed to ferment thoroughly, and lastly distilled.††

* पक्वतालं दन्तिशाकं ककुभञ्च तथैव च ।
एतैरेव सुसन्धानात् तालमद्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

† इक्षुदण्डं मरीचञ्च वदरञ्च तथा दधि ।
शेषे तु लवणं दत्वा इक्षुमद्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

‡ नवं मधु तथा विल्वं पक्वं शर्करया सह ।
सन्धानाज्जायते मद्यं माध्वीकं शरतो रसं ॥

§ शतावरी टङ्कमूलं लक्षणं पद्ममेव च ।
मधुना सह सन्धानात् टङ्कमाध्वीकमोरितं ॥

|| मालूरमूलं तदरी शर्करा च तथैव च ।
एषामेकत्र सन्धानान् सैरेयं मद्यमोरितं ॥

¶ दधि त्रैलोक्यविजया तथैव च करीकणा ।
गुडैश्च सह सन्धानात् गौडीमद्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

** इन्द्रजिह्वा पक्वधात्री नारिकेलजलं तथा ।
कदलीफलसन्धानात् मद्यं तन्नारिकेलजं ॥

†† शङ्कुलीमर्दसिद्धान्नमृणोदकसमन्वितम् ।
वक्त्रे सन्तापयेत् किञ्चित् स्थापयित्वा दिनद्वयम् ॥
शेषेऽहनि तु सम्प्राप्ते जीवनं तत्र निःक्षिपेत् ।
शृङ्गवेरं मरीचञ्च मातुलङ्गं तथैव च ॥
एतेषामेव सन्धानात् पैथीमद्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

The arrack described in the Vedas was somewhat differently prepared from the way above detailed, as will be seen in the sequel. All the other liquors noticed in Sanskrit works were, likewise, first fermented, and then distilled; none manufactured, as European wines are, by mere fermentation. In fact, they are all spirits differently flavoured with various kinds of spices, fruits, and herbs, to suit different tastes, and not wines; and the word wine has been used in this paper in its secondary sense of intoxicating liquor.

A liquor flavoured with aniseed has enjoyed considerable celebrity in India for a long time. It is said that a celebrated Tāntric paṇḍit of Nadiá, who bore the title of Āgamavāgís'a, or "the Lord of the Science of Āgama," was particularly fond of it, and used to take a *lotá* full of it every day. People, suspecting him of this weakness, watched him one evening when he was returning from his vesper prayers at the river side. He was seen to come out on the sly from a grog-shop with his water-pot filled with aniseed arrack, and taxed by a large crowd for conduct so disreputable in a Bráhmaṇ of his learning and sanctity. He denied the charge, and placed the *lotá* before his accusers, when lo! the pot appeared to contain milk. "A miracle, a miracle," cried the crowd, and the paṇḍit, instead of being degraded, was canonised as the most favourite son of the Deví; the fact being, that the wily toper knew well that aniseed liquor mixed with a little water becomes milky, and had taken the precaution to doctor it so with a view to provide against possible contingencies.

Among the many omissions in Pulastya's list, the Tánka, the Koli, and the Kádamvari appear the most prominent. The name of the first is met with largely in the Tantras. The second is of rare occurrence. The last was a favourite drink of Baladeva, and was at one time held in high repute. In medical works, various other kinds of liquor are also mentioned, mostly as aphrodisiacs, but some as medicinal. The following enjoys a high repute as an invigorating tonic. I quote a passage describing it as it is the only one in which an account is given (imperfect as it is) of the still used for distillation. "Take of fresh molasses 100 palas,* water 30 palas, and mix them in an earthen vessel. Take of Vávāri bark (*Cassia arabica*?) and jujube bark five *prasthas* each, (a *prastha* is equal to 128 tolás,) a few betel-nuts, 32 tolás of lodhra (*Symplocos racemosa*), and two palas of ginger. Dilute the molasses mixture in water, add to it successively the ginger, the Vávāri bark, and the jujube bark, mix well, then cover the vessel, and lay it by for three days. Then add the betel-nuts and powdered lodhra, recover the vessel, tie down the cover, lute it, and lay it by for twenty days. Take the apparatus called *mayúra yantra*, a strong earthen vessel of the shape of a peacock, place it on a hearth over a slow fire, pour into it the fermented mixture, and add thereto half a pala each of powdered betel-nut, sailabolaka,

* A pala, according to some, is equal to 4 tolás; according to others, eight tolás.

deodar wood, cloves, padmaka (a drug), leaves of the *Andropogon muricatum* (a fragrant grass), sandal wood, *Anithum sowa*, *Ligusticum ajwana*, black pepper, the white and the black cummin seed, carraway, jaţámansi, nutmegs, *Cyprus rotundus* (*muthá*), grinthi parni (a drug), dried ginger, methi (a spice), and small cardamums. Now cover the vessel with two upturned chatties, attach thereto two pipes, and carefully distil the liquor. This wine should be drunk daily. It promotes the secretion of the constituents of the body, and is invigorating.”*

Although all the various Indian liquors are essentially the same, *viz.*, rum, differing only in being differently flavoured, in the eye of the Hindu law, the liquors made from molasses, mowa, and rice are held to be more offensive than the others, and the punishment for drinking them, more severe.

The flavouring ingredients used in the preparation of these liquors, it is said, materially altered their virtues, and medical works prescribe different liquors for different complaints. For ordinary use the rum from molasses is described to be the most healthful in the dewy season (October and November), the arrack from paddy in the cold and rainy seasons ; and the mowa liquor in spring, summer, and autumn. Connoisseurs were also formerly particular as to the age of their liquor, and the older the liquor, the better was it appreciated.

Nor were they, it would seem, content with their home manufactures, for it appears from Arrian's Periplus of the Erythrian Sea that large quantities of foreign wine were regularly imported two thousand years ago, and these met a ready sale in the country. The varieties mentioned are 1, *Λαοδικηνος*, or wine of Laodicea in Syria ; 2, *Ιταλικος* or Italian wine, and 3, *Αραβικος* or Arabian wine.† These, from the circumstance of their having been brought

* नूतनं गुडसङ्गाह्यं शतमेकं पलं तथा ।
जलं त्रिंशत्पलं देयं स्थापयेन्मृदुभाजने ॥
वावरीत्वचसङ्गाह्यं वदरीत्वचमेव च ।
प्रस्थं प्रस्थं प्रदातव्यं पूगं देयं यथाचितं ॥
लोध्रञ्च कुडवं दत्वा आर्द्रकञ्च पलद्वयं ।
गुडं सङ्गोलकं दत्वा दापयेद्बुद्धिसान् भिषक् ॥
प्रथमे चार्द्रकं देयं द्वितीये वावरीत्वचं ।
तृतीये वदरीं दत्वा गोलयित्वा भिषग्वरः ॥
मुखे शरावकं दत्वा स्थापयेद्विसत्रयं ।
पूगञ्च लोध्रचूर्णञ्च दापयेत्तदनन्तरं ॥
मुखे शरावकं दत्वा यत्नं कृत्वा च बन्धने ।
मुखसम्बन्धनं कृत्वा स्थापयेद्दिनविंशतिः ॥
सृण्वये मोचिकापात्रे मयूराख्येऽपि यन्त्रके ।

† Vincent's Periplus II, Appendix, p. 67.

from distant countries, must have been much more costly than the spirituous liquors of India, and consequently none but the wealthy could afford to drink them.

The different liquors were always taken neat, and it was necessary, therefore, to take some saline, sub-acid, or sweet stuff, to remove the pungency or smarting caused in the mouth by the raw spirit. For this purpose fruits, roasted mince meat, and cakes were most approved by the higher classes, but the lower orders had to content themselves with parched or fried grains and pulses seasoned with salt and chilly. These wine biscuits were held in great requisition, and were known by various technical or slang names, such as *Upadars'a*, *Upadañsa*, *Avadañsa*, *Chakshana*, *Madyapúsana*, *Mudrá*, &c. I have noticed the word *nakula* also so used in the Bengali Chandí and some of the Tantras, but I am not able to put my hand on the text of the latter just now. The word probably came from *nakuli* flesh-meat; but I learn from my friend Mr. Blochmann, that in Arabic the word is used in the same sense, and it is possible that some of the modern Tantras borrowed it from the Muham-madans. Anyhow the word has become generally current, and one of the names of S'iva is *Nakules'a* or "lord of wine biscuits," and no drinking party was formerly complete without a good supply of these tit-bits.

Looking to the nature of the climate, the character and temper of the people, and the anathemas which the S'ástras have, from time to time, hurled against the drunkard, it might be taken for granted that men of the higher castes, and good people generally, did set their faces against drinking, or, at least, did preserve an outward appearance of horror against those who openly outraged the mandates of the Smṛiti; but it would seem that for all that cases of delirium tremens turned up pretty frequently, and several very

यथाविधि प्रकारेण मन्दमन्देन वञ्जिता ॥
 चुल्लीमध्ये निधातव्यं मृत्तिकादृढभाजने ।
 तदौषधञ्च तन्मध्ये उद्धरित्वा विनिक्षिपेत् ॥
 नालञ्च युगलं दत्त्वा कुम्भौ च गजकुम्भवत् ।
 कुम्भमध्ये निधातव्यं पूगञ्च शैलबालकं ॥
 दवदारं लवङ्गञ्च पद्मकोशीरचन्दनं ।
 शतपुष्पायमानी च सरिचं जीरकद्वयं ॥
 शठी मांसीत्वगेला च जातीफलमसुस्तकं ।
 ग्रन्थिपर्णी तथा शुण्ठी मेथी मेषी च चन्दनं ॥
 एषां चार्द्धपलान् भागान् कुट्टयित्वा विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 यथाविधिप्रकारेण चालनं दापयेत् सुधीः ॥
 बुद्धिमान् मौजनं ज्ञात्वा उद्धरेत् विधिवत् सुरां ।
 एतत्पदं पिवेन्नित्यं यथा धातुबलक्रमात् ॥

इति शुक्राचार्यविनिर्मिता मृतसञ्जीवनी सुरा ॥ ० ॥

expressive names were current in the country at one time to indicate the disease. One of them means “wine horror” *madátanka*, another “wine disease” *madátyaya*, a third “wine complaint” *madavyádhi*, &c. The descriptions of the disease, as given in Sanskrit medical works, are detailed and precise, discriminating carefully between the illness caused by excess, and that by sudden abstinence after a protracted over-indulgence. These names and descriptions could not have come to existence, had there not been immoderate drinking in many instances to give rise to the complaint.

There is another indication in medical works which is worthy of note ; it is the multiplicity of receipts for removing the odour of wine from the mouth. None but the rich or well-to-do could have required such prescriptions to guard against the accusation of having taken wine, and the existence of the recipes implies the existence of a class of men who were addicted to drinking, and yet wished to pass among their neighbours for teetotallers.

Of fermented beverages, which were drunk without previous distillation, four kinds are mentioned, *viz.* cocoa toddy, palm toddy, date toddy, and the soma nectar. The first was known only to those who inhabited the sea coasts, where alone the tree which yielded it, is met with. The acetous fermentation in its case was so rapid, that transmission of the liquor from one part of the country to another was out of the question, and none but those who lived in the neighbourhood of the tree could drink the juice in a vinous state. The date and the palm toddies suffered in the same way, and were unfit for transmission to distant places ; but the trees which yielded them were common almost all over India, and so they were more easily accessible, and more widely known. But they never seem to have attained any great popularity. The soma nectar was likewise open to this objection ; for it, too, had no keeping quality, and, for aught we know, was never manufactured for sale ; but it was associated with the earliest history of the Aryans, even before they separated from the ancient Persians, and enjoyed the proud pre-eminence of a god as long as Vedic rites governed the conscience of the people. The Rig Veda Sañhitá is most lavish in its praise, and all the four Vedas furnish innumerable mantras for repetition at every stage of its manufacture, and from the moment a resolution was made to commence one of the rites at which it was to be used (and all the principal rites such as the Dars’a, Paurṇamása, Jyotishtóma, Ukthya, Shodas’imán, Vájapeya, Atirátra, Aptaryáma, &c., could not be celebrated without it), nothing could be done without appropriate mantras, and the ritual throughout was most complicated and tedious. It would be foreign to the object of this paper to describe in any detail the several steps in the manufacture of the beverage ; suffice it to say that it was made with the expressed juice of a creeper (*Asclepias acida*, or *Sarcostema viminalis*), diluted with water, mixed with barley meal, clarified butter, and the meal of wild paddy (*nivára*), and fermented in a

jar for nine days.* The juice of the creeper is said to be of an acid taste, but I have not heard that it has any narcotic property ; I am disposed to think, therefore, that the starch of the two kinds of meal supplied the material for the vinous fermentation, or, in other words, played the part of malt, and the soma juice served to promote vinous fermentation, flavour the beverage, and check acetous decomposition, in the same way that hop does in beer. Anyhow, it may be concluded that a beverage prepared by the vinous fermentation of barley meal, should have strong intoxicating effects, and it is not remarkable, therefore, that the Vedas should frequently refer to the exhilaration produced by its use in men and gods. The addresses to Indra, Agni, Mitra, and other gods in the Rig Veda are full of allusions to exhilaration caused by the use of the soma. “The sacred prayer, desiring your presence, offers to you both, INDRA and AGNI, for your exhilaration, the *Soma* libation. Beholders of all things, seated at this sacrifice upon the sacred grass, be exhilarated by drinking of the effused libation.” (I. 7. xxvii. 4, 5.) Other quotations on this subject may be easily multiplied, but they are not needed. Suffice it to say that the object of drinking the soma is expressly stated to be intoxication: *madáya arvenēhi somakámam tváhe rayam sutastasya puá madáya* ; and Indra drinks it in such large quantities, that his belly becomes enormously distended. *Uruvya chájaṭhara ávrishasva*. As regards men, its effects are described as equally exhilarating and inebriating. A story occurs in the Black Yajur Veda in which a sage, Vis’varupa by name, son of Tvasṭu, while engaged at a soma sacrifice, is said to have indulged so inordinately in the exhilarating beverage as to have vomited on the animals brought before him for immolation. For this, however, no proof is wanted, for the effect of soma on the gods could have been only assumed by a knowledge of what it was on the worshippers.

The soma beer lasted for several days after its nine days’ fermentation. In some of the rites it certainly lasted for twelve days, but how much longer I cannot ascertain. It is certain, however, that it could not be kept sound for any great length of time, without distillation, and in a distilled spirit the soma would be of no use. Accordingly, we find that no soma juice was used when arrack was distilled from fermented meal. The liquor, thus prepared, was, as already stated above, called *surá*, and it was used as an article of offering to the gods in two important rites, namely, the *Sautrámani* and the *Vajapeya*. The mode of preparing it is described in the canons of Baudháya and Kátyáyana. They recommend three articles, *viz.*, sprouting paddy, the sprout brought on by steeping paddy in water very much in the same

* Stevenson’s *Sáma Veda*, p. 5. and Haug’s *Aitareya Bráhmaṇa*, I. p. 6. Manning’s *Ancient India*, I., p. 86. For the mantras used in the course of preparing the soma beverage vide, *Taittiriya Saṁhitá*, Káṇḍa I. Prapáṭhákas II. III. IV., and Káṇḍa VI. Pt. I. to IV. The *Kalpa Sūtras* and the *Soma prayogas* supply the details.

way as malt is produced, slightly parched barley steeped in curds and diluted butter milk, and coarse powder of the same steeped in whey. After proper fermentation, this was distilled in the usual way, and the liquor produced was poured in oblations on the sacred fire in lieu of the soma beer. The *Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa* supplies a number of mantras for the preparation of the liquor, but I can nowhere find any description of the still in which the distillation was effected. Kátyáyana recommends that the different articles required for the manufacture of the liquor should be obtained by barter, and not by purchase with coins. In the Sautrámani rite, the offering of the liquor should be preceded by the immolation of three animals, a bull being one of them. The worshippers were required to partake of the remnant of the offerings, as the ceremony would be incomplete without the repast.



On the History of Pegu.—By Major-General SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE,
K. C. S. I., C. B.

The chief authority which has been followed in this sketch of the history of Pegu, is a narrative written in the Taláing, or Mun, language by Tsha-yá-dán A-thwá, a Buddhist monk. It was derived from ancient records and traditions, and was translated into Burmese by Máung Shwé Kyá, a learned Taláing. The chronology of the narrative is very confused, though the most important date, that of the foundation of the city of Pegu, is correctly stated. Neither the author nor the translator, however, has attempted to correct the manifest errors which exist. In this paper, the dates of the more prominent events in early times have been rectified by me from contemporary Burmese history; and in later times, from the accounts of European travellers. The few particulars which can be gathered regarding the history of Tha-htun, the most ancient city on the coast of Pegu, have been placed at my disposal by Mr. St. Andrew St. John, Assistant-Commissioner in British Burma. They were derived from MSS. in his possession. I have also had the advantage of consulting an essay in the Burmese language, on the same subject written by Máung Byan, a Taláing gentleman of ancient family. This was procured for me by Colonel D. Brown, Commissioner in Tenasserim. I have read what has been written on the ancient history of Pegu by the Reverend Dr. Mason, in his excellent work on Burma; and have consulted the Gazetteer of Pegu, edited by Major M. Lloyd, Deputy Commissioner. The notices of events in Burma and Pegu by the old Portuguese voyagers, as narrated in the lucid general summary by Mr. Talboys Wheeler, and the valuable edition of the travels of Nicolo Conti in the early

part of the fifteenth century, by Mr. R. H. Major, together with other travels by Europeans, in that and the following century, have been used to correct, or to confirm, the statements in the native annals.

The country now called Pegu, or as written by the natives Bagó and Pégu, consisted in ancient times of the delta of the E-rá-wa-ti, and the land in the lower courses of the rivers Sit-táung and Thán-lwin (Salwin). At different times the coast as far south as the Tenasserim River has been subject to the monarchy; while to the north the limits of the kingdom varied according to the power of the kings to defend their territory from the Burmese. The northern boundary on the Eráwati River, may as a general rule be fixed at A-káuk Táung, about thirty miles below the town of Prome. In remote times, and long before the foundation of the city of Pegu, from which the name of the whole country was afterwards derived, the sea coast from the mouth of the Pa-thin (Bassein) River, near Cape Negrais, to the mouth of the Thán-lwin, (Salwin) was known as Rá-ma-nya, or the country of Ráma. This shows an Indian influence.* The classic name for the town of Maulamyaing (Moulmein) is still Rámapura, though this may have been transferred to it from a city once existing near the present Rangun. The country of Pegu was afterwards called Hán-thá-wa-ti, which is still the classic name, and the origin and meaning of which will presently appear. The etymology of the word Maulamyaing, which is the Burmese form of the Taláing name Mut-mwa-lem, signifies "one-eye-destroyed;" the tradition being that it was founded by a king having a third eye in the centre of his forehead, which was destroyed by the machination of a woman. This story, as Dr. Mason observes, suggests the legend of Siva. And though this appears at first sight to clash with the classic name Rámapura, yet from the history of Pegu, it is evident that during successive periods, the country participated in the religious revolutions of the Budhists and various Hindu sects, through which the neighbouring coast of India passed.

The earliest notice of Rámanya which can be accepted as historical is derived from a Buddhist source, the Mahávanso of Ceylon. Therein is recorded the deputation of the great missionaries, Sono and Uttaro, (Thauna and Uttara), by the third Buddhist synod, held at Pataliput, B. C. 241. They were sent to the country called Suvana bhumi, (Thumanna bhumi), or "golden land," to preach the great reform determined on by the synod. The name given to the country was the Pali designation of the portion of Rámanya of which Tha-htun was the capital. The ruins of Tha-htun still exist on a small stream about ten miles from the seashore, and forty-four miles travelling distance N. N. W. from Martaban (Muttama). The city appears to have been laid out on the general plan of ancient Indian cities,

* The island of Ramri, or more properly Ram-byi (country of Ráma), shows the same influence.

and which has been followed in the modern capital of Burma. The ground plan of the outer rampart is a square or oblong, within which is an open space of about a hundred and fifty feet, and then a second but lower wall or rampart, and moat. The east and west inner walls are each 7700 feet long; while those on the north and south are about 4000 feet each, enclosing a space of about seven hundred acres. The angles, however, are not exact right angles. In the centre of the city is the fortified royal citadel, measuring from north to south 1080 feet, and from east to west 1150 feet. This was for the defence of the palace, the "throne room" being, as is now the case at the Burmese capital, nearly the central point of the city. There are two gates, or spaces for entrance, in the northern and southern faces of the rampart, but it is impossible to say how many on the eastern and western. Such is the description given by Mr. St. John of the present appearance of Tha-htun. The position of the city with reference to the approach from sea, is now not suitable for a port. But there is strong probability that a gradual rise of the land, including all the adjoining gulf of Martaban, has been going on for several centuries, which has destroyed the port. With this change of level it is probable that the influx of tide, called "the bore," is now more violent near the mouth of the river Thit-taung (Sittang), than it was two thousand years ago.

The traditions as well as the scanty historical notices which remain regarding Tha-htun, show that it was founded by Indian colonists. One tradition is, that the original colonists came from Thu-binga in the country of Ka-ra-náka, or Karanatta. By some this is made to refer to the founding of Maulamyang. It may, however, be accepted as certain that people from what is now called the Coromandel Coast, established at an early period, possibly a thousand years before the Christian era, one or more trading stations on the coast of Pegu. That Tha-htun had risen to some importance as a city in the third century before Christ, is shown from its having had allotted to it missionaries at a synod held under the influence of the Buddhist Constantine Asoka. The name Suvarnabhumi, or "golden land," by which the country was then known in India, probably refers to gold being exported in great quantity from the emporium. Gold, no doubt, was brought from Yunan down the Eráwati River at a very early period. It continued to be an article of commerce from the same country until within the last sixteen or eighteen years, since which the trade has been interrupted.* There is also an old gold "diggings" about a hundred and twenty miles distant from Tha-htun on the Paung-laung or Sit-taung River. The town is still

* In a note on the metals of Burma by Dr. T. Oldham, published in Yule's *Mission to Ava*, it is stated on good authority, that the annual amount of gold brought from China (Yunan) overland to Ava for some years before 1855 was 1100 lbs. weight. In one year, 1800 lbs. weight was imported.

called in Burmese *Shwégyin*, or “gold sifting place.” Gold is indeed still found there, but not in sufficient quantity to be remunerative, except to very poor people. These facts appear to explain satisfactorily the classic name of the country. The name Tha-htun is derived from vernacular words having the same signification.

One of the early Buddhist legends referred to by the native historians is to be found recorded in books still existing in the monasteries of Ceylon.* Two merchants from Thuwanna bhumi, named Tapassu and Bhallaka, had gone on a trading expedition to Northern India. On returning with their waggons of merchandize to reach the sea coast, they passed through Magadha, where Budha was absorbed in meditation and in the seventh week of his fasting, in the Kiripalu forest. The merchants made an offering of honey to Budha, who, at their request, bestowed on them eight hairs of his head as relics. These they brought to their own country, which are now believed to be enshrined in the Shwé Dagon pagoda at Rangun. This legend may be accepted as showing that at an early period, the Indian merchants of Suvarrabhumi traded to Upper India, and were considered a community of sufficient importance to have attributed to two of their body the honour of a personal interview with Budha. At a later period, the commercial importance of Suvarnabhumi is shown from the emporium Subara appearing in Ptolemy's list of places on this coast, as has been pointed out by Colonel Yule.

Concerning the first building of Tha-htun, it is related that before Gautama appeared, there reigned a certain king Ti-tha, in the city of Thu-bin-na (or Thu-bin-ga), in the country of Karanaka. He had two sons Tí-tha Kummá and Dzá-ya Kummá. The young princes determined to abandon the world and become hermits. They, therefore, left their home, and went to dwell on separate mountains, near the seaside, described as being not far from the future site of the city of Tha-htun. The whole country was then forest. Once when walking on the seashore, the brother hermits found two eggs, which had been deposited and abandoned by a female dragon, who came up out of the sea. The hermits carried away the eggs, from which in due time issued forth two male children. The hermits brought up the boys, one of whom died at ten years of age; but being born again in Mit-ti-la, about the time of the appearance of the lord Gau-ta-ma, became, while yet a child, one of his disciples. The boy, produced from the egg taken by the elder hermit, lived in the forest until he was seventeen years of age, when by the help of Tha-kya,† he built the city of Thuwanna-bhumi, called also Tha-htun, and reigned with the title of Thiha Rá-dzá. By the intercession of him who, in a former birth, had been his younger brother, but had now risen

* See Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, page 182.

† Sekra, the chief of the second dewaloka, or heavenly region, answering to Indra in Hindu mythology.

to a Rahánda, the lord Gautama himself came through the air and visited Tha-htun. This was thirty-seven years before he entered Nirvána. The country is spoken of reproachfully as a land where fishermen and hunters abound, these being callings opposed to the tenets of Buddhism. But the king and the people of the city listen to the preaching of Budha, and the future greatness of the country is predicted. But though the people immediately around the city were well disposed, those at a distance were savage and resentful. It is related how the great teacher, attempting to land near the mouth of the Than-lwin river, was stoned by the Bhí-lús and evil Náts who dwelt there. In these words is shadowed forth the rejection of Buddhist doctrine by the native inhabitants, who afterwards became distinguished for their religious zeal.

From this time the historians of Tha-htun profess to have a list of all the kings who reigned in Thuwanna bhumi, distinct from the kings of Pegu. It is now impossible to decide how much of this list is historical and how much fictitious, until near the time of the destruction of the monarchy in the eleventh century of the Christian era. Tha-htun was then taken and destroyed by Anaurahtá, king of Pu-gán; and the king Manú-ha, with his whole family, the nobles, monks, artificers, mechanics, and skilled workmen of every description, were carried away captive. There are the names of fifty-nine kings in the list, who are said to have reigned for sixteen hundred and eighty-three years. The events of their reigns are discreetly veiled under the obscure phraseology of metrical lines. By the chronology it seems to be intended that the reign of the son of the first king Thi-ha Rádzá, commenced in the year that Gautama attained Nirvána. Taking this as a starting point and accepting the Burmese era of religion as commencing 543 B. C., then, as Thi-ha Rádzá is said to have reigned sixty years, we find the year 603 B. C. as the commencement of the monarchy. This would give the year 1080 A.D. as the year of its destruction by Anaurahtá. The time thus deduced for the latter event does not differ very much, considering all things, from the Burmese account. Anaurahtá, according to the Mahá Rádzáweng, ascended the throne of Pugán in the year 1017, A. D., and reigned forty-two years. Within that period therefore he captured Tha-htun. The list of the kings as given in the native chronicles is added. But it is not considered to have any historical value, except as a generally correct representation of the existence of the monarchy, and its destruction with the city, about the period stated, by the Burmese king.

Among the few facts recorded in the native annals of Tha-htun which need be mentioned here, is the arrival of the great missionaries Thauna and Uttara, which is put down as having occurred in the year 223 of religion, being 320 B. C., instead of the true date 241 B. C. On their arrival, they and their disciples were denounced by the existing teachers as bhíl-ús,

or monsters, the name here bestowed upon heretics and scoffers. They were violently opposed and beaten with sticks. But the mild demeanour of the Rahándas gradually made their authority prevail. The people were won over to believe them, and new-born children were named after them. The pagodas which had long been neglected and round which jungle had grown up, were repaired. Pleasant gardens were now planted for the resort of the religious, and the reformed doctrines were triumphant.

The only other event of importance which is mentioned in the history of Tha-htun is the introduction of the Pi-ta-kát, or books of the Buddhist scriptures, by Budhaghosa. This event, so important to all the Indo-Chinese nations, is noticed by the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet in his valuable "Life or Legend of Gautama," and the date therein ascribed to it, from Talaing or Burmese authority, is A. D. 400. Up to a recent period, the histories written by Taláings or Burmans represented Budhaghosa as a great Rahán of Tha-htun, who went to Ceylon, and brought from thence the sacred books to his native land. This statement has, however, been corrected in the latest edition of the Burmese national history (*Mahá Rádzáweng*), which was written, or revised, in the palace at Amarapura about forty years ago. The story of Budhaghosa is therein correctly told, and has apparently been derived from the *Mahávanso* of Ceylon. The date assigned for Budhaghosa's voyage to Tha-htun is A. D. 403.* Even the Taláing writers, long jealous for the honour of their country, seem now to acknowledge their error as to the birthplace of their great teacher. In a late paper by a learned Talaing which I have perused, it is acknowledged that there are two accounts regarding Budhaghosa; and it is only argued that in returning from Ceylon to the continent of India, he may have come by ship to Tha-htun, and revived by his presence the drooping flower, religion. That Tha-htun was his native place, seems to be silently abandoned.

All that can be gathered of the early history of Tha-htun has now been noticed. The only explanation which can be offered for the entire absence of trustworthy ancient documents, and the want of details with any historic value, is the ruthless destruction of everything by Anaurahtá, king of Burma, in the eleventh century of the Christian era.† All that was moveable and worth removing, was then carried away to Pugán, and though Tha-htun still remained as a port, to which perhaps a few foreign ships resorted, the bulk of the trade passed to the city of Pegu; or was two or three centuries later established at Mut-ta-ma (Martaban).

* In Max Müller's introduction to Captain Rogers' parables of Buddhaghosa, the period between A. D. 410 and 432 is stated as being that of the literary activity of the great teacher in Ceylon.

† See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1868, on 'History of the Burma race.'

It is now time to turn to the history of Pegu. This country became known to Europeans in the fifteenth century when it was a powerful kingdom. Afterwards it long existed as a mere "geographical expression," but under other influences is once more rising to commercial greatness.

Concerning the foundation of the city of Pegu the legends relate that at the time when the lord Gautama came through the air, attended by thousands of Rahándas to visit the king of Tha-htun, the sea flowed over the whole of the low country, now occupied by Rangun and Pegu. After preaching to the king and people of Tha-htun, Budha returned through the air to go to the middle land. When passing over the sea, a small sandbank appeared, which rose above the surface of the water, shining like a silver islet; and there the lord beheld a pair of golden *hásas*.* He then predicted that hereafter a great city and country would arise in that spot; for wherever golden *hásas* resort, to feed and enjoy themselves, happiness and a great future are sure to follow in the land. The country, it was predicted, was to be called 'Hantháwati.' These birds were supposed to live on a beautiful lake in the midst of the Himálaya, which region was, in the imaginations of the tropic-dwelling Taláings, invested with the grandeur of immensity, not unmixed with gloom. There all kinds of lotus flowers of various colours rested on the water, amidst which, never disturbed by man, the birds slept at night, and came to their far off feeding place in the morning.

Now it so happened, according to the divine prediction, more than nine hundred years after the lord had entered Nirvána, that the silvery sandbank

* The *hán*sa, or *hent*ha, is still the sacred bird of Pegu. Much discussion has arisen as to its identity. It is not a native bird of the country. The Burmese and Taláings refer to the Himálaya region as its home, and while supposing it to be a superior order of wild duck or goose, describe it in such glowing but unscientific terms, that an ornithologist would be puzzled how to classify it. Spence Hardy in his "Manual of Buddhism," when mentioning *hásas* as inhabiting the Himálaya according to the Buddhist geography, observes: "This is regarded as the king of birds, and by Europeans is generally supposed to be the golden winged swan." Colonel Yule, in his narrative of the Mission to Ava in 1855, suggests that it may be "a mythicised swan." Mr. T. T. Cooper in his book of enterprising travel to the frontier of Eastern Tibet has the following passage, which may be accepted as indicating the bird referred to in the legend. "The large yellow wild duck is met with on all the Thibetan streams and mountain pools at a great elevation. These ducks were precisely similar to the brahmini ducks of the upper waters of the Brahmaputra. I was anxious to secure a specimen and fired at the first I saw, but luckily missed, for a Lama who was with us, rushed up in great consternation. The yellow ducks were sacred to the grand Lama, and to kill one would be a great crime, even to have fired at the sacred bird was an offence." These birds are represented in the "boat scene" of Sakya's death, carved in bas-relief at Sanchi (See Cunningham's Bhilsa topes, Plate XI.) One of them represents a former existence of Gautama's, and probably also of the future Budha Arimateya.

had risen up, so as to be plainly visible above the surface of the sea. A foreign ship which came from the city of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran, had been on a trading voyage to Tha-htun, and in returning passed near the sandbank. The tide was falling and the sailors saw a number of golden *hánthas* feeding and disporting themselves after their kind. One pair was conspicuous above the rest. The sailors looked and wondered. When they reached their own country, they related what they had seen. Their story reached the king Ban-du-rá-reng. The king's teacher being a man of learning, well read in the scriptures, knew that the lord Gautama had been to that country, and that what had been seen by the sailors was an omen of its future greatness. By his advice, the king determined to secure for his descendants the spot where the *hánthas* had been seen. He, therefore, had a stone pillar engraved with his name and title. This was conveyed in a ship to the spot, and deposited in the sea, close to the silvery sandbank. After this, when one hundred and sixty years had passed, the silvery sandbank had risen much higher and become firm land. King Banduráreng had passed away, and his grandson Ku-wá-tha Ná-reng now reigned. He knowing all that had occurred, sent a ship under a wise man of high rank to make search for the stone pillar deposited by his grandfather, and so to prove his right to the land.

Now at this time A-din-na Rádzá was king of Tha-htun. He was jealous for religion, and had succeeded his father Thin-na-geng-ga to the exclusion of two half-brothers, whose succession had been favoured by his father during his lifetime. The story of their birth is thus told. On the sea-shore, far from the habitations of men, a female dragon came and laid an egg. A hermit who dwelt in a cave hard by, found the egg and took it to his home. In seven days a female child was produced from the egg, who was brought up by the hermit. When grown up, she was married to king Thin-na-geng-ga, and raised to the rank of chief queen. She gave birth to two sons, who were named Thamala and Wimala. The queen, notwithstanding her beauty and the high favour of the king, was always an object of aversion among the nobles of the court, though it was not then known that she was of the Nága or dragon race. This was discovered by the sagacity of the king's teacher, and she then died suddenly in a very mysterious manner. Her two sons were sent away to the hermit, who was called their grandfather, and who brought them up in the forest. On the death of their father, another son of his, called A-din-na Rádzá, succeeded to the throne. The two young princes, by the advice of the hermit, determined to build a city for themselves to the west, on the land where the hermit knew the golden *hásas* used to feed, and where the lord Gautama had predicted that a great city would arise. They, therefore, collected one hundred and seventy families from the country of Tha-htun, and embarked them on bamboo rafts, ten families on

each. They floated down the stream on the banks of which the rafts had been made, and after many perils, reached the spot where the city Han-thá-wa-ti was to be built. Some people who dwelt on the west side of the river, numbering in all three hundred and thirty families, now joined the two princes, who thus had with them in all five hundred families. When they were considering how to lay out the city, they were suddenly joined by two venerable men, who were Tha-kyá Meng (Sekra, or Indra), and an attendant *deva*. They appeared in the guise of carpenters, with instruments, measures, and ropes, and offered to help the princes. This offer was accepted with joy; but when they were about to measure the ground, the nobleman who had been sent by the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran appeared with his followers, and claimed the ground for his master. The two princes replied saying, "You are foreigners, you have no right to our native land." The nobleman answered that when thirteen fathoms of water existed over the spot, an ironstone pillar, with the name, title, and seal of the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran had been placed there. The disguised Tha-kyá Meng now replied for the princes that a golden pillar had been placed in that spot before the stone-pillar had been deposited, on which their names were inscribed, and it would be found deeper down than the other. It was argued, therefore, to dig for the pillars, and the right to the land was to be determined by the ownership of the older pillar. Now Tha-kyá Meng foresaw by his superior sagacity that, if western foreigners were to be supreme in this land, false heretical opinions would arise; whereas the divine prediction was, that true religion was to be built up; the *bidagát* (*pitakattaya*) was to be recited and revered, and holy relics were to be worshipped. He, therefore, created a golden pillar, on which were inscribed the names of former kings of Tha-htun, and by his power it was conveyed under ground ten fathoms beneath the stone pillar of the Kulás (western foreigners). So when they assembled to dig, and the Kulás had found their stone pillar, Tha-kyá Meng said, "Yours is true, but it was placed after ours, which is deeper down, and by which our claim will be proved." The Kulás replied, "If you have an inscribed pillar beneath ours, we will acknowledge ourselves defeated." Then they dug down, and lo! at ten fathoms depth was found a golden pillar, with a date more ancient than that on the stone pillar. The Kulás then acknowledged themselves defeated, and went away taking their stone pillar with them. The spot where the golden pillar was found, being the place where the golden *hánsas* fed, was made the centre from which the city was marked out. Tha-kyá Meng measured the ground with a rope on which pearls were strung, so that the land might be sacred, and set apart for ever, free from the rule and ownership of foreigners, or any but its own princes. The golden pillar was moved a little to the south, and a pagoda was then built within which it was enshrined, and in memory of the defeat of the

foreigners it was called, in the Mun language, Kyaik-tsa-né, and in Burmese Ranaung-myin-phrá.* The city was founded in the year of the lord's Nirvána 1116, being equivalent to A. D. 573. Thá-ma-la Kummá, the elder of the two brothers, was now consecrated king.

In the story of the foundation of the city of Pegu, and the events which led to it, we appear to have the legendary version of the struggle for ascendancy between Brahman and Buddhist. This struggle was still going on in parts of Southern India in the sixth century of the Christian era, and it would no doubt be extended to the colonies and settlements on the coast of Rámanya. The kings of Tha-htun and the principal citizens were of Indian descent, and they probably participated in the changes which were going on in the parent country. The foundation of Pegu, by emigrants of Tha-htun, tells both of a dynastic and perhaps a religious quarrel. The Buddhist party eventually successful, represent the founders of Pegu as being of their faith, and their opponents as heretics and foreigners, though the latter reproach was probably the feeling of a later period. One cause of the separation for Tha-htun appears to have been the Nága, dragon or snake, worship, which, as has been shown by Mr. Fergusson in his learned work, extensively prevailed about this time in India; and the founders of Pegu are stated to have been of Nága descent or, in other words, had added snake worship to the reverence, which, by the precepts of Buddhism, should be shown only to the memory or relics of Budha. If this be so, the reform in their worship was made, as was the case in Burma, at a later period. From tradition and such scanty historical notices as have survived, we are led to look to the east coast of India, and especially to the country in the lower courses of the rivers Kistna and Godávarí, with the adjoining districts, in other words ancient Kalinga and Talingána, as the countries which at a very early period traded with and colonized the coast of Pegu. The people of Pegu are known to the Burmese, to the Indians, and thence to Europeans, by the name Taláing. This word is derived from Talingána, and the name which was strictly applicable only to the foreign settlers, has in the course of time become applied to the whole people. As has already been stated, they call themselves Mon, Mun, or Mwun, a word which will hereafter be considered. The names given in the histories of Tha-htun and Pegu to the first kings of those cities are Indian; but they cannot be accepted as being historically true. The countries from which the kings are said to have derived their origin are Karannáka, Kalinga, Thubinga, and Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran. These may be recognised as Karnáta, Kalinga, Venga, and Vizianagaram, on the south-eastern coast of India. The last has, in after times, probably

* The classic name of the city Hen-thá-wa-ti, or Han-sá-wa-ti, has already been explained. The common name, Pegu or Ba-go, is said to mean in the Mun language "conquered by stratagem," alluding to the incident above related.

been mistaken for the more famous Vijayanagar, the modern city on the Tambudra river. The word Talingána never occurs in the Peguan histories, but only the more ancient name Kalinga. The names of the more prominent kings of Tha-htun and Pegu, all occur in Indian lists, and have probably been selected as pertaining to orthodox Budhists, or as being famous in early legend. Thus king Tiktha, Ti-tha, or Tissa, of Karannáka, whose sons are represented as first coming to Tha-htun, is probably the name of Asoka's brother Tishya. The name frequently occurs among the early Buddhist-kings of Ceylon. The elder son is called after his father with the affix Kummá; while the name of the younger Dzá-ya, is apparently Ja-ya Sinha, the founder of the Chalukya race in Talingána, whom Sir Walter Elliot* supposes to have lived in the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era, and Mr. Fergusson about a century later. The eastern branch of this line reigned in Vengidesa, which comprised the districts between the Godávarí and the Kistna, below the Gháts, and eventually fixed their capital at Rájamahendri. In the history of Tha-htun, though the two sons of king Tiktha become hermits, they adopt two sons, one of whom builds the city of Tha-htun, and reigns there under the title of Thi-ha Rádzá. This name is probably derived from that of Raja Sinha, the posthumous son of Jaya Sinha above mentioned, who succeeded after a struggle to his father's power, and whose birth and alliance by marriage with his enemies the Pallavas, the possessors of the country south of the Nārbadá, are reproduced at Tha-htun in the dubious birth of Thi-há Rádzá from a dragon's egg, though he is brought up by the hermit Dzá-ya. The kings of the Chalukya dynasty who reigned for about five centuries, were of lunar race, and apparently worshippers of Vishnu.† The establishment of this family caused the flight and exile of numbers of Budhists, or quasi-Budhists, from the districts on the sea-coast of Talingána. On this point Sir Walter Elliot has made the following remarks in a communication with which he has favoured me. "There is no doubt, the intercourse between the east coast of India, and the whole of the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca, was far greater in former times than at present. It had attained its height at the time that the Budhists were in the ascendant, that is, during the first five

* See Numismatie Gleanings, Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XX, Also, Indian Chronology, by J. Fergusson, Journal R. A. Society, 1869.

† The coins of these kings were stampd with the figure of a boar, and thence came to be called 'varáha mudra.' A large number of gold coins bearing this device, and with characters pronounced by Sir Walter Elliot to be an ancient form of Telugu, were found some years ago on the Island of Cheduba, on the coast of Arakan. They were probably of the fifth century. They were found not far from the sea shore disposed as if hidden by persons wrecked on the coast, or otherwise landing suddenly. They were not at all worn by usage. One of these coins was figured and described by Captain T. Latter, in Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XV., p. 240.

“or six centuries of our era. The first great Buddhist persecution both checked it and also drove great numbers of the victims to the opposite coast. The Tamil and Telugu local histories and traditions are full of such narratives. When the Chalukya prince, brother of the king of Kalyán, was founding a new kingdom at Rájamahendri, which involved the rooting out and dispersion of the pre-existing rulers, nothing is more probable than that some of the fugitives should have found their way to Pegu. One Tamil MS. refers to a party of Buddhist exiles, headed by a king of Mandu, flying in their ships from the coast.”

The building of the city of Pegu in A.D. 573, by emigrants from Thahtun under the princes Tha-ma-la and Wi-ma-la, together with the attempted occupation of the site by the representatives of the king of Bij-já-ná-garan, have already been related and commented on. There appears no reason for doubting the general facts of the narrative ; and it may be admitted that the princes and people of Indian descent in Rámanya, while having causes for dissension among themselves, may have resisted the attempted establishment of a new dynasty from Talingána. But as has already been observed as regards the names of the early kings of Thahtun, so the names of the actors in the scenes at Pegu, have probably been taken in after times from the chronicles of Talingána, or even of the modern state of Vijayanagar. The name Vimála occurs in the list of kings of the latter state so late as A. D. 1158. I have not found the name Thamala, but the term Malla as a surname occurs constantly among the Chalukya kings of the western line, commencing with Yuddha Malla in A. D. 680.

The early establishment of a colony, or city for trade, on the coast of Rámanya by settlers from Talingána, satisfactorily accounts for the name Taláing, by which the people of Pegu are known to the Burmese and to all peoples of the west. But the Peguans call themselves by a different name. It remains then to be inquired whether we can trace from what race they are descended ; whether, like the peoples around them—the Burmese, the Siamese, and the Karens—they belong to the Indo-Chinese family, a branch of the Mongoloids of Huxley, or come from another stock.

The people of Pegu, as has already been stated, call themselves Mun, Mwun, or Mon. Their original language has almost disappeared. It is probable that there are not now one hundred families in Pegu proper, in which it is spoken as their vernacular tongue. In the province of Martaban, however, including a part of Maulamyaing, there are thousands who still speak the Mun language only. These are chiefly the descendants of emigrants who left Pegu in 1826, when the British army retired and occupied the Tenasserim territory. The Burmese, since the conquest of Pegu by Alompra (Alaung Phrá) in 1757-58, had strongly discouraged the use of the Mun language. After the war with the British, the language of the people

who had welcomed the invader, was furiously proscribed. It was forbidden to be taught in the Buddhist monasteries or elsewhere. The result has been that in little more than a century, the language of about a million of people has become extinct.*

In physical appearance, the Mun people are scarcely distinguishable from the Burmese. They are, however, shorter and stouter, and notwithstanding their more southern position, are generally lighter in complexion than Burmese of the same class. Indeed the higher classes of the Muns, and those whose callings in cities and towns do not involve much exposure to the sun, are much fairer than those of the same classes in upper Burma. This may be partly attributable to the large admixture of Shan blood from Zimmé and the adjoining states, which occurred at a comparatively late period of their history. But there are also climatic causes. For about six months of the year, the sky of Pegu is more or less obscured with clouds; and the habit of carrying umbrellas as a protection against sun and rain is much more common with the Taláings than among the Burmese. But the question of complexion among many Indo-Chinese tribes is certainly perplexing. Some of the Karen tribes in the mountains, especially the younger people, are not darker than southern Europeans; while those settled in the delta of the Eráwati, are much the same in that respect as the Mun people among whom they dwell. While then the physical characteristics of the Mun would lead us to class them with the Indo-Chinese around them, their language points to a different conclusion. I believe this peculiarity was first brought to notice by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Missionary to the Karen people. That learned man has, in his work on Burma, pointed out the remarkable similarity between the language of the Mun of Pegu, and that of the Horo or Mundá people of Chutiá Nágpúr, called the Kols. The first syllable of the word Mundá, which is used, as I understand, to designate the language of several tribes in the western highlands of Bengal, rather than as a tribal name, is identical in sound with the race name of the people of Pegu. The connection of the two peoples as shown by the similarity of their languages in a series of test words, has been commented on by the Honourable Mr. Campbell in a paper on the Races of India in the Journal of the Ethnological Society. We appear then to be forced to the conclusion, that the Mun or Taláing people of Pegu, are of the same stock as the Kols, and other

* There are, however, some thousands of the Mun people in Siam, who emigrated there towards the end of the 18th and in the early part of the 19th centuries, to escape the cruel rule of the Burmese. Descendants of Mun colonists from Tha-h-tun were heard of by Dr. Richardson, in April 1837, as being located on the northern frontier of the Karenni country. They were said to have been originally placed there by king Naurah-tá, being a part of his captives. It would be interesting to know if their language remains unaltered.

aboriginal tribes of India, who may have occupied that country before even the Dravidians entered it. Csoma de Kőros, in his Tibetan Dictionary, defines Mon as a general name for the hill people between the plains of India and Tibet. Assuming that a people having that name, once inhabited the eastern Himálaya region, and migrated to the south, we have now no means of tracing whether the Mun of Pegu came direct down the course of the Eráwati, or parting from their kinsmen the Kolarian tribes in the lower course of the Ganges or Brahmaputra, came through Arakan to their present seat. There appear now to be no indications of their presence, either in Arakan or in the country of the Upper Eráwati; though more careful inquiry into the languages of some of the wild hill tribes, between Arakan and Manipúr, might possibly show their track. The Dravidians of Talingána, who beyond all doubt came by sea to the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, probably a thousand years before the Christian era, found the Mun rude savages, who even some five centuries later, are called *bhilús*, or ogres. Yet the Dravidian colonists have been merged into the mass of that wild race. Their name indeed remains in the word Taláing, but it is known only to foreigners, and is not acknowledged in the language of the people. Though the alphabet used by the Mun is derived from an Indian source, through the Dravidians, there is probably little or no trace of the language of that race in the Mun tongue.

The city of Pegu having been founded, the historians of the Mun people thenceforth make it the centre round which the fortune of their race revolves. Thamala was consecrated king by the solemn ceremony of *bithé-ka*, or water poured on the body, and assumed the title of Mahimu Thamala Kummára. This king is stated to have built the city of Mutamau (Mutama, or Martaban), three years after the foundation of Pegu; and he founded other cities in the territory he reigned over. But after a reign of twelve years, his younger brother Wimala conspired against him and put him to death. Thamala left a son who then was seven years old. He was concealed by his mother and sent to a wild district in the hills, east of the Tsit-táung River, where he was brought up amidst a herd of wild buffaloes.

Wimala was consecrated king. In the third year of his reign, he built the city of Tsit-taung (Sittang). After he had reigned five years, in the year 590, A. D., the king of Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran sent an army with seven ships, and a champion seven cubits high, to conquer Han-thá-wa-ti. It was agreed that the quarrel should be decided by a fight between two champions. The whole country was searched, but king Wimala and his nobles could find no one to meet the Kulá giant. At length appeared the lost prince, the son of Thamala, who now was sixteen years old. He fought and slew the giant. His uncle now offered to abdicate the throne; but he would not consent to reign, and again retired to the forest, east of the Tsit-táung River. There

he built the city of Ka-thá in the mountains. King Wimala died not long after, and the young prince then became king with the title of Kathá Kum-má. His reign was prosperous, but lasted only for seven years. Thirteen kings are represented as succeeding these founders of the kingdom, but the hereditary succession was broken by usurpers. The monarchy, however, gradually established its power over the whole country of Rámanya, from Puthin (Bassein) on the west, to Mutamau on the east. Tha-htun appears to have gradually declined, and remained merely as a city and sea port with little territory. The sixteenth king of Pegu, an usurper, is named Punnarika, or brahman-heart, which indicates religious strife as introduced at this time (A. D. 746). He is said, however, to have been eminently religious, and even to have listened daily to the preaching of the Buddhist Raháns. But he is represented as inclined towards the ancient Hindu traditions; for he built, or re-established, the city of Aramána, which is said anciently to have occupied the site of the present city of Ran-gun. He called this city Kámanágo, or city of Káma. At this time, says the Taláing historian, as if anxious to save the king's character as a Buddhist, the land of the Shwé Takun (Dagon) was not distinctly marked off, so that no impious encroachment was made. To the north of this city was built another, which was called Rámawati, now Mengaládun. This king died after a reign of fifteen years. Both his name and the occurrence of Ráma in the name of two cities he built, indicate an actual or attempted revival of Hinduism.

Punnarika was succeeded by his son Tiktha or Tissa, who was very different in his religious views, but who was at length converted and became a sincere believer. In the early part of his life, he was ensnared in the heretical doctrines of Dcwadát, rejected the Bidagát, and would neither worship the pagodas, nor listen to the preaching of the Raháns, nor follow the learning of the Brahmans. Not content with this, he destroyed the pagodas, mutilated the holy images and flung them into the river; he prohibited by proclamation the worship of these or of holy relics, and threatened with the punishment of death all who should dare to disobey his decree. The people were dismayed, and remained helpless, but were rescued from peril by a miraculous occurrence. There was a young girl in the city of Han-thá-wa-ti, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, who had been religiously brought up by her mother, and from the age of ten years had listened to the preaching of the law. Badra Devi was sincerely devoted to the worship of the three treasures. She was sixteen years old when the order went forth to throw the holy images into the water. One morning, she went, as was her custom, surrounded by her attendants, to bathe in the stream, and seeing a golden image which had been flung into the water, she drew it out, saying, "Who has done this wicked deed?" The chief attendant replied, "Lady, the king has ordered this, and will put to death any one who worships the holy

“images and relics.” The maiden said, “I will devote my life to the three treasures, and will endure death rather than forsake them.” She then carefully washed the image, and set it up in a zayát which was close by. News of this was soon carried to the palace, and the king in a fierce rage called for Badra Devi. When the messengers arrived, the maiden was still employed in cleaning and decorating the holy image, and she entreated them to let her complete her pious work. Having finished, she then with her attendants proceeded to the palace. When the king heard the report of the messengers, he raged like a hungry lion at the sight of harmless animals. He ordered that the maiden should forthwith be trampled to death by a mad elephant. The master of the elephants having brought a mad one, the animal was urged on to crush the maiden. But she invoked the protection of the three treasures, and the seven good náts, while she prayed for blessings on the king, on the elephant, and on its driver. The elephant could not be made to hurt her. Again and again he was urged on with violence, but he would not obey. The king then ordered that she should be burnt with fire. She was thickly enveloped with straw, but the straw could not be kindled. The king then ordered that she should be brought before him. She appeared with becoming modesty and respect, while the king bawled out contemptuously, “Thou hast taken thy teacher’s image out of the water, and placed it in a zayát; if the image will fly through the air into my presence, I will spare thy life; but if not, thy body shall be cut into seven pieces.” Badra Devi begged to be allowed to go to the zayát, and respectfully to invite the holy image. She and her attendants therefore went, and certain nobles of the court were sent to watch them. The maiden prayed to the three treasures and the seven good náts, that the image might fly through the air to the king’s palace. Then straightway the image, the maiden, her attendants, and the nobles, were borne through the air to the royal feet. The king much astonished, said: “Let the Dewadát teachers fly through the air, so that all the people may see them.” But they could not do so. The king then believed the truth, and banished the false teachers from his country. Then asking the consent of her parents, he married Badra Devi, and she was consecrated chief Queen. The pagodas and other holy buildings were now repaired, and the people rejoiced greatly. King Tiktha reigned for twenty years, and with him closes the line of seventeen kings who represent the three native dynasties of Pegu.

A gap now occurs in the narrative of events which the native historians either have not attempted to bridge over, or have noticed with only a few general statements. In a preliminary sketch to the copy of the history which I possess, it is stated that the first seventeen kings, extending from the foundation of the city of Hantháwati to king Tiktha, reigned for a period of five hundred years. But in the detailed account of the reigns of those

kings, the sum of the years they are stated to have reigned, amounts to only two hundred and eight. The first part of the history then closes as if a great crisis had been endured. A new chapter is opened which simply states that the destinies of Hantháwati were accomplished; the line of kings broken; and the writer then bursts forth in lamentation over the rule of foreign Burmese kings and their hateful governors. Three of these are mentioned and reviled, and the narrative then passes on to events near the close of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, when Mongols and Turks overthrew the Burmese monarchy; Pugán was captured, and her king a fugitive. Supposing that the seventeen kings represent in some fashion the events of five hundred years, then the close of king Tikthá's reign would be about A. D. 1073. From that time until the capture of the Burmese capital by the Mongols, there is a period of about two hundred and eleven years, of which the Mun chroniclers say nothing, except the loss of their native kings, and the rule of three hated foreign governors. This hiatus is not peculiar to the manuscript history which I possess, but may be traced in others. Thus Dr. Mason from the copy which he followed, dates the foundation of Pegu A. D. 573 and the death of Tik-tha A. D. 841, but immediately after this, there is a blank of more than three hundred years. In Major Lloyd's Gazetteer of the District of Rangun, in which a list of the kings of Pegu is given from native records, this blank does not appear. But that is, because the foundation of Hantháwati has been post-dated to A. D. 1152, a year quite impossible to be reconciled with the histories of Burma, Tha-htun, and the subsequent history of Pegu itself. The cause of these great discrepancies arises from the Taláing historians having sought to conceal the religious revolutions in their country, during the ninth and tenth centuries, and to avoid narrating the conquest of their country by Anaurahtá, king of Pugán, about A. D. 1050, with its continued subjection to Burma for more than two hundred years. And it is strange that in the Burmese Mahá Radzá weng, though the conquest of Tha-htun is narrated at great length, nothing is said of the occupation of the city Hantháwati. Yet no doubt, the city was then taken by the Burmese king. Either then it was supposed that the capture of the ancient city of Tha-htun rendered special mention of Pegu unnecessary, or the chroniclers hesitated to record the first instance of the falsification of the legend, which in the cause of religion assigned to Pegu a perpetual succession of kings in the line of Thamala kumára. The Taláing historians have endeavoured to represent their country as having been uniformly orthodox Buddhist, while the records they present to us, show that there have been frequent alternations of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The names of the two last kings of the native dynasty, Punnarika and Tiktha, with the few notices we have regarding them, show that their reigns represent periods of religious strife between the two great sects, and

the attempted introduction of a form of worship antagonistic to both. Punnarika, or “brahman-heart,” sufficiently indicates the influence during one period ; while the name Tiktha, or Tishza, identical with that of the brother of Asoka, points to a corrupt Buddhism, and the re-establishment of that worship. This is typified in the pleasing legend of Badra Devi, and Buddhism has been the cherished religion of the people from that time until now.

From the time of Anaurah-tá the history of Pegu becomes clearer. The measures of his successors in that country are constantly referred to in Burmese history. His son and successor Tsau-lú appointed his foster-brother Ra-mán Kán governor of Pegu. But he ungratefully rebelled, and marched with a large army of Taláings against Pugán. At first he was successful, but was at length killed. In the reign of A-láung-tsí-thu, which extended from A. D. 1085 to 1160, Bassein was the principal port of departure for Ceylon, with which island there was much communication. This king sent an army of one hundred thousand Taláings, to place the exiled son of the king of Arakan on the throne of his ancestors. From this time until near the final destruction of Pugán about A. D. 1277, or by one reckoning 1284, there is ample evidence that the Burmese were supreme in Pegu. During this period, the Shans had come down from Zimmé, and occupied the country east of the Than-lwin (Salwin) River. The time was at hand when they were to become supreme. With the capture of Pugán by the hordes of Kublai Khan, Pegu began to revive. The Burmese king called from his flight Taruk-pyé Meng, fled from his capital to Bassein, ready no doubt to embark for Ceylon if necessary. The Taruk did not follow, but left the country, and the king returned to his capital. But the Burmese monarchy was now tottering, and in the confusion which arose, the Taláing people found the opportunity to recover their independence, though under a foreign dynasty of kings.

The Mun chronicles thus relate the events which led to the re-establishment of the kingdom.

“Now at this time, the country of Hantháwati paid tribute to the “king of Pugán, and officers were appointed to rule these, and were relieved “in turn. A youth of Burman race, named Akhámwun, lived with his “father and mother near the city, and was placed for instruction in a “monastery, where he became a probationer. The Abbot soon perceived “that he was a youth of great ability, and judged that from the accumulation “of former merit, he would become a great man. After passing the grade “of a Thámané, he left the monastery, and married into a Taláing family. “Being appointed an officer in one of the royal boats, he in time took his “turn of duty at Pugán, where he attracted the attention of the king by “his zeal and energy, and was promoted to the command of the boat. One

“night he dreamed that he stood with one foot in Hantháwati, and one foot
“in Pugán, which a Brahman interpreted to mean that he would become a
“king. On the return of his boat to Pegu, he was careful in collecting
“what was due from the people, to prevent extortion, and having become
“popular through the help of his father-in-law, many of the merchants and
“wealthy citizens joined him. His first care was to repair the city walls,
“which had been suffered to go to decay. The king of Pugán hearing of
“this plot, appointed his son-in-law Commander-in-Chief of an army to
“reduce the city to obedience. This army was defeated, as well as a second,
“and at last Akhámwun proclaimed himself king with the title of Thu-nek-
“khautsá Rádzá.” These events occurred, it is stated, about the Burmese
year 635, or A. D. 1273, but the dates given in the Mun chronicle are not
to be depended on. Probably the Burmese usurper had at this time
sufficient power to be practically independent; but it is not likely that he
proclaimed himself king before the fall of Pugán, which, as we have already
stated, was some years later.

Akhámwun no sooner was king than he belied all the promise of his
former life, and by his tyranny became hated. He was at length put to
death by his brother-in-law Leng-gyá, after he had reigned two years.
Leng-gyá had possession of the palace for eight days, and was then killed
by Akhyémwun, who was also a brother-in-law of Akhámwun. Akhyémwun
was now consecrated king of Pegu with the title of Tarabyá.

At this time Muttama (Martaban) had become independent of Pegu.
It was ruled by Wa-ré-ru, who had deposed the Burmese governor A-lim-ma
and put him to death. The kings of Muttama and Pegu, feeling that they
must combine, made an agreement of friendship, and each married the other's
daughter. Taruk-pyé-meng, who was still king of Pugán, sent an army under
Rádzá Then-gyán, to reduce Pegu to obedience. The king of Pegu occupied
the stronghold of Than-lyeng (Syriam), and had a stockade at Ta-kun.
The Burmese force was at Dala. The positions were all so strong, that
neither party would make an attack. Waréru then came with an army to
the assistance of his ally, and the two kings advanced by land and water
against Dala. They were entirely successful, and after several actions, the
Burmese were forced to retire. The allied kings followed the Burmese up
the Eráwati as far as Padáung. They then returned and encamped at
Makán, south of the city of Pegu. Here dissension arose between the two
kings which ended in a fight. Tarabyá was defeated and fled. Wa-ré-ru
at once marched, and took possession of the palace and capital. Tarabyá
was captured by some villagers and delivered up as to his rival, who, at the
intercession of the Buddhist monks, spared his life. Wa-ré-ru, now king of the
whole country, did not choose to fix the seat of his government at Pegu,
but after having settled the affairs of the country, returned to Muttama,

taking Tarabyá with him. The deposed king was soon after put to death for entering into a conspiracy.

Of the birth and parentage of Wa-ré-ru there are conflicting accounts. The history which I follow, relates that there was at Muttama a merchant of the name of Magadu who traded to the adjoining countries. To the east was the country of Thuk-ka-té, the name of the ancient capital of Siam, or the ancient seat of the royal family, situated on a branch of the river Menam. Magadu went to Thuk-katé, and entered the service of the king of that country. He either possessed a female elephant which gave birth to a white one, or he captured a white one in the forest, which he presented to the king. This was regarded as an omen of his future high destiny. On returning to Muttama, he raised a rebellion against Alimma, the Burmese governor, and put him to death.* After this, there is some obscurity in the narrative as to the fate of Magadu, and it might almost be supposed that he disappeared. But this arises from the respectful reserve of the chronicler, who refrains from stating distinctly that the *quondam* merchant Magadu became king of Muttama under the name of Wa-ré-ru. It is intimated that his great fortune resulted from the merit of his good deeds in former births. In fact, he was descended from one of the Nat-Bhílú who listened to the preaching of Budha, when he came to the wild region east of Tha-htun, instead of joining those who impiously drove him away. Thus he is claimed as a Mun by race, though it is probable that he was descended from a Shan family from the eastward, which had settled in the country of the lower Than-lwin (Salwin).

Wa-ré-ru was now king of Mut-ta-ma. He was anxious to possess a white elephant, which is the great object of the ambition of a Buddhist king, and especially of an usurper, as it is supposed to indicate his true royal descent. After much negociation with the king of Thuk-ka-té, or Siam, a white elephant was forwarded by that monarch. This occurred in the Burmese year 655 (A. D. 1293), six years after Waréru had become king. As the strength of his kingdom lay in the country of the Salwin, where the Shans had been settling for several generations, the king made Muttama his capital, though, as we have already seen, he had dethroned Tarabyá and occupied Pegu. The Taláing historians, however, as he did not reign in their ancient capital, do not include his name among the kings of Hantháwati.

After the fall of the ancient Burmese monarchy, the Shan chief A-theng-kha-yá, with his two brothers, ruled at Myin-tsáing what still remained of the empire. Having heard of the fame of Waréru's white elephant, he determined to possess it. He marched with an army to Muttama and demanded that the sacred animal should be delivered to him. This was refused,

* In the Burmese Mahá Rádzá weng, the year of Alim-má's death is said to have been A. D., 1281.

and in a battle which took place, the Shan-Burman army suffered a complete defeat. After this, the kingdom had peace for some years. But the two sons of Tarabyá, who were kept in the palace, conspired against Wa-ré-ru, and put him to death. They, however, had no supporters, and were obliged to fly. They took refuge in a monastery, but were dragged forth and killed. Their bodies were brought and laid at the feet of the king's body, and the three were burnt together. King Waréru died thus in the year 668, after a reign of nineteen years.

He was succeeded by his brother Khun-lau, whose first care was to solicit recognition of his title from the king of Siam. This was granted, and the regalia were forwarded to him with a suitable title. Not long after this, the king of Zimmé attacked Dunwun, a city on the east side of the Tsit-táung river, and plundered it. The king took no measures to defend his territory, and seeing that he was a man of no capacity and careless of the honour of his country, Meng Bala, who was married to his sister, conspired against him. He was persuaded to go out in the forest, under pretence of entrapping a wild elephant said to have three tusks. Having inveigled him into the thick depths of the forest, he was put to death after a reign of four years.

Meng Bala at first intended to seize the throne himself, but by the prudent advice of his wife, he made their eldest son, Dzáu-áu, king. The young king was married to a daughter of the king of Siam. But notwithstanding this alliance, he before long was involved in hostilities with La-bun, a small Shan state then tributary to Siam. He sent a force and occupied it in the year 682. In the following year, he marched an army under Khun-meng as Commander-in-Chief to take Dhawé (Tavoy). The city having surrendered, the general marched on to Tanengthári (Tenasserim), which he took without difficulty. He left garrisons and governors in both those cities, and then returned to Muttama with the remainder of his army. During the reign of Dzáu-áu, the country was prosperous. But the king's life was short, and he died after a reign of thirteen years. The kingdom of Muttama which included Pegu, had now become independent of Siam, and from the still disturbed state of Burma, it had nothing to fear from that country. But in this reign first commenced the quarrel between Pegu and Siam, which in long after years led to wars, terribly destructive to life, and which have been the main cause of the present depopulation of the country. The quarrel was continued, when Burma succeeded by conquest to the rights of Pegu, and lasted down to the early part of the present century.

The successor of Dzáu-áu was his brother, Dzáu-dzip, who, at his consecration, assumed the title of Binyaranda. This king, after consulting with his nobles, determined to change the seat of government to Hantháwati. He went there in great state leaving a governor and a sufficient garrison at

Muttama. Soon after reaching Pegu, he went to Takun (Rangun), repaired the great pagoda and made offerings. The governors of Puthin (Bassein) and Myoung-mya rebelled, but were soon overcome. Though the kingdom in the delta of Eráwati was thus consolidated, the southern provinces were lost, the king of Siam having retaken Dhawé and Tanengthári. Binyaranda, though unable to retain those distant possessions, thought the time was favourable for making an attack on Prome. That city has always been an object of keen contest between the kings of Burma, and Pegu. At this time, the chiefs of Shán descent who reigned in Burma, had not consolidated their power, and some subordinate chief, whose name is unknown, was supreme in Prome. Binyaranda went against that city with a considerable army, but he was repulsed and killed in the year 692 (A. D. 1330). In the confusion which arose on the king's death, an officer of the palace at Muttama, called Dib-ban Meng, seized the throne and made one of Binyaranda's daughters, named Tsanda Meng Hlá, his queen. He was, however, put to death by the Commander-in-Chief on the seventh day of his reign. For a few weeks also, a son of Dzáu-áu reigned with the title of Egán-kan, but by the influence of the queen who hated him, he was poisoned.

The person now called to the throne was a son of Khun-láu, who at this time was governor of Hantháwati; for, notwithstanding the change made by Binyaranda, the palace and seat of government seems to have been again at Muttama. Queen Tsanda Meng Hlá invited the governor to come and settle all disputes. He came to Muttama with a large retinue, and was at once consecrated king with the title of Binya-é-láu. Tsanda Meng Hlá became chief queen. The king of Siam was angered, because E-gán-kán was the son of his daughter, and he sent an army to avenge the death of his grandson. His army was completely defeated, and the two countries were now at deadly enmity. Though Muttama was now free from a foreign enemy, it suffered from a struggle between the king's son Tsau-é-lan and his nephew Binya-ú, a son of king Dzáu-dzip. While the king was lying sick, these young princes disturbed the country by their quarrel for the succession. The king recovered and placed Binya-ú in jail, but on the intercession of the queen, released him. Before long, his own son died, which left the succession undisputed. Binya lau reigned eighteen years, and died in the year 710, A. D. 1348. His reign on the whole was prosperous, but it is noted as a bad omen that the white elephant broke one of his tusks; that a severe famine desolated the country; and that there were constant border frays with the Burmese on the northern frontier.

Binya-ú succeeded without any opposition, and assumed the title of Tsheng-phyú-sheng. After he had been on the throne for three years, an attack was made by the Yun Shans of Zimmé on Dun-wun and several towns in Tsit-táung. The country was plundered, but the enemy was at

last driven out. The king, anxious to possess a holy relic, sent a nobleman in a ship with five hundred followers, and a letter written on golden tablets to the king of Ceylon, to ask for a relic of Budha. The king of Ceylon, full of friendship and beneficence, granted the request, and placing the holy relic in a golden vase, which was enclosed in other vases, all carefully sealed up, delivered it to the Peguan envoy. It was brought to Muttama, where it was received with great pomp by the king. A pagoda was built for its reception at the spot where the Yun Shans had been defeated.* Notwithstanding this happy event, misfortunes began to gather round the king. The governor of Pegu rebelled. He was subdued; but the white elephant, in Buddhist phrase, ‘erred,’ that is, died; and the whole population, from the king to the peasant, clergy and laity, were in an agony of grief. For this portended dire misfortunes to the country. The white elephant received a grand funeral, the body being drawn by the people on a car beneath a royal canopy, outside the city where it was buried in the earth. “But one account,” adds the chronicler doubtfully, “is, that the elephant rose up from the funeral car, and stalked majestically into the river, where the water closed over it, and it was seen no more.” Some Karen people, not long after, reported that a white elephant had been seen in the forest, and the king, with his whole court and a large army, went to capture it. He was absent for four months, and during that time, his half brother or cousin, named Byát-ta-bá, raised a rebellion. The first intimation the king had of this event was from seeing a star strike at the moon. This was interpreted by his Brahman astrologer to mean rebellion. Returning hastily towards the city, the king heard that Byát-ta-bá had shut the gates, and that his brothers were levying men in the country outside, with whom they entered. The city was defended with cannon,† so that the king could not attack it, and the wives and families of the nobles who were in the royal camp, were inside the city. Many therefore deserted the king, and went over to the rebels. The king retired to Dunwun, and appointed his brother-in-law Thamin Byá-ta-bát, general against the rebels. He closely invested the city, so as to prevent supplies being carried into it. By an artifice of the wife of Byát-ta-bá, who sent a secret letter to him, pretending that she was on the side of the king, he accepted some dishes which she sent, and died from the effects of eating them. The whole of the investing army then fled. Another commander

* In the histories of Burma and Pegu, many instances are related of relics, or supposed relics, being brought to the country from Ceylon. The facts are gravely related, but nothing seems to be known of the relics afterwards, except the hairs of Budha which are enshrined beneath the Shwé Dagon, and are as freshly remembered and worshipped now, as they were two thousand four hundred years ago.

† This is the first mention of cannon in the history, about the year A. D. 1370. Nothing is said as to where they were procured from.

was then appointed ; but he was killed by a bullet almost immediately, and his army broke up and dispersed. The king now in despair shut himself up in Dunwun city, which was situated between Muttama and Tsit-taung.

Byát-ta-bá, though so far successful, knowing that many of the people of Muttamá were not well inclined towards him, sent a letter and messengers to the king of Zimmé, asking for assistance, and offering to hold Muttamá as his general and deputy. Hearing of this, Binya-ú seeing that his position was becoming desperate, himself sent messengers and presents to the king of Zimmé and offered one of his daughters in marriage. This was accepted ; the march of the Zimmé troops was stopped, and Binya-ú, though unable to recover what he had lost, was not disturbed at Dunwun. There he remained for six years. Byát-ta-bá in the meantime strengthened his position, and at length gained possession of Dun-wun by a stratagem. The king fled on an elephant almost alone, and came to the city of Pegu. This was in the year 732 (A.D. 1370), being the twenty-second of his reign. Byát-ta-bá had now firmly established himself in Muttamá, and to show his sympathy with the southern T'hái people, made his subjects shave their heads in the Siamese fashion. The only opposition to this order was shown in Dunwun.

Binya-ú now turned his attention to the districts of Pegu which were put in order, and walls were built round the chief cities. After a time, by tacit understanding, there was peace between him and Byát-ta-bá. The king caused the great pagodas, Shwé Maudau and Shwé Dagun to be repaired. His son Binya-nwé caused him much anxiety by his intrigues. The king wished one of his younger sons to succeed him, but did not formally appoint him heir-apparent. Binya-nwé finding his father under the influence of the queen against him, began to gather friends to support his interests. Having secretly engaged followers, he left the city at night and joined them. He took possession of the town and pagoda at Ta-kun, where he engaged the services of some western foreigners.* This was in the month Na-yun 745 (A. D. 1383), when there was an eclipse of the sun. The king was now too ill to make any exertions to uphold his authority, and all orders were issued by the queen. An army was sent against the prince, which he went out and defeated. He did not feel strong enough to attack the capital until he had collected a larger force. He then marched, and while on the way heard of the death of his father. This event stopped all resistance. Thamin Paru, the general who had been employed against him, attempted to escape, but was made prisoner and put to death. Binya-nwé ascended the palace in the month Tabodwé, 747, A. D. 1385.†

* Most probably Muhammadan adventurers from India or the Persian Gulf. They had been coming to this coast for many years past.

† In the Burmese history, this event is placed in the year 745. See Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII, for 1869.

The young king assumed the title of Rádzá-di-rít. He rewarded all those who had supported him, and put very few of his enemies to death. The queen had bitterly opposed him, yet, in remembrance of her care of him when he was a child, after his own mother's death, he now treated her with respect and honour. There was one powerful nobleman who had opposed him, and who was still unsubdued. This was Láuk-byá, the governor of Myáung-myá, who was of the royal family. He hated Rádzá-dirít, whom he denounced as no son of Binya-ú's, and was determined not to submit to him. He now caused the renewal of the struggle between Burma and Pegu, which had ceased for about a century, or since the fall of the Pugán monarchy, and which only ended in the entire subjection of Pegu about the middle of the eighteenth century.

At this time, Ava was the capital of Burma, and the king Tárabyá, though said to be descended from the ancient kings of Pugán, and also through his mother from the family of the three Shán brothers who succeeded them, was essentially the chief of a Shán dynasty. The king of Pegu belonged to a southern branch of the same race. Láuk-byá seeing that the king of Ava had subdued all his enemies, sent messengers to him, offering, if he were placed on the throne of Pegu, to hold it as a tributary king. The king of Ava therefore sent an army, composed of two columns under the command of his sons, to carry out this plan. One of these marched by the E-rá-wa-ti to Láing, and one by the Tsit-táung or Páung-láung River to Táungú. Both were defeated by Rádzá-dirít before Láuk-byá could arrive to support either, and they retreated to Ava. The history of Pegu states that the king of Ava accompanied his army on this expedition, but this does not agree with the Burmese history. The king of Pegu was sensible that his victory resulted more from the difficulties in the country which the Burmese army had to encounter, than from the superiority of the force he was able to bring against them. He, therefore, sent envoys to Ava with a letter and presents, hoping to establish friendship with the dreaded monarch. But the king of Ava remarked that the letter was a short one, and sternly replied that the Ta-láing country belonged to his ancestors, and would be recovered. The presents were scornfully rejected, and the envoys returned sorrowfully to their master. Thus the present king of Burma showed his determination to recover, if possible, all that had once belonged to the kings of Pugán; and Rádzá-dirít had nothing for it but to prepare for resistance. Láuk-byá addressed the king of Ava, excusing himself for not having appeared with a force to support the Burmese army, and again tendering his allegiance. When the season arrived, Tárabyá marched down the valley of the Eráwati, and as in the previous campaign, established himself at Láing. The king of Pegu was entrenched in a strong position at Máu-

bí, a few miles to the north of Ta-kún. This stockade the Burmese could not take, and were delayed so long before it, that the dreaded rainy season approached. They made a sudden retreat, which turned into a disorderly flight. The Mun army pursued them as far as Prome, but did not venture to attack that city. Being thus rid of the invader, the king determined to reduce to obedience those near him who were dangerous. He first directed his attention to the eastward. He attacked and took Dunwun, the chief of which city had been in communication with Láuk-byá. He next took Lagwunpyin, and from thence sent one of his officers to attack Muttamá. Byat-ta-ba does not appear to have remained in the city, which was defended by two officers having the foreign names of E-bran and U-lé.* They had several decked boats useful for service on the rivers and creeks, and did not wait to be attacked in the city, but fought a battle outside. The army of the king of Pegu suffered severely, but in a second action this check was retained, and the two commanders of the Mataban army, fearing to enter the city, fled in decked boats to the Kulá country. Byát-ta-bá appears to have accompanied them. The citizens at once submitted, and Rádzádirít coming to Muttamá appointed governors to it, and to Maulamyáing. These events occurred in the year 750 (A. D. 1388), and the king then returned to Pegu.

Rádzádirít now determined to attack Láuk-byá in Myáung-myá. He went against that place with a large force, but finding it too strong, he advanced against Pu-thin (Bassein), where Láuk-byá's three sons commanded. He attacked, but the foreign decked boats were armed with fire-arms, and the Pegu force lost many killed and wounded. The general was among the former. His body was brought away and buried by the king's command at the foot of the Ta-kun pagoda. The Pegu force retreated towards Myáung-myá. The Puthin force being very strong in boats, followed under the command of Láuk-shin, one of the sons of Láuk-byá, but suffered a defeat. The king remained at Dala to direct operations and a portion of Láuk-byá's force was destroyed; he himself was made prisoner and Myáung-myá surrendered. The king then pushed on to Pu-thin, and Láuk-shin put all his valuables on elephants, intending to join the king of Prome. But being intercepted, he crossed the mountains into Arakan, and went to Than-dwé. An army followed and demanded that he should be given up. The governor surrendered him, and he was made a pagoda-slave at the Shwé-dagun. His wife being of the royal family, was spared and sent to Muttama. This was in the year 752, A. D. 1390. The

* From the decked boats and the names of the commanders, which are probably Ibráhím and 'Alí or Walí, there evidently were foreigners in high command at this time. No mention is made of fire-arms in these operations, but immediately afterwards there is, in the account of the attack on Bassein.

king now beautified the city of Hantháwati. In the following year he collected a force at Pu-thin, with which he advanced against the city or fort of Ku-dwut on the frontier, which had been occupied by the king of Burma. The Burmese retired on his approach, and he strengthened the place. During his absence he suspected his eldest son of conspiring against him and had him put to death. The prince died protesting his innocence, and openly wishing that he might be born king of a neighbouring country to take his revenge for this injustice.

The king of Siam sent a white elephant and a letter, acknowledging Rádzádirít as being of the same race as himself. Soon after, the king of Ava came suddenly to attack the fort of Ku-dwut. An army was sent to support the garrison, and the king of Burma retired. Rádzádirít now had leisure to attend to the affairs of his kingdom.

The king of Ava, Meng kyí-tswá Tsau-ké, died, and was succeeded by his son Tsheng-phyú sheng. But he was soon after murdered, and his brother Meng Kháung was placed on the throne in the year 763. About this time, we learn from the histories of Arakan and Burma, that a quarrel arose between those two countries, though the causes are not distinctly stated. In the former it is related that, in the year 756 (A. D. 1394), the king of Arakan marched to attack the Burmese territory. But in the latter history, this event is placed in the year 765, which agrees better with the chronicles of Pegu.* From whatever cause this difference of date may have arisen, it is certain that, about the latter period, the king of Burma being engaged in a dispute with Arakan, and also, as the history of Pegu states, from discontent existing in the southern provinces, Rádzádirít thought he saw his opportunity to take revenge for the invasions of Meng kyí-tswá Tsau-ké. He assembled a large army, and a flotilla of boats to proceed by the Eráwati. There were four thousand boats of every description. The army moved partly by land and partly by water. The king himself left the city in the month Natdáu 766, A. D. 1404. He proceeded up the river, the army reached Prome, which was held for the king of Ava by Byan-khyi, one of the sons of Láuk Byá. The town was too strong to be attacked, and the king pushed on for the capital. By means of his large flotilla and army combined, he was able to invest the capital, but could make no impression on the walls. Rádzádirít had full command of all the country outside the city, and even sent a strong detachment up to Tagáung, the ancient capital. Probably he found himself in a difficulty and was glad to retire, but the history states that he did so in compliance with the representations of an eloquent Buddhist monk. He built a monastery at Shwé-kyet-yet, near Ava,

* See History of Arakan, Jour. As. Soc. of Bengal, for 1844; and History of the Burma Race, Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869.

with materials obtained by breaking up some of his boats ; but this was afterwards burnt by order of Meng Kháung. The king on his way down the river was much annoyed by the Burmese troops ; and on reaching Tsalé, he heard that his daughter who had accompanied her husband on the expedition, had been taken prisoner. At first in his rage he determined to attack Prome, but his general Amát Din pointed out that the army was disordered and required rest. He, therefore, proceeded down to Pegu. Arrived at Dala, he put to death Tsáu-ma-shet, his son-in-law, who had fled when his daughter was captured. The king then returned to the city. But his anger had not subsided. No sooner was the rainy season at an end, than he gathered his forces, and advanced up the river. Determining to reduce Prome, he established his headquarters on the western bank of the river. Having defeated a Burmese force near the city, he posted three regiments on the ground to the north, on the Naweng River, in order to prevent any relief arriving. But the king of Ava was now marching down with a large army. Rádzádirít was urged by his general to withdraw the three detached regiments ; but he was persuaded by others to let them remain intrenched where they were. They were attacked and utterly overwhelmed by king Meng Kháung, who then relieved Prome. But though the king of Ava was thus successful, the king of Pegu by means of his flotilla cut off his supplies by river, and destroyed the towns and villages on the banks as far as Magwé and Malun. Meng Kháung then proposed that they should make peace, and presents and friendly messages were exchanged. They swore friendship at the great pagoda of Prome, and the boundary of their kingdoms was fixed a little to the south of the city. Yet notwithstanding this agreement, the king of Ava took offence at a Taláing garrison being left at a post on the frontier, and before long began to take measures for disturbing Pegu. He desired to attack Arakan, and to prevent the king of Pegu from interfering, sent a letter to the king of Zimmé, requesting him to march an army to the frontier of Tsit-taung. This letter was intercepted, and the bearers of it were put to death. The king also knowing that preparations were being made for a march into Arakan, sent an army to Pu-thin (Bassein), to be ready for whatever might be required. The Burmese army marched into Arakan, and the king of that country fled to Bengal.* His son Na-ra-mít-hlá came south to Thandwé, and communicating with Rádzádirít crossed to Pu-thin. The king then promised to support him, and sent on his army to Thandwé. Ká-ma-rú, the son-in-law of Meng Kháung, had been appointed governor of Arakan, with the title of Anau-ra-htá. He was at the

* This event is stated in the history of Arakan to have occurred in the reign of Meng-tsáu-mwun in the year 768, A. D. 1406. See History of Arakan, A. S. Bengal, for 1844.

capital in the northern part of the kingdom. The Taláing army marched there, the Arakanese Prince accompanying it. Kámarú fled from the capital, but he was taken prisoner with his wife and family, and sent to Bassein, where Rádzádirít still was. As his father-in-law had broken the treaty without cause, he was put to death, and his wife, the daughter of the king of Ava, was made one of the queens. Prince Na-ra-mit-hlá was placed on the throne of Arakan, and the Taláing army returned.

During these transactions Meng Kháung had been employed in putting down a rebellion among the Shans of Bamáu and other states. When he heard that his son-in-law and daughter were prisoners, he assembled an army, chiefly Shans from Kalé and Monyin, and moved on Pegu. He marched by the Ra-mé-then route, and thence down the valley of the Paung-láung. Rádzádirít collected an army to meet the enemy at the frontier of his kingdom. The Taláings met with a defeat, and were forced to abandon a fortified post at Tha-kyin, where they had much rice stored. Rádzádirít retreated to Pan-gyán. The Burmans as they advanced burnt all the villages, and the Taláings harassed the enemy by cutting off his foraging parties. When the seat of war reached the low country where the tides prevail, the Shans unaccustomed to them became bewildered, and a large body of them being inveigled on to a sand bank in the river, was suddenly overwhelmed in the rising water. This success, and reinforcements which reached Rádzádirít from Bassein, encouraged the Taláings, and the Shan army began to suffer from the want of supplies. King Meng Kháung, by the advice of his officers, thought it prudent to negotiate. He, therefore, wrote a letter adverting to his daughter being with Rádzádirít, and proposing that his son should marry a daughter of the latter. But the king of Pegu knew that the Burmese army was in distress, he therefore returned a rough answer. Several messages passed, and a personal meeting was agreed to. The king of Pegu had determined to seize his enemy, and Meng Kháung at the last moment, suspecting treachery, turned back. La-gwun-in, a Taláing officer, now undertook to capture the king of Burma. By a sudden night attack he penetrated to the tent of the king, and even possessed himself of the royal sword and pán box. Meng Kháung escaped by an accident, and now being thoroughly alarmed commenced a retreat. He was followed to the frontier by the Taláing army, after which Rádzádirít returned to his capital in triumph. But though thus successful, he deemed it expedient to enter into an alliance with the king of Ava. He, therefore, sent him a letter full of friendly words with presents, and asked for his sister in marriage. After some delay this was agreed to. The princess Wimála Devi went down the river in a royal boat, and was received by Rádzádirít at Ta-kun (Rangun), where the marriage was solemnized. But this alliance was of no avail to

preserve peace. Not long after, prince Thid-dát, brother of Meng Kháung, conspired against the king, and being discovered, fled to Pegu. There he was received with distinction, and he induced Rádzádirít to withhold an annual gift of thirty elephants, which he had promised to send to Ava. Meng Kháung, enraged at this breach of faith, determined at once to attack Pegu. In vain his ministers represented that the rainy season was at hand, and a campaign in Pegu hazardous. The king would brook no delay. Pushing on heedlessly at the head of a body of cavalry, he was suddenly attacked by the Taláing general, with whom was prince Thid-dát. The king of Ava was entirely defeated, and escaping from the field with difficulty, retreated to his own country. Rádzádirít enraged that his enemy had eluded his grasp, for Thid-dát had promised to capture his brother, put the prince to death. The king of Ava made another attack after the rainy season of 767 (A. D. 1405), but it was unsuccessful. At this time it is stated that Rádzádirít had some Europeans in his service.

A more formidable invasion was now preparing than any yet hurled against Pegu. The army was placed under the command of the king's son, Meng-ré-kyau-tswá, who was now seventeen years of age. The story of the marvellous birth of this young prince is told without any doubt of its truth. At the time when Rádzádirít was employed in the Myoung-myá district against Láuk-byá, he suspected, as has already been mentioned, that his son Báu-láu-kwon-dáu, who was at the capital, was conspiring to usurp the throne. He caused him to be put to death. But the young prince was innocent, and in dying invoked the powers of nature, that he might be born again in a neighbouring kingdom, and revenge his unjust death on his father and his country. Transmigrating, he was born of one of the wives of Meng Kháung, and from marks indicating future greatness received the name of Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá.* Now in the year 768,† he was appointed to command the invading force, which by land and water numbered twenty thousand men. The prince proceeded down the Eráwati and entered the Bassein District, where he captured a stockade which had lately been built at De-ba-thwé. At this time Rádzádirít was detained at Muttama, which was threatened with an attack by the Shans of Zimmé. The prince next attacked Myoung-mya, which was so well defended, that he was obliged to retire. He also failed against Bassein and Khé-báung. The following year he marched across the hills into Arakan. The king of that country, Naramit-hlá fled, and the prince ap-

* The same story is told in the Burmese history. See Jour. A. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII.

† Year 772, by the Burmese history.

pointed governors to Arakan* and Thandwé, and then returned to Ava. The danger from the Shans of Zimmé having passed, Rádzádirít returned to his capital. As Naramit-hlá was the hereditary king of Arakan, the king of Pegu determined to restore him. He sent a force which occupied Thandwé. They then heard that the king of Arakan had fled to Dacca. The Burmese prince now returned with an army to retake Thandwé, but by a false report of a large army approaching, retired. Soon after, a relieving force did arrive from Muttama, and the commanders who had held Thandwé, pushed on to the capital of Arakan, which the Burmese governor abandoned and fled.

At this time Prome was held for the king of Ava by a son-in-law of Láuk-byá. Rádzádirít thought there was an opportunity to take the place, as the prince of Ava was engaged against the chief of Thein-ni. He advanced up the river in the month Nát-dáu, 774 (A. D. 1412), but was almost immediately recalled by news of Muttama being threatened by an attack from Siam. He at once returned with a part of his army, leaving his son Binya Pathin as Commander-in-Chief. That officer deemed it prudent to retire from Prome. He, therefore, stockaded himself at Tha-lé-tsi, on the west bank of the river. The king of Ava soon arrived with an army at Prome, and a month later Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá joined him. They made an attack by land and water on the fort at Tha-lé-tsi. But the Taláing garrison had firearms in abundance, and destroyed numbers of the enemy, and the rest were driven back in confusion. The Burmese king then blockaded the work. King Rádzádirít approached with an army, and it was agreed to have a fair fight between two war boats, one on either side. La-gwun-in commanded the boat on the Taláing side, but he was overcome and killed by a treacherous attack from four Burmese boats, under Meng-ré-kyau-tswá. After this, the king of Pegu commenced a retreat. The Burmese prince followed by water and attacked the Taláing flotilla near Tarukmáu. Both sides suffered severely, but Rádzádirít hastened the retreat of his army by land and water, and himself went on ahead with his body-guard. The Burmese army followed, and, entering the delta, successively occupied Dala, Ta-kun, Than-lyeng, and Mháubi. Rádzádirít entrenched himself at Kha-má-byín. For several months the two armies were engaged in various combats until the Taláing army gained a victory over Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá. The Burmese army then retreated.

In Arakan the Taláing commanders having heard that their king had suffered a defeat, evacuated that country, and brought their army to Bassein. Rádzádirít suspected that one or both of these officers had been bribed by the king of Ava. One of them was put to death, but the other

* In the history of Arakan this event is recorded in the year 768.

was promoted. The king of Pegu now repaired the defences of his principal towns and cities.

When the rainy season had passed, a Burmese force once more came down by land and water. It consisted of not less than 100,000 men, 300 elephants, and 3000 horses. The king of Arakan who had been placed on the throne of that country by Meng Kháung, appeared as commander of one of the divisions. The Prince Meng-ré-kyáu-tswá, who was Commander-in-Chief, proceeded down the Bassein River and took Khé-báung by storm, in the month Tabodwé, 775 (A.D., 1413). The Taláings, however, determined to hold out in every place, and one of the king's sons had his head-quarters at Pan-go. Their superiority in boats enabled them to intercept the communications of the Burmese, and to cut off their supplies. The king of Táung-ú marched down with a force to create a diversion, but was met and checked on the frontier. The prince of Ava, though long inactive at Khé-báung, at length left it and proceeded towards Pan-go. The Taláings dared not attack him. He fought an action partly on land and water, and defeated the Taláing army, taking prisoner Tha-min pa-rán. The prince then proceeded to attack Bassein, but after losing many of his men, was obliged to retire. He proceeded next to Myoung-mya hoping to take it, but failed. He then went up to Ava taking with him many prisoners of importance, whom he presented to his father. He then married, and brought his wife Sheng-meng-hlá down to Pegu. He at once proceeded to attack Dala. He did not succeed, but the stars according to the astrologers were so adverse to Pegu, that Rádzádirít retired with all his family to Muttamá. The Burmese prince hearing that the Taláing general Amát-din had left Bassein, suddenly appeared before that city, the governor of which surrendered. Indians and Europeans are mentioned as being in the garrison. The prince then went to Myoung-mya, which also surrendered, and having built some decked boats proceeded to attack Than-lyeng. It was defended by Binyarán, a son of the king's, and the attack failed. The prince then returned to the entrenched position he had established not far from Dala, and closely invested the Taláing force there. At this time, the king of Ava was attacked by a Chinese army, and the dispute was settled by a duel between a Chinese champion and the Taláing officer Thaminparán who had been taken prisoner, as already related.* Dala was gallantly defended by the Taláings, though they were starving. The king of Pegu recovering from his alarm returned to his capital and determined to relieve Dala. As he approached, the Burmese prince drew off his force, and the king sending a few men into the city, followed the prince's army. Several days of skirmishing occurred, and at length when the Burmese head-quarters were

* See History of Burma, Jour. A. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII. for 1869.

at Tsha-bé-tsha-kán, the prince prepared for battle. He gave his elephant three cups of spirit and drank some himself, then remarking to his wife that the cry of the *sarus* which he heard was a good omen, he went forth. In the battle which ensued, the prince received a mortal wound, and his army fled. Rádzádirít ordered that he should be buried with royal honours. The Burmese army now retired, and, on the retreat, the Prince's wife Sheng-meng-hlá was taken prisoner. It is said that king Meng Kháung himself came down to Dala and was shown the spot where his son's bones had been buried. He then had them put into a golden vase and sunk them at the mouth of the river. Again in the following year 776, (A. D. 1414) he came with an army, but though he defeated and took prisoner Binya Tsek, one of the king's sons, the expedition failed, and he returned to Ava. This was the last invasion of Pegu during the reign of Rádzádirít. Both nations were exhausted by the destructive wars they had waged. King Meng Kháung died five years later, and Rádzádirít devoted himself to religion and good works for the rest of his days. He opened communication with the king of Ceylon, whose daughter he married, and from whom he received a tooth relic which was enshrined in a pagoda 186 cubits high. He also repaired the Shwé máu-dáu pagoda, to which he gave a new hti. Though no longer active, he one day went out into the jungle to capture a wild elephant. When throwing the noose, he received a blow from the animal which broke his leg, and he died before he could be brought home. This was the end of Rá-dza-di-rit, in the year 783 (A. D. 1421).

No. 1.—*List of the kings of Suvarna-Bhumi, or Tha-htun, from the native chronicles.*

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Thi-ha Rá-dzá. | The first king. He died the |
| 2 Thiri Dhammá Thauka. | year Gautama entered Nirvana, |
| 3 Titha. | B. C. 543. |
| 4 Dhammá Pá-la. | |
| 5 Dham-ma dhadza. | |
| 6 Eng-gu-ra. | |
| 7 Uba-de-wa Meng. | |
| 8 Thí-wa-rít. | |
| 9 Dzau-ta-kummá. | |
| 10 Dham-má Thau-ka. | |
| 11 Uttara. | |
| 12 Ká-tha-wun. | |
| 13 Mahá-thá-la. | |
| 14 A-ra-ka. | |
| 15 Na-ra-thú-ra. | |
| 16 Ma-há-Bad-da-ra. | |

- 17 A-da-ra.
- 18 An-gu-la.
- 19 U-run-na-ta.
- 20 Mahá Thuganda.
- 21 Thuganda Rádzá.
- 22 Brahmadát.
- 23 Manya Rádzá.
- 24 A-di-ka.
- 25 Ma-rá-di Rádzá.
- 26 Tha-du-ka.
- 27 Dham-ma bi-yá.
- 28 Thu-da-thá.
- 29 Dip-pa Rádzá.
- 30 A-thek-ka Rádzá.
- 31 Bhum-ma Rádzá.
- 32 Man-da Rádzá.
- 33 Ma-hing-tha Rádzá.
- 34 Dham-ma tsek-ka-ran.
- 35 Thu-tsan ba-di.
- 36 Bad-da-ra Rádzá.
- 37 Na-ra-thú Rádzá.
- 38 Tsam-bú-dí-pa.
- 39 Ke-tha-rít Rádzá.
- 40 Wi-dza-ya Kum-má.
- 41 Ma-ni Rádzá.
- 42 Tek-ka meng
- 43 Ku-tha Rádzá.
- 44 Dip-pa Rádzá.
- 45 Na-ra Rádzá.
- 46 Rá-dzá Thúra.
- 47 Tsit-ta Rádzá.
- 48 Di-ga Rádzá.
- 49 Ut-ta-ma Rádzá.
- 50 Thi-ri Rádzá.
- 51 Dham-ma Rádzá.
- 52 Má-há Tsit-ta.
- 53 Gan-da Rádzá.
- 54 Dzé-ya Rádzá.
- 55 Thu-ma-na Rádzá.
- 56 Man-da-ka Rádzá.
- 57 A-min-na Rádzá.
- 58 U-din-na Rádzá.
- 59 Ma-nú-ha Meng.*

* Manúha (No. 59) was king of Tha-htun when the city was taken and destroyed by Anau-rahtá, king of Pugán, about the year A. D. 1050.

No. 2.—*List of the Kings of Pegu from the foundation of the city.*

NAMES OR TITLES OF KINGS.		Commencement of reign.		Length of reign—years.	Relationship of each succeeding king.	REMARKS.
		Year of religion	A. D.			
1.	Mahimu Thamala Kumára,	...	573	12	...	Came from Thahtun to build the city of Pegu.
2.	Wimala,	...	585	7	Brother.	
3.	Kathá Kum-má,	...	592	7	Nephew.	
4.	Mahimu Arinda Rádzá,	...	599	7	Son.	Relationship not stated.
5.	Mahintha Rádzá,	...	606	17	Son.	
6.	Geinda Rádzá,	...	623	12	Brother.	
7.	Mahimu Mig-ga dib-ba Rádzá,	...	635	15	Son.	Ditto ditto.
8.	Gits-tsa-wi-ya,	...	650	10	Son.	
9.	Kara-wi-ka Rádzá,	...	660	12	Son.	
10.	Tsan-da-la Rádzá,	...	672	13	...	Usurper.
11.	At-ta-thá Rádzá,	...	685	15	...	
12.	Anuma Rádzá,	...	700	12	Son.	
13.	Mahimu Mig-ga-dib-ba ngó,	...	712	10	..	Relationship not stated. From this time a blank of about five hundred years occurs in the annals of Pegu, during which the names of no native kings are enumerated. The two last kings in this list probably represent two periods, the religious ascendancy, or religious strife, of Brahmanists and Buddhists, extending over about three hundred years. The close of Titha's reign would then synchronize with the conquest of Pegu and Tha-htun by Anaurahtá about A. D. 1050, when Pegu became subject to Burma for about two hundred and thirty years.
14.	Mahimu Egga Thamanda Rádzá,	...	722	12	Brother.	
15.	Uba-ma-la Rádzá,	...	734	12	Son.	
16.	Pun-na-ri-ka Rádzá,	...	746	15	...	
17.	Thamin Tik-tha, Titha, or Tissa Rádzá,	...	761	20	Son.	

Postscript to Bábu RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA'S Paper on Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India.

It has been stated on page 7, that a "fatted calf" was once slaughtered for the entertainment of Ráma, but no notice has been met with of his having been offered any liquor. I find, however, that he was not averse to drinking. The following extract from the last book of the Rámáyana shows that he and his exemplary wife, Sítá, were as much given to drinking as other people of their time. The passage runs thus: 'Embracing Sítá with both his hands, Kákutstha (Ráma) made her drink pure Maireya wine, even as Indra makes Sachí partake of nectar. Servants quickly served flesh-meat variously cooked, and fruits of different kinds for the use of Ráma. Hosts of Apsaras, proficient in singing and dancing, and accomplished and handsome damsels, exhilarated with wine, danced and sang for the entertainment of Ráma and Sítá.' It is said that it was the usual every-day practice of Ráma, to devote his evenings to this feasting and musical entertainment as a fitting sequel to his onerous regal duties of the forenoon.

* सीतामादाय बाहुभ्यां मधु मैरेयकं शुचि ।
 पाययामास काकुत्स्थः शचीमिन्द्रे यथामृतं ॥ २१ ॥
 मांसानि च सुमृष्टानि विविधानि फलानि च ।
 रामस्याभ्यवहारार्थं किङ्करास्तूर्णमाहरन् ॥ २२ ॥
 अप्सरोगणसङ्घाश्च नृत्यगीतविशारदाः ।
 दक्षिणारूपवत्यश्च स्त्रियः पानवशं गताः ॥ २३ ॥
 उपानृत्यन्त रामस्य सीताया हर्षवर्द्धनाः ।

On page 11 the word "reference" at the end of line 1 should be read "references," and "won over over" at the beginning of line 28, should be "won over." On page 13, "especially" at the beginning of line 14, should be "especial."



Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gaurian Languages.—By
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(Continued from Journal for 1872, Pt. I, p. 174.)

Essay IV.

On the Inflexional base.

In the third essay I attempted to collect all the facts and phenomena presented by the various Gaurian languages in regard to their inflexional base. These facts were analysed and some general principles deduced from them. Two of these general principles require a more special consideration; and this will be the subject of the present essay. It has been shown in the 3rd essay, that the inflexional base may (under certain circumstances) assume a two-fold form; viz. a *direct* form and an *oblique* form. One of the two general principles is closely connected with the *direct* form, the other with the *oblique* form.

One result of the previous enquiry has been to show that the inflexional bases of the Gaurian languages are divided into two great classes according as they admit or do not admit an *oblique form*, and accordingly they were divided into 1., the Prákritie, and 2., the Gaurian (including Gaurian proper and Sanskritie) nouns, *i. e.*, into those which have retained traces of the Prákrit *organic* declension, and those which have emancipated themselves of it altogether. This conclusion, however, was mainly dependent upon the truth of the identity of the *oblique form with the organic genitive of the Prákrit*. This principle I shall try to establish now.

Another result of the previous enquiry has been to show that while some inflexional bases retain in their *direct form* the original Prákrit termination अ, others reduce it to उ or अ. This difference was explained by the theory that the former are derived from a *particular* Prákrit base ending in अक (or इक), while the latter are derived from the *general* base in अ. The truth of this principle will be the second point I shall endeavour to establish. But the facts upon which the proof of both, this and the other principle, depends, are so closely intertwined, that it will not be possible to keep both enquiries altogether distinct.

It is a well known fact, that in Sanskrit the genitive is not uncommonly substituted for the dative, though it possesses an *organic* dative; (cf. Pálini 2, 3. 5., M. Williams's Sanskrit Grammar §, 816, A. p. 353). In Prákrit this rule has become absolute (see Cowell's Prákrit Prakása VI. 64.); and necessarily so; for it has lost the *organic* dative altogether; and not possessing one, it is obliged either to paraphrase it (by postpositions, e. g.,

प्रति, कृते, अर्थे, etc.), or to substitute (according to the precedent of Sanskrit) the genitive. The latter is on the whole the more common course.* The Gaurian languages which have received their grammatical system from the Prákrit (or, at all events, not from the Sanskrit), it is manifest, cannot possess an organic dative; and, it is more than probable, a priori, that what passes in them for the dative is (according to the precedent of Prákrit) either a paraphrase of the dative or a substituted (organic) genitive. The former course, viz. to paraphrase the dative by postpositions, as is well known, has become the almost universal rule in the Gaurian.† The only exception (barring isolated instances in other languages) is in the Maráthí. This language possesses by the side of the ordinary paraphrastic datives (formed with the postpositions ला, प्रत, जबल, करितां, etc., cf. Manual, pp. 17, 18,) a form of the dative ending in स which has all the appearance of being an *organic* case-form; e. g., dative of देव God is देवास (besides देवाला, etc.); of कवि poet it is कवीस (besides कवीला, etc.); of गुरु it is गुरुस (besides गुरुला, etc.). This dative in स is generally admitted (cf. Manual, pp. 132, 133), and can easily be shown to be nothing but the *organic genitive* of the Prákrit. For the genitive of देव, कवि and गुरु in Prákrit is देवस्स, कविस्स, गुरुस्स (cf. Prák. Prak. V. 8, 15). Now I have already explained in the 2nd Essay that in the later Prákrit and in Gaurian, one of two similar compounded consonants is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (see Prák. Prak. III, 58.). Accordingly the genitive of the pronoun जो (base ज) in Prákrit is masc. जस्स or जास, fem. जस्सा or जासे (or जाए); of the fem. base जि the gen. is जिस्सा or जीसे (or जीए); see Prák. Prak. VI. 6, 6.‡ According to the

* Examples from the Sakuntalá :

का तुमं विसज्जिद्वस्स रुन्धिव्वस्स वा ॥ i. e.

Skr. का त्वं विसृज्यया रोद्धव्याय वा ॥

Or. अणुजाणाहि सो उडअगमणस्स ॥ i. e.

अनुजानोहि न उडजगमनाय ॥

From the Uttara Rámacharita :

एमो तपोधणाणं एमो रज्जुलदेअदाणं ॥ i. e.

Skr. नमः तपोधनेभ्यः नमो रघुकुलदेवताभ्यः ॥

Or. अहिअदरं मम महाराओ कुविस्सदि ॥ i. e.

Skr. अधिकतरं मद्यं महाराजः कोपिष्यति ॥

† The regular process of glottic development from Sanskrit to Gaurian is here, worth noting; the dative is expressed in the

Sanskrit by the dative or genitive;

Prákrit by the — genitive, or paraphrase;

Gaurian by the ——— paraphrase.

‡ The same is the case with the Mágadhí Prákrit genitive in आह; e. g., Skr. पुरुषस्य is in M. Prák. पुलिशाह. Here ह is the modification of an original स, so that पुलिशाह stands for पुलिशास and this for पुलिशस्स, just as देवास for देवस्स which in M. Prák. would be देवाह (cf. Pr. Prak. XI, 12.)

analogy of the pronominal forms जास for जस्स, जीसे for जिस्सा, the Prákrit genitives देवस्स, कविस्स, गुरुस्स, etc., become in the Gaurian देवास, कवीस, गुरुस, etc., i. e., the forms which we see in the Maráthí. The original genitive character of the Maráthí dative in स is further proved by the dative formed by means of the so-called postposition साठीँ; e. g., देव has a dative देवासाठीँ besides देवास or देवा ला; or कवि has कवीसाठीँ beside कवीस or कवीला; गुरु has गुरुसाठीँ beside गुरुस and गुरुला. These forms (as देवासाठीँ, कवीसाठीँ, गुरुसाठीँ, etc.) have always been derived thus; देवा (base) + साठीँ (postposition), कवी + साठीँ, गुरु + साठीँ under the mistaken notion, that as देवा, कवी, गुरु, etc. are the bases in all the other cases (e. g., instr. देवा + नेँ, dative देवा + ला, abl. देवा + हन, etc.), the same base must be contained also in the forms देवासाठीँ, etc. But it has never been shown what the meaning and derivation of the word साठीँ might be. The truth is, that साठीँ is no word at all; and that the forms देवासाठीँ, etc., have been wrongly divided. They ought to be separated thus; देवास (base) and अठीँ postposition, कवीस + अठीँ, गुरुस + अठीँ, etc. The postposition अठीँ is the Prákrit and Gaurian equivalent of the Sanskrit अर्थे which, however, in the Gaurian may also be modified to आयीँ and hence the Maráthí has beside देवास + अठीँ also देवा + आयीँ (compare Skr. स्थाने which becomes in Mar. and Beng. ठाईँ, in Hindí and Panj. ताईँ). Hence देवासाठीँ, i. e. देवास अठीँ) stands for Skr. देवस्य अर्थे or Prak. देवस्स अठस्मि; again कवीस अठीँ is = Prák. कविस्स अठस्मि = Skr. कवेर् अर्थे; again गुरुस अठीँ = Prák. गुरुस्स अठस्मि, Skr. गुरोर् अर्थे.

So far then it is plain that the Maráthí dative ending in स is in reality the *organic genitive* of the Prákrit.* Now in old Maráthí poetry another dative form has been preserved which ends in आ, e. g., ईश्वर God, dative ईश्वरा (see Manual, p. 138). There can be no doubt that this form in आ is but a further modification or corruption of the more original and more perfect form in स; that, e. g., ईश्वरा is a curtailment of ईश्वरास. It may have arisen thus; in the Gaurian a final short vowel is not pronounced, so that the

* In the oldest Hindí of Chand Bardái instances of this *organic genitive* in स, which in the modern Maráthí only occurs in the sense of the dative, are still found with their original Gen. sense; e. g.,

तास राज समीपं ।	Or. रति करन क्रीलनह राज थाह ।
रहें नट विद्या उचारं ॥	न न हंस धीर न न सुष ताह ॥
i. e. Skr. तस्य राज्ञः समीपे etc.	Skr. नहि मन धीरं नहि सुखं तस्य ॥ etc.
Sasivrittá Kathá XXV. 16.	Ibid. XXV. 36.
Or. सोमवंस जह्व व्रपति ।	Or. ता ग्रह सु पात्र अनेक गुन ।
देवगिर जसि जीस ॥	रह सु तहां निसि दीह पर ॥
Skr. देवगिरिर् यशो यस्य etc.	Skr. तस्य गृहे कन्या अनेकगुणवती etc.
Ibid. XXV. 15.	Ibid. XXV. 16.

consonant which precedes it, is virtually the final of the word; now most probably the consonant स of the dative first changed to ह (a change, which is supported by the Mágadhí Prákrit genitive in आह, see note on page 60 and Prák. Prak. XI. 12.), and then the ह becoming the virtual final sound of the word was dropped; thus ईश्वरास become first ईश्वराह (or virtually ईश्वराह्) and finally ईश्वरा. Any one by pronouncing both ईश्वराह् and ईश्वरा, may see how easily one passes into the other. It follows thus, that the dative form in आ, being merely a modification of the fuller dative form in आस, is also really the *organic genitive* of the Prákrit.

Now this genitive form in आ which has been preserved in the dative of the old Maráthí, has been lost in modern Maráthí, but it is preserved in the latter as well as in the former as the *inflexional base of all cases formed by post-positions*, e. g. देव, "God," has old and modern dative देवास, old dative देवा, (old and modern) instr. देवा नेँ, dative देवा ला, abl. देवा हून, genitive देवा चा. So far then it is proved, that the *oblique form* in आ of the inflexional base of Maráthí nouns in अ is identical with the *organic genitive* of the Prákrit. But further it is manifest that as the nature of the Maráthí dative form in ईस and ऊस (e. g., कवीस, गुरुस) is identical with that of the dative form in आस (e. g., देवास), so the nature of the *oblique forms* in ई and ऊ (of the inflexional base of Maráthí nouns in इ and उ, as कवी चा gen. of कवि, गुरु चा gen. of गुरु) must be identical with that of the *oblique form* in आ of the inflexional base of nouns in अ; and in the same manner as the form in आ arose from that in आस, so the form in ई and ऊ must have arisen from those in ईस and ऊस. It follows, therefore, that the *oblique forms* in ई and ऊ of the inflexional base of Maráthí nouns in इ and उ are *identical* with the *organic genitive* of the Prákrit; that is, that, e. g., the *oblique form* कवी of the noun कवि is identical with the Prák. genitive कविस्स and गुरु with गुरुस्स, etc.

If, as has been now shown, the *oblique form* of the inflexional base of all nouns in अ, इ, and उ (*i. e.*, by far the greatest part of the whole number of nouns) is identical with the Prákrit genitives, this fact raises the presumption that the *oblique form* of all remaining inflexional bases will be of the same nature. We will now take the different kinds of *oblique forms* of inflexional bases in Maráthí and afterwards in the other Gaurian languages one by one and show that that is really the case.

a. The inflexional base of all Maráthí nouns (masc. fem. and neut.) in इ and उ, and of all Mar. nouns (masc. and neut.) in अ has an *oblique form*, respectively, in ई and ऊ and आ. These, as has been already proved, are Prákrit genitives.

b. The inflexional base of *feminine* nouns in अ, has an *oblique form* either in ई or in ए. Those nouns which have an *oblique form* in ई, are, as I have shown in Essay III., really feminine nouns in इ. They belong,

therefore, to the former class, and their *oblique form* in ई is a *Prákrit genitive*. Those nouns which have an *oblique form* in ए are, as has also been shown in Essay III, really *Prákrit* feminine nouns in आ. The *Prákrit* genitive of these nouns ends in आए, which in Gaurian might become अए (the final आ being reduced to अ as in the Nom. and Acc. cases), and this, finally, is contracted by regular Sandhi (cf. *Prák. Prak.* IV. 1.) into ए; e. g., जीभ *tongue* has gen. जीभे; in *Prákrit* it is जीभा (or जीहा = *Skr.* जिह्वा, cf. *Prák. Prak.* I. 17, III. 54); Gen. जीभाए, in Gaurian जीभए, contracted जीभे (as in Bangálí बाघ + एर = बाघेर, Gen. of बाघ tiger).

c. All Maráthí nouns ending in consonants (masc. fem. or neut.) are treated as ending in अ, and hence the *oblique forms* of their inflexional bases end either in आ or in ई or in ए, and are, therefore, *Prákrit* genitives formed according to the analogy of the real nouns in अ. All these nouns in consonants are either Sanskritic or foreign; but never derived from the *Prákrit*, as no *Prákrit* word may end in a consonant, see *Pr. Prak.* IV. 6—II. 18. Their treatment has been explained in Essay III.

d. The inflexional bases of Maráthí nouns (masc. or fem.) in ई, ऊ, ए, ऐ, औ, औ, and neuter nouns in ऊ have no *oblique form* at all. As regards the few exceptional masc. nouns in ई and ऊ and neuter nouns in ऊँ, see the next paragraph.

e. There remain the masc. nouns in आ to which correspond fem. nouns in ई and the neuter nouns in ऐ; the masc. nouns in ई to which correspond fem. nouns in ई and the neuter nouns in ईँ; and the masc. nouns in ऊ to which correspond the fem. nouns in ऊ and the neuter nouns in ऊँ. The inflexional base of the first two kinds of nouns has an *oblique form* in या (masc. and neuter) and in ये (fem.). The inflexional base of the third kind has an *oblique form* in वा (masc. and neuter) and वे (fem.). The explanation of these *oblique forms* is more complicated. They are, as I shall show, the organic genitives of *Prákrit* nouns formed by the affix क (masc. and neuter,) and का (fem.). It will be necessary to dispose first of the latter question; viz. the presence in the Gaurian languages of a class of nouns which are descended from *Prákrit* nouns formed by the peculiar *Prákrit* affix क (cf. *Pr. Prak.* IV, 25.) Here I will only draw attention to an important coincidence. Masculine and neuter nouns in अ have (as has been shown) an *oblique form* in आ (being the corruption of the *Prákrit* genitive in अस्स). Their corresponding fem. nouns in अ have an *oblique form* in ए (being a corruption of their *Prákrit* genitive in आए). Similarly we have here masc. and neuter *oblique forms* in या and वा and their corresponding feminines in ये and वे. The conclusion may be drawn that the masc. nouns in आ and ई and the neuter nouns in ऐ and ईँ which yield the *oblique form* in या, were originally masc. and neuter nouns in य or यं = इय or इयं = इक or इक; and that their *oblique form* in या is a cor-

ruption of a Prákrit genitive in यस्स (=इअस्स=इकस्स). Again, that the feminine nouns in ई which correspond to the masc. nouns in आ and ई and to the neuter nouns in एँ and ईँ, and which yield the *oblique form* in ये, were originally feminine nouns in या=इआ=इका; and that their *oblique form* in ये is a corruption of a Prákrit genitive in याए=इआए=इकाए. Similarly it may be concluded that the masc. nouns in ऊ and neuter nouns in ऊँ which yield the *oblique form* in वा, were originally masc. and neuter nouns in व or वं, *i. e.*, in उअ or उअं=उक or उकं; and that their *oblique form* in वा is a corruption of a Prákrit Genitive in वस्स=उअस्स=उकस्स; and again that the feminine nouns in ऊ which correspond to the masc. nouns in ऊ and neuter nouns in ऊँ, and which yield the *oblique form* in वे, were originally fem. nouns in वा, *i. e.*, in उआ=उका; and that their *oblique form* in वे is a corruption of a Prákrit genitive in वाए=उआए=उकाए. As regards the *oblique form* in ए or आ of the inflexional base of certain nouns in the Hindí-class Gaurian languages, their case is exactly like that of the last mentioned class of Maráthí words. The two classes of nouns correspond to each other in the two classes of Gaurian languages, *e. g.*, Hindí घोड़ा *horse*, obl. घोड़े, is in Maráthí घोड़ा, obl. घोड्या. And their *oblique forms* must therefore have the same nature, and must admit of the same explanation; *viz.* that they are the organic genitive of particular Prákrit bases formed by the affix. क (*i. e.*, ending in अक).

The evidences showing that there is in Gaurian a class of nouns, which are derived from Prákrit bases formed by means of the peculiar, *pleonastic* affix क, are the following. In the first place, it may be remarked, that all Sanskrit words which have a base in अक (*i. e.*, formed by the affix क) and have passed into the Gaurian through the Prákrit, terminate in the Gaurian in ओ(औ) or आ, and not in अ or उ; *e. g.*, *horse* is Skr. घोटक, nom. sing. घोटकः, Prák. घोडको or घोडओ, Gaurian घोड़े or घोड़ा;—Skr. कटकः *stiff*, Pr. कडाको or कडओ, Gaurian कड़े or कड़ा;—Skr. चम्पकः the *champaka tree*, Prák. चंपका or चंपओ, Gaurian चंपे or चंपा;—Skr. पालकः *keeper*, Prák. वालओ, Gaurian वालो or वाला (an affix);—Skr. धारकः *holder*, Pr. धारओ or हारओ, Gaurian हारो or हारा (an affix).—There are only a small number of nouns of this kind. But on the other hand all Sanskrit nouns, the base of which ends in अ only, and which have passed into the Gaurian through the Prákrit, terminate in the Gaurian either in ओ (आ) or in अ (उ), evidently according as they did or did not assume, in their passage through Prákrit, the affix क; *e. g.*, *sweet* in Gaurian (Hindí) is both मीठ and मीठा; both represent the Skr. मिष्टः; but Skr. मिष्टः may be represented in the Prák. by मिष्टो (*i. e.*, मिष्टः) and by मिष्टओ (*i. e.*, मिष्टकः); now Prák. मिष्टो becomes the Gaurian मीठ, and Prákrit मिष्टओ becomes the Gaurian मीठो (मीठा). Again *heat* is in Skr. घर्मः, and *pot* घटः, both having bases in अ. In Prák. they may assume the forms घग्मा or घग्मओ and घडो

or घडया. But of the former pair the form घमो became the usual one while of the latter pair घडओ was the usual one. Accordingly we find in the Gaurian *heat* to be वाम, but *pot* to be घड़ो or घड़ा. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely.

Next, Sanskrit *masculine* nouns which have a base in अ exhibit in the Gaurian a two-fold termination. They either end in ओ (औ, आ) or in अ (उ). But a very analogous phenomenon may be observed in Sanskrit neuter nouns in अ, with nom. sing. in अम्. They exhibit in the Gaurian a twofold termination ending either in अ or in औ, ऊँ, ईँ, ईँ; e. g., Skr. गृहम् *house* = Gaur. घर; but Skr. कृतम् *done* = Gaur. केल (Mar.) or कीनौ or कियौ (Br. Bh.) or कीनू (Alw.); and Skr. मैत्रिकम् *pearl* Gaur. मोती (Mar.). Sometimes both forms occur in the same word as Skr. कदरम् *plantain* = Gaur. केल or केलू, and Skr. नारिकेलम् *cocoanut* = Gaur. नारल or नारली (Mar.). But observe the difference. The nom. sing. of those *masc.* nouns ends in Skr. in अः; this turns in Prākrit into ओ; and this again, in Gaurian, is either retained unchanged ओ or reduced to अ(उ). All this is intelligible; from अः (= अस्) to ओ to अ, there is a direct progress of phonetic corruption, consistent with the glottic laws regulating the development of younger languages from an older one. But now in the other case; the nom. sing. of *neuter* nouns in Skr. is अं (= अम्) which remains in Prākrit अं or becomes simply अ; in Gaurian the Prākrit अं or अ is either reduced to (resp. remains) अ or is raised to औ, ऊँ, ईँ, ईँ.* Now this is contrary to all principles of glottic development. By whatever other means languages may increase and reconstruct themselves; *phonetically* they disintegrate and *decrease* as they advance. The simple Prākrit termination अ or अं can never by itself have been raised or increased to औ or ऊँ or ईँ or ईँ. This is utterly inconceivable, nor will any reference to the accent help us here out of the difficulty. The accent might explain the absence of phonetic disintegration, where its presence would be expected, as, e. g., that the Prākrit termination ओ remains in the Gaurian, in some cases, ओ, instead of being reduced to अ; (though even in this case, as I have shown in Essay III, the explanation by the help of the accent is quite inadequate); but it is quite unable to explain the presence of a phonetic increase which is contrary to glottic laws, according to which either phonetic disintegration or at least no change at all ought to have taken place. It

* E. g. Skr. गृहं, = Prāk. घरं or घर, = Gaur. घर. But Skr. कृतं, = Pr. कड or कडं, = Gaur. (Mar.) केल; or Skr. कृतं, = Pr. कियं or कियं, = Gaur. (Br. B.) कियौ; or Skr. मैत्रिकं = Prāk. मैत्रियं = Gaur. (Mar.) मोती. Or in the same word Skr. कदरं = Pr. केरं or केर = Gaur. केल or केलू (Mar.) or केला (H. Hindī); and Skr. नारिकेलं, = Pr. नारिलं or नारिल, = Gaur. (Mar.) नारल or नारली. In this last case it is especially obvious that the same Skr. or Prāk. form could not have been the immediate source of the two widely different Gaurian forms.

is evident the Gaurian neuter forms in औँ, ऊँ, ऐँ, ईँ, must be susceptible of such an explanation as accounts for the phonetic increase without shutting out the possibility of phonetic disintegration in these same forms.

I think a clue to the right interpretation of these neuters in औँ (Hindī Br. Bh.), औँ (Hindī Súra Dása), ऊँ (Hindī, Alw., and Maráthī), उँ (Gujarátī and Naipálī); ऐँ (Maráthī); ईँ (Maráthī) is given us by the Gaurian infinitives. Let us take, for example, the infinitive *to do* or *doing*. It is in the Low Hindī dialect of the Braj करनौँ, of Alwar करनूँ, of Súra Dása करनौँ; in Maráthī करणेँ, in Naipálī करनु (or करनुँ?). The common opinion, I believe, is that all these forms are verbal nouns formed by the Sanskrit affix अन, and that their original is the Sanskrit and Prákrit form करणं.* This, as has been shown in the preceding paragraph, is impossible, because it contradicts the glottic laws. Their origin must be a different one. In Maráthī the meaning of the infinitive is only one out of many, and that a subordinate one, of करणेँ and all words of this class. To express the infinitive it has a proper form in ऊँ, connected with, though not derived from, the Sanskrit infinitive in तुं. The proximate and principal meaning of करणेँ in Maráthī is that of the *Latin* gerund. But Maráthī possesses two forms of the gerund, one in ऐँ and another in वैँ; besides करणेँ it has also the form करावैँ; e. g., *incitement to act* is करणा ची प्रेरणा and करावया ची प्रेरणा. Now if we turn to the Prákrit and Sanskrit we find the origin of these forms. We meet with two Sanskrit affixes forming gerunds, or part. fut. pass., of which latter the gerund is merely a particular usage; viz. अनीय and तव्य. In Prákrit these become अणीअ or अणिज्ज and तव्व (see Pr. Prák. II, 17. VII, 33.). Now it can easily be shown that these affixes will account for the two alternative forms of the gerund in Maráthī. The common Prákrit *prose* representative of the Sanskrit root कृ is कर (see Pr. Prák. XII, 15.). Of this root we obtain with the affix अणीअ the gerund करणीअ (= Skr. करणीय), and with the affix तव्य, the form करितव्व which is the more polished form (enjoined by the Pr. Prák. VII, 33.), or करतव्व (= Skr. कर्त्तव्य) which was probably the *vulgar* form of it. In either form (करितव्व or करतव्व) the medial त् would become elided (according to the ordinary rules of Prákrit), thus making करिअव्व or करअव्व (the forms given by Pr. Prák. VII, 33.). Next these forms become contracted by sandhi to करव्व,† and finally one of the two व's is elided (according to the Gaurian law explained in Essay II.), and the preceding short अ lengthened; thus we obtain the form

* Bopp (Comp. Grammar § 875) adopts this opinion but with much hesitation.

† Cowell in his Pr. Grammar, p. 68, gives from one MS. the form हसिब्वं or हसेव्व. If these are at all trustworthy, the analogous forms करिब्वं or करेव्वं exhibit a form very nearly identical with the present Maráthī form करावैँ and altogether identical with the Braj Bháshá gerund करिवौँ, on which more will be said further on.

कराव which is manifestly the base from which the Maráṭhī करावेँ is derived. Next take the alternative form करणीञ्च. The nom. sing. neuter of it is करणीञ्चं. Vararuchi's sūtra Pr. Prák. I, 18 shows that Prákrit has a tendency to shorten the vowel ई in such final syllables as ईञ्च (= ईय or ईक), etc. The following examples are there given; Skr. पानीञ्च = Pr. पाणिञ्च; Skr. द्वितीयं = Pr. दुइञ्च; Skr. तृतीयं = Pr. तइञ्च; Skr. अलीकं = Pr. अलिञ्च, etc. We may well assume that in the vernacular Prákrit these vulgar forms, of which only a very few were admitted into the literary Prákrit, were much more general and regular; especially in the gerunds formed by the affix अनोय. Accordingly we may conclude that the nom. sing. neuter करणीञ्च became करणिञ्च or (with insertion of euphonic य्) करणियं.* Finally करणियं (or करणिञ्चं) becomes in Gaurian contracted to करणे. For ए is an extremely common substitute for any of the combinations इञ्च, इय, ईय, या, अय, both in Prákrit and Gaurian.† E. g. the syllable अय contained in all causal verbs becomes in Prákrit ए, as कारेदि or कारेइ for Skr. कारयति, etc. Again the Skr. कियत् and इयत् become in Prákrit केत् + इक (properly कियन्त् + इक) and एत् + इक (= इयन्त् + इक). Again in Gaurian (old Hindí) the Skr. Part. Past Act. affix इतवान्, which in Prákrit becomes इच्चवन्तो or इच्चऊ,‡ becomes एउ; as Skr. कथितवान्, Pr. कहिच्चवन्तो or कहिच्चऊ, Hindí कहेउ (in old Hindí of Chand Bárdái कहेव). Again in low Hindí the Braj Bháshá याकौ of him, याकौँ to him, यामेँ in him, corresponds to the Ganwári एकर, एको, एमे, etc. Again in Bangáli, in common conversation, a final or medial इया is contracted into ए (see Forbes' Bengali Gram. App. A. 4. p. 160. Shamachurn Sircar's Bengali Gram. p. 149, note 45.) ; e. g., धरिया becomes धरे, करनिया becomes करने. We shall meet with some more examples of this favorite contraction in the course of this Essay.§ Now the genitive of

* An example of this form we have perhaps in the following verse of Chand ;

कर मोहि पल्लव भानियं ॥

चङ्गवान तो घरे हानियं ॥ Pr. Raj.

i. e. The cutting of the finger of my hand will be the destruction of thy house, oh Chahuván. The same form we have probably in the Bangáli nouns of agency in अनिया (cf. Shamachurn's Grammar, p. 149.) ; e. g., करनिया a doer = Naipáli करन्या = Hindí करने का or करनेवाला.

† By analogy, ओ is a substitution for the combinations उव, उया, वा, अव as Braj Bháshá वाकौ = Ganwári ओकर ; Bangáli पटुवा in common conversation = पटो ; cf. Skr. सुवर्णः = Pr. सुवलो, Gaur. सेना. But व is, as a rule, substituted by उ, as उच्यते for वच्यते; and य by इ ; e. g. in old and low Hindí he is both यह and इह.

‡ Of the change of the termination वान् into ऊ in Prákrit, I have found one example, in Mṛichchhakatí Act IV. p. 119, कुदोदे एत्तिऊ विहवो = Skr. कुतस्ते एतावान् विभवः

§ Another example we have in Páli and Prákrit. In Páli the affix of the Instr. Abl., Dat. and Gen. of feminine nouns is या (or य). The corresponding affix in

the Prákrit base करणीञ्च would be करणीञ्चस्स. This form करणीञ्चस्स, according to the process already explained, would successively change to करणीञ्चास्—करणीञ्चा or करणिञ्चा—करण्या which last form is identical with the *oblique form* of the Maráthí करणेँ.

Then as regards the low Hindí forms for the Maráthí करणेँ; viz., करनैँ, करनैँ, करनूँ; the way how they are derived from the original Skr. करणीयं or Prák. करणीञ्च is, probably, this. It does not seem probable that the sounds औ, ओ, ऊ, are merely modifications of ए; at least I am not aware of any example of such a change of a terminal ए to औ or ओ or ऊ. But we have seen on the previous page how the Prákrit form करणीञ्च would colloquially change into करणिञ्चं. Now there are many instances which prove that for the vowel इ of the polished Prákrit the *vulgar* Prákrit dialects substituted the *broad* अ; e. g., in Maráthí we have as the termination of the past part. pass. the affix अल (as सुटला *got loose*) which stands for the Prákrit इञ्च or इत (see Pr. Prák. VII, 32); above we had the vulgar form करअञ्चं for the more polished form करिअञ्चं. Thus it is probable that instead of करणिञ्चं the vulgar dialect pronounced करणञ्चं or, with the euphonic य, करण्यं. And finally करणञ्चं would become naturally contracted to करनैँ, of which करनैँ or करनूँ are merely dialectic variations. The first personal pronoun in the low Hindí of Braj हैँ ego (Alwarí and High Hindí हँ) affords a very good illustration of this change of the terminal अञ्चं to औ. Its equivalent in Sanskrit is अहम् which in Prákrit becomes हं or हञ्चं (cf. Pr. Prák. VII, 40.). Now the form हं could not have yielded the Gaurian form हैँ; it could only have given ह, just as घरं *house* gives वर, but not घरौँ. Hence the original of हैँ must be the other form हञ्चं, and this violates no glottic law.* It may, therefore, be accepted as a law that the

Prákrit is ए; e. g., Páli कन्याय *by, from, to, of a virgin*, but in Prákrit कन्याए; Páli नदिया, Prák. नदिए; Páli वधुया = Prák. वहुए. The Páli is here nearer to the Skr., where these forms would be respectively (genitive) कन्यायाः, नद्याः, वध्वाः. Similarly in the causal where the syllable अय is always contracted to ए in Prákrit, but only *optionally* in Páli; e. g., Skr. कारयति = Páli कारयति or क रेति = Prák. कारेदि or कारेइ. These and many other examples, especially the treatment of the medial consonants, prove that *phonetically* Páli occupies an intermediate position between Sanskrit and Prákrit.

See Dr. Mason's Páli Grammar, p. 105 and p. 61. 37.

* It should be observed also, that the Prákrit form हञ्चं stands for an original form हकं (*i. e.*, base ह + affix क). This is proved by the Mágadhí Prákrit form of ego हके or हगे (cf. Pr. Prák. ix, 9.) In Mágadhí, namely, the diphthong ए often stands in the place of the final syllable अं; e. g., in Mṛichchhakatí:

अद्धं तुए मुक्कं ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. अद्धं त्वया मुक्तं ॥

sound अञ् may change to औँ ; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the phonetic equivalent of अञ्, viz. अं, also changes into औँ ; e. g., the first pers. sing. pres. of the verb *to be* is in the Braj हैँ, in Alwari हँ (also high Hindi), in Jaipurí हूँ, in Naipali हुँ (in Bangali आছি). The original of these forms is the Prákrit अच्चासि (see Prák. Prak. XII, 19.), the substitute for the Sanskrit अस्मि (from the root अच्च् for अस्, just as गच्च् for गम्, इच्च् for इप्). The initial अ of अच्चासि is dropped, (just as in हं or हगे for अहम् or अहकम्), and the final इ becomes *quiescent* (according to the Gaurian rule, see Essay III.) Thus we have काम or काँ (compare the Prákrit future; e. g., गमिस्सं for गमिष्यामि). This is modified to कैँ or कूँ ; next the aspirated palatal क् is reduced to the simple aspirate ह ; and thus we obtain हैँ or हँ. The *mode* of this change seems to be this, that the anuswára, being the substitute of an original labial nasal म्, is vocalised into the labial vowel उ ; at least this seems to be indicated by such Prákrit nouns as पाञ् (= Skr. पाद्), नाम, गाम, (= Skr. ग्राम) which in the Gaurian becomes पांव, नांव, गांव, (Hindi), or पाउँ, नाउँ, गाउँ, (Naipali) ; both, in both Gaurian languages equally, are pronounced पैँ, नैँ, गैँ.

The Naipali equivalent of the Hindi forms करनाँ and करनाँ is करनु. It approaches most nearly to the Alwari form करनाँ and must be considered as merely a modification of it (a reduction of the terminal long ऊ to short उ, so common in Gaurian). It has its exact counterpart in Gujarati in the neuter nouns ending in आनु (see Edaljis Guj. Grammar p. 26, note 5.) ; as उधराणु collection. I think these neuter nouns in उ, both in Naipali and Gujarati, ought correctly to be written with an anunásika, as we have it in the Gujarati infinitives in वुँ, as करवुँ *to do*. There are many examples of this change of a Hindi औ, ओ, or ऊ to उ both in Naipali and Gujarati. There is, e. g., the Gujarati infinitive, as करवुँ, (the exact equivalent of the Naipali करनाँ) which corresponds to the Braj Bháshá infinitive करवैँ and the Alwari, करवूँ and Márwari करवैँ ; again *sum* in the Braj Bháshá is हैँ, high Hindi and Márwari हँ, Alwari हूँ, but in Naipali and Gujarati हुँ ; *quis* is in Hindi कौन, but in Naipali कुँन, etc.

In order to remove all doubts as to the correctness of the identification of the ordinary Gaurian infinitives with the Sanskrit and Prákrit participles future passive formed by the affix अनीय, I will add the following, as I think, conclusive arguments.

1. On the theory that the Gaurian infinitives are verbal nouns formed

Or. एसे कस्सवि अपरावुद्धपक्खदुयालके गेहे ॥ i. e.

Skr. एतत् कस्यापि अपराटतपक्षद्वारकं गेहम् ॥

Or. काह न होइ चलाचले धणे ॥ i. e.

Skr. कस्य न भवति चलाचलं धनम् ॥

by the affix अन, the Gujarátí infinitive, which ends in वुँ (as करवुँ *to do*, जावुँ *to go*) cannot be explained. Even if we should set aside the difficulty of deriving the termination एँ, औँ, ऊँ, etc., from the Prákrit अं, and should admit that, e. g., Maráṭhí करणेँ, Hindí करनौँ, etc., are derivable from the Prákrit करणं, still there remains the Gujarátí करवुँ, which, it is manifest, can in no wise be connected with the Prákrit करणं. On the other hand, on the theory that the Gaurian infinitives are identical with the (Skr. or) Prákrit part. fut. pass. the Gujarátí infinitives find a very easy explanation. The Gujarátí करवुँ *to do* or जावुँ *to go*, etc., are evidently identical with the Maráṭhí करावेँ or जावेँ, *i. e.* the Gujarátí infinitives are identical with the Maráṭhí gerund in आवेँ. But the Maráṭhí gerunds in आवेँ are, as regards the sense, identical with the Maráṭhí forms in ऐँ (e. g. करावेँ is identical with करणेँ). It follows that the Maráṭhí forms in ऐँ and their equivalents in all the Gaurian languages must also be gerunds, *i. e.*, derived from the Sanskrit, and Prákrit part. fut. pass. (or gerund, which is only a particular use of the former), formed by the affix अनीय. On this theory everything falls easily and naturally into its place. Both Sanskrit participles fut. pass.,—those formed by the affix अनीय as well as those formed by the affix तय—passed through the Prákrit into Gaurian.* In the latter they were among other uses put to the use of expressing the idea of the infinitive or gerund. But gradually one or the other of those alternative forms gained the ascendancy, and it so happened, that in all Gaurian languages, with the exception of Gujarátí, that participle future passive which was formed by the affix अनीय, dispossessed the other formed by the affix तय. On the contrary in Gujarátí the part. fut. pass. in तय dispossessed the other in अनीय. Still the *principle* of forming the infinitive is in all Gaurian languages identical. If this be the case, one may naturally expect that all or some Gaurian languages will retain traces of an original twofold form of the infinitive, derived from the twofold form of the Sanskrit and Prákrit part. fut. pass. Such traces actually exist, as I shall show, in the principal Gaurian languages. That both forms still exist and are commonly used in Maráṭhí has been already mentioned; e. g., *it is necessary for us to go abroad* is in Maráṭhí both अन्हास देशान्तरीँ जावया चेँ and जाणा चेँ पड़ेल; again *incitement to act* is either करावया ची or करणा ची प्रेरणा (see *Manual* §. III. note.). As regards Hindí, while the modern High Hindí possesses only the forms in ना (= नौँ), the old and low Hindí dialects possess both forms. In the Braj Bháshá the infinitive may end both in नौँ and वैँ, e. g., Rájaníti p. 69, दसनक बोल्या भाई यामेँ कहा जानवौँ है, *i. e.*, high Hindí दसनक बोला

* I may take this opportunity of stating that, whenever this phrase of *Sansk. forms passing through Prákrit into Gaurian*, is employed, it is not meant to express a *historic fact*—for Prákrit is not a derivation of (what is commonly called) Sanskrit—but a *phonetic fact*.

भाई इस में क्या जानना है; or p. 24, तातेँ भिन्ना उपाय करि जीवैँ जोग नाहीँ कपन त मांगिवैँ औ मरिवैँ समान है (=high Hindí जीना योग्य नहीं है.....मांगना और मरना समान है). It may be remarked in confirmation of this view, that the declension of the infinitive in नैँ is apparently defective; it occurs only in the nominative (in नैँ) and locative (in नि); e. g., p. 4, बैठि रहनौ कपन कौ काम है (= H. Hindí बैठ रहना); p. 6. वह बिचाय करि कहनि लाग्यो (H. H. कहने लगा). But in the other cases the oblique form in वेँ of the infinitive in वैँ is substituted for the oblique form in नेँ of the infinitive in नैँ; e. g., हैँ तुम ते ककु पूछवे को अया हैँ (= H. H. पूछने को); or मेरे मन की बात काहूँ सो कहवे की नाहीँ (= H. H. कहने की नहीं). In the Marwáří (form of the low Hindi), I believe, the infinitive in वेँ* is even the only one in use; see the vocabulary appended to the "Selection of Khyáls or Marwáří plays" (Beawr Mission Press, 1866); e. g., फुटवेँ to open (खोलना); ताकवेँ to leave (त्यागना); दिरावेँ to cause to give (दिलाना); निकसवेँ to quit (निकसना), etc., etc.; examples are:

मैँ कुँ वाण्यो रामगढ रो अंगरेज रो पायो ।
 न्हारो माल लूटवाबालो नहीं रजपूती जाया ॥ e. g.
 H. H. मैँ हँवनिया रामगढ का अंगरेज को करिन्दा ।
 हमारा माल लूटनेवाला राजपूत न होजायो ॥
 Play Dungarasinha p. 4.
 ऊकम दीया है कंपनी समैँ अदल जमावा आया ॥
 याँ कै काँई वाँटणुँस जी थे कूँ लड़वा जावो ॥
 H. H. मैँ अदल जमाने को आया हँ तुम कूँ लड़ने को जाओगे ॥
 Play, Angrez our Pathán p. 73, 75.

As regards Panjābi, I am inclined to think that what the Lúdiáná Grammar calls the indefinite participle and which is not declinable, is, in reality, that other form of the infinitive. It terminates in वे which is identical with the *oblique form* of the Braj Bháshá infinitive in वैँ.—As regards Bangálí, it possesses both forms of the infinitive, viz. in न and in इबा; as करण and करिबा to do. The latter form in इबा is to be compared with the Braj Bháshá *oblique form* in इवेँ of the infinitives in इवाँ;

* I write the Marwáří Infinitive (in वेँ) as well as the Braj Bháshá infinitive (in वैँ) with a final Anunásika. The printed books that I have seen, never have it. The reason is that by the vulgar a final nasal is often very indistinctly pronounced, sometimes even altogether dropped; e. g., the local particle में is in Ganwáří and other low Hindí dialects commonly pronounced only मे or मा. Nevertheless there is no doubt whatever, that the correct form is में or माँ. For the same reason the form with the final Anunásika is the correct form of those infinitives; for only the Nom. sing. neuter of the part. fut. pass. is capable of expressing the infinitive idea, that is, the mere act of the verb, see the sūtra of Pānini quoted below; e. g., करिवैँ can only be a corruption of कर्त्तव्यं but not of कर्त्तव्य, as in Latin agendum may stand for agere but not agendus.

as Bang. करिबा = Braj करिबे or करवे. They are identical; for, as I shall show afterwards, the Bangálí infinitive in इबा is merely the *oblique form* (= Prakrit genitive sing.) of an infinitive in इबैँ; it never occurs in the nominative (*i. e. direct form*); see Shama Churn Sircar's Grammar p. 149, note 40. The Bangálí infinitive in इबा is also almost identical with the Prákrit form of the part. fut. pass. in तब्य, as given in some MSS. which have, e. g., हसिब्वं for हसिअब्वं the usual form. The form हसिब्वं is, no doubt, the form of the later Prákrit, arisen from the older form हसिअब्वं by sandhi (or phonetic decay). The real origin of the infinitive (or gerund) in न has become very much obscured in modern Bangálí; though there are a few indications of it still remaining; e. g., while the final short अ of the infinitive of the Ist and IIIrd classes of verbs is *quiescent*, that of the infinitive of the second class and the causal verbs is pronounced (as ǒ). Again while the infinitives of the former classes are declined according to the first declension, *i. e.*, like such nouns as बाघ tiger, सन्तान child (with *quiescent* अ); the infinitives of the IInd class are declined according to the IIIrd declension, *i. e.*, like such adjectives as बर great, छोट small (with audible अ), see Shama Churn Sircar's Grammar, pp. 129, 149, note 40. For example करण *to do* (Ist class) is pronounced karan, but वेड़ान *to walk* (IInd class) is pronounced beránǒ. Again, the genitive of करण is करणेर, but that of वेड़ान is वेड़ानर. I have shown already (in Essay III) that the Bangálí nouns ending in an audible अ, belong to the *Prákritic element*, that is, that their final audible अ is a contraction of the original Prákrit ending अक (इक or अअ, इअ). Accordingly, the final audible अ of the infinitive also indicates that it must be the remnant of an original Prákrit ending इअ or ईअ (that is, that अन anǒ stands for अणीअ or अणिअ). Another indication of that real origin of the infinitive or gerund in न is this, that they may optionally end in नि, instead of न; e. g., *threading* may be both गायन and गायनि (Ist class); *burning* पोड़ान and पोड़ानि (IInd class), *thatching* छाउन and छाउनि (IIIrd class), see Shama Churn Sircar's Grammar, p. 186. Now this form in नि is also found in the Braj Bháshá, where it is a substitute for the form in ने or वे (*i. e.*, the *oblique form* of the infinitives in नैँ and वैँ); e. g., he began to speak is in the Br. Bh. कहनि लाग्या for the high Hindí कहने लगा. The termination अनि is, evidently, in both languages alike, a corruption of the Prákrit termination अणीअ; and as it is found in the infinitives of all three classes of Bangálí verbs, it indicates that the infinitives of all three classes are really the Prákrit Part. Fut. Pass. in अणीअ (Skr. अनीय). Moreover these forms of the infinitive in इ (as कहनि), and the Naipálí infinitive form in उ (as मननु) clearly show, how gradually the original ending अणीअ has become worn down to a simple अ; for the final short इ and उ become according to the Gaurian law *quiescent* and thus like अ (see the explanation of this process

in Essay III) ; e. g., instead of the Braj Bháshá कहनि लाग्यै we have in Naipáli भनन लाग्ग, in Sindhi चवन लगो. In this respect Sindhi agrees with Bangáli ; in both languages the termination of the original affix अनीय has become worn off altogether. Sindhi infinitives, e. g., are पढ़न *to read*, जागन *to wake*, करन *to do* (see W. H. Wathen's Sindhi Grammar, pp. 37, 38). But it is clear that in modern Bangáli, in consequence of the affix अनीय having become decayed to अन and the real origin of the latter being forgotten, a great confusion has arisen. For in many cases, Sanskrit verbal nouns, really formed by the affix अन (not अनीय), have been introduced into Bangáli to serve as infinitives, under the mistaken idea that the Bangáli infinitives in अन, are really such verbal nouns. A notable instance of this kind is the so-called infinitive करण *to do*. This word करण is really the Skr. verbal noun करणम्. This is shown by the presence of the lingual ण. It is not a corruption of the Skr. करणीयम् ; for in that case it would be written करन (as it is in Sindhi), as Bangáli, like Hindí, turns all lingual ण which it has received through the Prákrit, into dental न. This is proved by the causal करान (for Prákrit कारावणीय, for Skr. कारणीय), which ends in the audible अ (karánō), and therefore has retained more of its original character. I believe, therefore, that the real infinitive of the (primary) verb *to do* is करन, and not करण, which latter form is probably merely an emendation of Bangáli purists, prompted by a mistaken etymology, (as if it were a *Sanskritic* word, and identical with the Skr. करणम्). Perhaps old Bangáli MSS. (of which I have no specimen) might bear out my view. As regards Gujarátí, there also both forms of the Skr. and Prák. Part. Fut. Pass. occur. That in तव्य we have represented by the ordinary Gujarátí infinitives in वुं. The other in अनीय, I think, we can trace in the Gujarátí verbal nouns in आणु, as उधराणु collection (see Edalji's Grammar, p. 26, note 5).

2. Another argument for the identity of the Gaurian infinitive and the Sanskrit and Prákrit Part. Fut. Pass. in अनीय is this, that in Hindí and Panjábí the infinitives are often used as adjectives and admit of a differentiation of gender and number ; e. g., in High Hindí and Panjábí करना is masculine and neuter, and करनी is feminine : in the Braj Bháshá it is करनौ masculine, करनी feminine, and करनौँ neuter. Thus, "to make many excuses is not good," is in Hindí बड़त बाते बनानीँ (feminine plural) अच्छा नहीं ; "there will be gnashing of teeth" is in Panjábí कचीचीआँ लैणीआँ होणगीआँ (lit. to take gnashings of teeth will be) ; see Etherington's Hindí Grammar, §. 541, and Loodiana Gram. of Panjábí §. 156. Now the Sanskrit and Prákrit nouns in अन do not admit a change of gender and number in relation to another noun, because they have no adjectival force, but are merely substantives ; whereas the Part. Fut. Pass. in अनीय are adjectival and change in gender and number. It does not seem probable, nor even

possible, that the verbal nouns in अन can have changed their character so radically in Gaurian.

3. It is a very peculiar usage of all Gaurian languages to employ the infinitive to express *command* or *necessity*. E. g., “never go to their house” is in Hindí उन के यहाँ कभी न जाना (Braj Bháshá जानैँ or जावैँ), which would be in Sanskrit अमृषां स्थानं कदाचिद् न गानीयम्. Again “we must all die” is हम सबों को मरना है = Skr. अस्माकं सर्वेषां (छते) मरणीयमस्ति. In Panjábí तुमों आउना “you must come” = Skr. युष्माभिर् आगमनीयम्. In Maráthí पत्रलिहीत जाणे “continue to write to us.” (See Etherington H. Gr. §. 544, 545. Loodiana P. Gr. §. 95. Manual of Mar. Gr. §. 110, note). The only rational explanation of this usage is afforded by the theory of the identity of the Gaurian infinitive with the Sanskrit and Prákrit Part. Fut. Pass. It may be also noted that in modern Sanskrit, the proper imperative is almost as a rule substituted by the Part. Fut. Pass. (in अनिय or तव्य).

4. All the uses to which the Sanskrit Part. Fut. Pass. in अनिय is put according to this theory in Gaurian, (e. g., to express the mere act, as infinitive), is provided for by Pánini. He has a sūtra छत्यल्युटो बहुलम् (III, 3, 113), which is explained in the Laghu Kaumudí to mean, that the Kṛitya affixes, to which अनिय and तव्य belong, are occasionally employed in many ways different from that enjoined by the ordinary rules (see Siddhānta Kaum. p. 300, 2nd Vol. and Laghu Kaum. No. 823, p. 284). The examples given are स्नानीयं चूर्णं powder for bathing (to both) = Hindí नहाने का चूर्ण; and दानीयो विप्रः a brahman who is to be presented (with something); with which compare in Panjábí मैँ उये विहिणा ऊण हँ = Hindí मैँ वहाँ बैठने का हँ; or ऊण हेरनाँ गल्ला दी बाबत् लिखणा हँ = Hindí मैँ (or हैँ) दूसरी बातों की विषय लिखने का हँ (see Loodiana Grammar, §. 95). These irregular, *bahulam* uses, of the Part. Fut. Pass. were, no doubt, more peculiar to the *vulgar* Sanskrit; and, hence, it is intelligible, how they became the regular uses in the Gaurian. Note also the commentary to the sūtra तव्यत्तयानीयरः (Panini III, 196), where the example is given एधितव्यं एधनीयं त्वया and this is explained भावे औत्सर्गिकम् एकवचनं क्लीबत्वं च (Siddh. Kaum. p. 298, 2nd Vol.), i. e., when the Part. Fut. Pass. expresses the *action itself* (= एधनस), the *singular and neuter* is *naturally* employed. Accordingly the Part. Fut. Pass. (in अनिय and तव्य) in the sing. neuter may express the mere act of the verb. Both characteristics are found in the Gaurian (so called) infinitives. They, quâ *infinitives*, both express the mere act of the verb, and also stand in the sing. neuter; as Hindí — नैँ or (ना), Maráthí — नेँ, Gujarátí वुँ, etc.

5. Perhaps the most serious objection which is felt at first sight against the identity of the Gaurian infinitive with the Sanskrit and Prákrit Part. Fut. Pass. is this, that it involves a change from the Pass. and Future to the Active and Present. But we have an exactly analogous phenomenon

in Latin. The Latin Part. Fut. Pass. in *andus* or *endus* may also have a passive or an active sense. When it is used passively, it may either imply futurity, in which case it is the proper Part. Fut. Pass., expressing chiefly necessity or fitness; or it may imply present time, in which case it is a verbal adjective (commonly called *gerundive*), expressing an enduring contemporaneous action. When it is used actively, it serves to express the oblique case of the Infinitive Present Active, and is called the *Gerund*. Now exactly in these three ways the Sanskrit and Prákrit Part. Fut. Pass. is used in Gaurian; e. g., in *gerundial* construction, *there is time to write a letter*, is in Latin *epistolam scribendi tempus est*, in Gaurian चिट्ठी को लिखने का काल है; or in *gerundival* construction, Latin, *tempus est epistolae scribendae*, Gaurian चिट्ठी लिखनी का काल है; or in Part. Fut. Pass. construction, *you must write a letter*, Latin, *a vobis epistola scribenda est*, तुम से चिट्ठी लिखनी है (or लिखनी चाहिये). The Gaurian goes a step beyond the classic Latin in using the Part. Fut. Pass. also to express the nominative case of the infinitive; but the same usage is not unknown to the Latin of the middle ages, where the Nom. Sing. Neut. is sometimes used to express the mere act of the verb as *scribendum* to write = Hindí लिखनैँ (H. H. लिखना).^{*} The Latin has another parallel case in the verbal adjectives in *tivus*, which have generally active sense, but as regards origin are identical with the Sanskrit Part. Fut. Pass. in तथ्य (e. g., *activus*, *dativus* = दातथ्यः, etc.), see Bopp's Comp. Gram. §. 902, p. 352, IIIrd Vol. Also the Páli has an analogous usage. It employs sometimes the Sansk. Part. Fut. Pass., formed by means of the affix य, to express the mere action of the verb, e. g., देय्य *giving* = Skr. देय (of root दा), पेय्य *drinking* = Skr. पेय (of root पा), हेय्य *rejecting* (of हा); मेय्य *loving* (of मा), ज्ञेय्य *knowing* (of ज्ञा); see Mason's Páli Grammar, §. 263a, p. 146, also §. 235b, p. 134.

But we must return to our original enquiry. We have now seen that the Gaurian neuter terminations ऐँ, औँ, ओँ, ऊँ, etc., cannot be derived from the Sanskrit neuter termination अम् or the Prák. neuter termination अं or अ. We have further, by an examination of the Gaurian infinitive and gerund, seen, that their neuter terminations औँ, ऐँ, ऊँ, etc., are derived or contracted from the Sanskrit termination ईयम् and the Prákrit termination ईअं (or इअं or अअं). This not only confirms the law of derivation stated previously (pp. 65, 66.), but also discovers the *modus* of the derivation of the Gaurian neuter terminations ऐँ, औँ, ऊँ, etc., viz., that they represent a Sanskrit or Prákrit terminal *dissyllable* (in the present case ईयं or ईअं).

^{*} If Bopp's opinion (Comp. Gram. §. 809, p. 183, IIIrd Vol.) be correct, as it doubtless is, that the Latin Part. Fut. Pass. in *andus* is originally identical with the Prák. Part. Pres. Act. in अन्तः or अन्दः (Skr. in अन्त), the process of change in meaning is in Latin exactly the reverse from that in Gaurian. But this does not affect the argument in the text, as the principle of change is identical in both cases.

I will now proceed to illustrate this theory by the examination of a few other neuter forms in Gaurian which will lead us to the same result. In Maráthí there are three irregular past participles of an identical formation, quite peculiar to these three only. They are गेलेँ (of root गम् *to go*), केलेँ (of root क् or कर *to do*), and मेलेँ (of root मृ or मर *to die*). I have given them in the form of the Nom. Sing. Neuter. Their corresponding masculine would be गेलो or गेला, केलो or केला, मेलो or मेला.* These three past participles are also irregular in Mágadhí Prákrit; and their irregularity is also quite peculiar to themselves. The corresponding (Mágadhí) Prákrit forms are, namely, गडे, कडे, मडे, (see Pr. Prak. XI, 15). These forms are in the nominative singular masculine; the final ए being the Mágadhí substitute for the common Prákrit termination ओ (Pr. Prak. XI, 10.). Their corresponding neuter would be गडं, कडं, मडं. These represent the Sanskrit forms गतं, कृतं, मृतं. Here the Sanskrit dental त् of the past participle affix त् has become in (Mágadhí) Prákrit lingual ड्; and this in Maráthí-Gaurian has changed to ल्. This change of Skr. त् and Prákrit ड् to ल्, however, is in Maráthí not confined to the three past participles गेलेँ, केलेँ, मेलेँ, but has become universal, as *got loose* is सुटलेँ, etc.; and therefore it is not the irregularity peculiar to these three participles. The peculiar irregularity of those three participles is in Prákrit, indeed, their change of the Skr. त् to ड्; but in Maráthí the peculiar irregularity is not the change of ड् to ल्, but of the first अ to ए; compare Mágadhí Prákrit गडं, कडं, मडं, with Maráthí-Gaurian गेलेँ, केलेँ, मेलेँ. But this peculiar Maráthí change of अ to ए is also explained by the Prákrit; for, fortunately, in regard to one of the three (*viz.*, केलेँ) the change shows itself already in Prákrit. Here, namely, we meet with the past participle form कलिकं or केलिकं for Sanskrit कृतम्. For केलिकं we find also केरिकं or केरकं. They are derived from the original past participial form कडं or कलं or करं. To this the peculiar Prákrit affix क is added (hence करक or कलक); then the first अ is changed to ए by the rule of Pr. Prak. I, 5. (hence केरक or केलक); then the termination अक is weakened to इक (hence केरिक and केलिक). We have now traced the origin of the Maráthí form केलेँ in its various steps. They are; 1., Skr. कृतं, 2., Mág. Prák. कडं or कलं, 3., Prák. कलिकं; 4., Pr. केरकं; 5., Pr. केलिकं or केलियं, 6., Mar. Gaur. (old) केलियं, 7., Mar. केलेँ. That is, the terminal एँ of the Maráthí form केलेँ is not derived from the terminal अं of the Prákrit form कडं, but from the *terminal dissyllable* इअं or इयं of the Prákrit form केलियं or केलियं. In other words, we have arrived at exactly the same result as that of the previous examination of the infinitives. But to this another result must now be added; *viz.*, that the

* The masc. forms in ओ here and wherever else mentioned in these essays, are old Maráthí.

terminal dissyllable इयं, to which nothing corresponding exists in Sanskrit, is owing to the addition of the Prākṛit affix क.

Now by an exactly analogous process we may derive from the Māgadhī Prākṛit forms गडं and मडं, first the intermediate Prākṛit forms गेलिकं and मेलिकं; and next, the Marāṭhī forms गेलें and मेलें. The identity of the process of their origin is guaranteed by the identity of their peculiar irregularities.

But further, the neuter termination लेँ is not only found in those three past participles (गेलें, केलें, मेलें), but in *all* Marāṭhī past participles. It follows therefore, that their formation must be analogous to that of the other three participles; that is, that their termination लेँ cannot be derived from the Sanskrit or Prākṛit termination तं, but from a Prākṛit termination तकं or तिकं; in other words, from the base of the ordinary Prākṛit past participles, increased by the peculiar Prākṛit affix क;* e. g., Mar. मारिलेँ *killed* is not derived from Prākṛit मारितं or मारिञ्च, but from the amplified Prākṛit form मारितिकं = मारिडिञ्च = मारिलियं = मारिलेँ or मरितकं = मारिडिञ्च = मारिलियं = मारिलेँ.

But that is not all. The result of the present enquiry must plainly be put into the form of a much more general law; *viz.*, whenever a Prākṛit (or Sanskrit) neuter noun, be it a participle or a substantive or an adjective, has a terminable monosyllable अ, but shows the termination ऐँ in its stead in Marāṭhī; this Marāṭhī termination ऐँ cannot be derived from the Prākṛit terminal monosyllable अ, but must be derived from a Prākṛit terminal dissyllable अञ्च or इञ्च (for अकं or इकं), obtained by adding the Prākṛit affix क to the Prākṛit base in अ. No other Prākṛit affix can here come in consideration (for effecting that increase of the base); 1., because no other affix beside क is added *without affecting the meaning*; and 2., because, though in a few cases one or two other affixes are added without any meaning, (e. g., Skr. विद्युत् lightning is in Prāk. विज्जू or विज्जुली; Skr. पीत yellow is in Prāk. पीञ्च or पीञ्चलं, see Pr. Prāk. IV, 26), such addition of these affixes is confined to these isolated cases, while the addition of क is *most common* and may be made to *any* noun (Pr. Prāk. IV, 25); and 3., moreover in order to account for the Gaurian terminal forms ऐँ, औँ, etc., the elision of the consonant of the affix is necessary; now क can be elided, but ल is not elided.

The results which have been set forth so far, might have been equally well arrived at by taking the case of a Hindi past participle. E. g., *it is*

* It is noteworthy that in the Gāthā dialect (or vulgar Sanskrit) "nouns and participles are frequently lengthened by the addition of the syllable क, as रोदन्तको, गच्छमानको, भाषमाणिकाः, ददन्तिकाः, रोदितव्यकाः, आगतिकाः, दासिनिकाः." (Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, p. 122). Mark, how often the terminal syllable अक changes to इक.

said is in the Braj Bháshá कछौँ. This is the nom. sing. neuter; the masc. would be कछौ, the fem. कछी. The corresponding form to कछौँ is in Sanskrit कथितं and in Prákrit कहिदं or कहिअं. Now the form कहिअं could not yield the Hindí form कछौँ, because the vowel इ of the Prákrit form is present in the semivowel य of the Hindí form and the remaining terminal अं cannot give औँ, according to general glottic law. But if we add the favourite Prákrit affix क to कथितं, everything is natural and easy. For कथितकं would be in Prákrit कहिअअं, and this in Hindí-Gaurian कहिऔँ or कछौँ (just as हअं ego becomes हौँ).

According to this theory, then, the original of the Gaurian neuter terminations ऐँ, ईँ, औँ, आँ, ऊँ, is the Prákrit terminal dissyllable इअं or अअं, which, according to Gaurian law,* becomes in old Gaurian इयं or अयं or अवं. If this be really the case, it might not unreasonably be expected, that traces of those original terminal forms इयं, अयं, अवं may be found in Gaurian. Such examples I am, indeed, able to produce; and they will be a further confirmation of the truth of my theory. Only this is to be observed. The Gaurian terminal forms इयं, अयं, अवं, are very slightly, if at all really, different from the Prákrit terminal form ईअं (for Skr. ईयं), इअं (for Skr. इकं) and अअं (for Skr. अकं). If, therefore, the Gaurian forms at all existed, they can only have existed in the earliest period of the Gaurian, when it was yet only a modified and decayed form of Prákrit. In Hindí we have no literature dating so far back. The earliest Hindí work known at present is the epic of Chand, which is already subsequent to that period; how much subsequent, it is not easy to say; but it is in Chand, that we find traces of those original Gaurian neuter terminations; only, for the reason now explained, they must not be expected to be very common.† Such examples are the following:

* This Gaurian law has been repeatedly referred to in these essays, though I have never distinctly stated it. It is this; Gaurian cannot tolerate the hiatus of vowels created by the Prákrit, through ejecting the medial single mute consonants of the Sanskrit; and in order to prevent such hiatus, Gaurian either makes Sandhi of the vowels or separates them by inserting the (euphonious) semivowels य, or व्. It should be noted, in order to prevent misunderstanding, that Gaurian sometimes creates hiatus of its own; these, of course, it retains. The law has only reference to hiatus, created by Prákrit, e. g., Skr. उपविष्टः becomes in Prák. उअइष्टो; in Gaur. बैठा (Hindí); Skr. चर्मकारः, in Prák. चम्मआरो, in Gaur. चमार; Skr. करणधारकः, in Prák. करणहारओ or करणआरओ, in Gaur. (Mar.) करणारो or (Hindí) करणहारा; Skr. लोचनं, Pr. लोअणं, Gaur. लोयनं; Skr. गतः, Pr. गओ, Gaur. गया; Skr. कृतः, Pr. किओ, Gaur. किया, etc.

† On account of Maráthí being so much more conservative of its *Prákritic* character, I should expect old Maráthí to afford many more examples of those Gaurian neuter terminations; but unfortunately I have had no opportunity of examining any old Maráthí work.

बोले रसन अली तामयं ।

चङ्गं वा वृद्धि अग्यानयं ॥ I, 26.

Or हननं निनयककं सेन । कहितं न च पूर्वयं ॥

असुद्धं च छतं एषां । विना खांसौ रिन जुधं ॥ IV, 220. 230.

or कुट्टं सिरं करारयं ।

कपास ज्यौं पिंजारयं ॥

परीय संग सामयं ।

च लुक्क रषि नामयं ॥ IV, 204. 207.

फटिय वत प्रहासं । अनिलं सिजेम परिमलयं ॥ IV, 278.

An instance of the neuter in *इयं* occurs, e. g., in the following verse :

कर मोहि पल्लव भांनियं ।

चङ्गं वा न तो घरे हांनियं ॥ I, 26.

In the last verse भांनियं and हांनियं are probably contractions of भननियं and हननियं for Skr. भञ्जनौयं and हननौयं in the sense of the infinitive. In the former verses अज्ञानयं stands for अज्ञानं; पूर्वयं for पूर्व, करारयं for करारं, पिंजारयं for पिंजारं; सामयं for श्यामं; नामयं for नाम. And the only, and natural, way of explaining the origin of these amplified forms is by the theory that the shorter forms were increased by the addition of the Prākṛit affix क; thus we should have (with the usual elision of क्) the Prākṛit forms अज्ञानयं, पुव्वयं, करारयं, पिंजारयं, सामयं, नामयं and finally these forms would change in Gaurian by the usual insertion of the euphonic य् into अज्ञानयं, पूर्वयं, etc.*

Such neuters as अज्ञानयं, पूर्वयं, etc., prove clearly that general principle which has been stated already, that the Prākṛit affix क was not only added to participles past passive, but also to substantives and adjectives; though this is a fact, which perhaps hardly needed to be particularly stated. But these neuters account very well for the Marāṭhī neuter adjectives and substantives in ऐँ as उच्चैँ *high*, तल्लैँ *tank*, etc. For the termination अयं as previously shown naturally contracts into ऐँ.† Hence, e. g., उच्चैँ presupposes an older form उच्चयं, which stands for उच्चं just as अज्ञानयं for अज्ञानं.

We have now seen that the Prākṛit neuter nouns (Part., Adj., Subst.) may pass into the Gaurian either in the *general* form of their base ending

* I may add here, once more, in explanation, that it is not to be supposed that every Gaurian neuter actually passed through these different steps of phonetic modification. The process of neuter formation, detailed here, only took place really when Gaurian first separated from Prākṛit. After it had become the rule in Gaurian, that neuters must end in अयं or ऐँ or औँ, many neuters, of course, were formed which never passed through any of the steps of the process; e. g. the neuter पूर्वयं is formed direct from the Sanskrit पूर्व. If it had passed *really* (as *ideally* it must be supposed to have passed) through that process, it would have been either पूर्वयं; or पुव्वयं; for the Prākṛit of पूर्व is पुव्वं.

† In Col. Vans Kennedy's Marāṭhī Dictionary the form भेँ is given for भयं fear.

in अं, in which case these neuters terminate in Gaurian in अ; or in the *particular* forms of their base ending in अं (amplified by the addition of the affix क). This termination अं becomes in old Gaurian अयं. Instances of old Gaurian neuters in अयं have been adduced. In modern Gaurian the termination अयं is contracted to एँ; and this neuter terminal form we have in Maráthí.

But the old Gaurian termination अयं is not the only form which the Prákrit termination अं (= अकं) assumes in Gaurian. The Prákrit termination अकं (or अं) suffers in Prákrit already a twofold deteriorating process. It changes sometimes into इकं (or इं), sometimes into उकं (or उं). This deterioration is found in Prákrit only in a few and isolated cases; but in Gaurian it has assumed much greater dimensions, and has affected, as we shall presently see, whole classes of nouns. It is therefore doubtlessly more appropriate to consider these phonetic modifications of the original Prákrit termination अं as a Gaurian one, than as a Prákrit one. This should be noted, as it has some bearing on the question of the presence or absence of an *oblique form* of the Gaurian nouns which have this modified terminal form. For proofs of the deterioration of the Prákrit base-termination अक into इक and उक, I must refer more especially to the examination of the Gaurian masculine and feminine nouns in ई and ऊ. In the Mṛichchhakati the form केरक (the Prák. modification of the Sanskrit कृत) often alternates with करिक. Again, the Sanskrit दृष्टिक *scorpion*, itself already modified from an original form दृष्टक, becomes in Prákrit विंङ्कुक or विंङ्कुअ or बिच्छुअ (cf. Pr. Prák. I, 15).* Again, the Sanskrit मातृक becomes in Prákrit माउअ (for मातृक cf. Prák. Prák. I, 29); that is मातृक first changes to मातक, (by Pr. Prák. I, 27; next to मातृक). If the Prákrit base termination in अक may change to इक or उक in the case of masc. and fem., it is plain that it may do so also in the case of neuters. In Gaurian the Prákrit neuter terminations इं (= इकं) and उं (= उकं) are slightly modified; viz., in old Gaurian to इयं and उयं, and in modern Gaurian to ईँ and ऊँ, e. g., *pearl* is in Skr. मुक्ता in Prák. मोक्ता or मोत्तिका. The latter has a bye-form मोत्तिकं or मोत्तिअं (Skr. मौत्तिकं), and this changes in old Gaurian to मोत्तियं, in modern Gaurian (Maráthí) to मोत्तीँ. That this is the true derivation of the final of मोत्तीँ is proved by such neuter nouns as पाणीँ *water*, मोरीँ *pepper*, लोणीँ *butter*, दहीँ *curds*. For पाणी represents an old form पाणियं, a Prákrit form पाणिअं, and Skr. पाणीयम्; मोरीँ represents an old Gaurian मिरियं, a Prákrit मिरिअं, and Skr. मिरिचम्; लोणीँ an old Gaurian लोणियं, Prák. णोणीअं or णोणिअं, and a Sanskrit नवनीतम्; दहीँ an old

* But the unmodified form विंङ्किअ or विच्छिअ must have existed also in Prákrit. This is proved by the Naipálí which has विच्छी for scorpion, (see St. Luke xi. 12, x. 19.), while the Hindí has बिच्छू and the Maráthí विच.

Gaurian दहियं, a Prák. दधियं or दधिकं, and Sanskrit दधि. Again *touch* is in Sanskrit स्पर्श, in Prákrit फंस or फंसक; the latter has a bye-form फंसुक or फंसुचं, (with the meaning *branch* of a river) which changes in old Gaurian to फंसुवं and in modern Gaurian (Maráthí) to फँसूँ. This derivation is proved by such neuter nouns as अँसूँ *tear* which stands for a Prákrit अंसुचं or अंसुकं and a Sanskrit अश्रु; and जूँ *yoke* which stands for Prákrit जुचं and Sanskrit जुगम्.*

We have now discovered the derivation of all the Gaurian neuter terminal forms; *viz.*

Mar.	एँ	is derived from old Gaur.	अचं	and Prák.	अचं (= अकं)
"	ईँ	" " " "	इचं	" "	इचं (= इकं) or ईचं(=)ईयं
"	ऊँ	either " " "	उचं	" "	उचं (= उकं)
		or " " "	अवं or ओं	" "	अचं (= अकं)
Hindí	औँ ओँ ऊँ	} is derived	" "	अवं or ओं	" "
			" "	अचं (= अकं)	
Gujar.	} उँ	" " " "	अवं or ओं ;	" "	अचं (= अकं)
Naipáli					

The neuter terminal forms, of which the derivations are here given, are the terminations of the *direct forms* of the Gaurian neuter nouns. We will now proceed to examine the *oblique forms* of the same nouns. And it will be seen that this examination will confirm the result already attained.

We will first take the Maráthí neuter nouns in ऊँ. These are divided into *three* classes; (1) those which have no *oblique form* at all, as राजालूँ a kind of vegetable; (2) those which have an *oblique form* in आ, (*i. e.*, substitute आ for ऊँ), as तडूँ *pony*, *oblique form* तडा; (3) those which have an *oblique form* in वा, (*i. e.*, substitute वा for ऊँ), as तारूँ *ship*, *oblique form* तारवा (or तारवा). Now if we turn back to the list of derivations of the *direct forms* given above, we find a twofold derivation of the *direct form* in ऊँ, and it will be easily seen, that there is a close agreement between the twofold derivation of the *direct form*, and the three-fold formation of the

* Some other neuters of this kind are the following; तारूँ *ship* for Prákrit तारचं bye-form of तारचं and Sanskrit तारकम् a raft, float; गलूँ *bile* for Prákrit गण्डचं, bye-form of गण्डचं (= गण्डकं), amplified from Sanskrit गण्डः; पेलूँ *bile* for Prák. पेडुचं, bye-form of पेडुचं, and Sanskrit पिटकम्. Again कुरूँ *circumvallation* for Prák. कुचं and Skr. कुशूलम्; कुँकुँ *powder* for Prák. कंकुचं and Sanskrit कंकुमम्; थरूँ *handle* for Prák. थरचं (= थरकं), amplified from Sanskrit त्रर. The change of the Skr. comp. cons. त्र into थ is noticeable and exceptional; the regular change is into छ (see Pr. Pr. III, 40.), थ being the regular representative of स्त (see Pr. Pr. III, 12). Note also that the Hindí equivalent of the Mar. जूँ *yoke* is जुया or जू, the former of which would represent a Prák. form जुयचं for (जुगकं). The form अंपुच occurs in the old Hindí of Chand; *e. g.* in the verse.

उगमे तहां अंसुच द्व नयनं ॥

Devagiri Kathâ v. 22.

oblique form. Namely (1), neuter nouns in ऊँ which have an *oblique form* in आ, are derived from a Prákrit *base* in अय्य (= अक); and (2) neuter nouns in ऊँ which have an *oblique form* in वा, are derived from a Prákrit *base* in उय्य (= उक); and (3) neuter nouns in ऊँ which have no *oblique form* at all, are derived or rather modified from Prákrit neuter nouns in उय्य (= उकं). Examples will explain this further. A neuter of the first class is पिछूँ *cub*; in Sanskrit the word is पितृः masculine, but the neuter (in diminutive or endearing sense) would be पितृ. The latter, in Prákrit, is पितृ or पितृक or पितृय्य. Again, the last of these पितृय्य, changes in Gaurian to पितृँ and this to पिछूँ. The latter is the present Maráthí *direct form* of the word. Now the genitive of the Prákrit पितृय्य is पितृय्यस्स or पितृय्यस or पितृय्यह. The last of these becomes in Gaurian पितृय्य or (contracted by Gaurian law) पितृय्य, which is the present Maráthí *oblique form* of the word. Again, पेलूँ *boil* is a neuter of the second class. The Sanskrit is पिटः masc. or पिटकं neuter. In Prákrit the latter becomes पेडय्य, which must have had a (probably vulgar) bye-form पेडय्य; and this form पेडय्य changes in Gaurian to पेलुवं (or perhaps पेलुय्य), and this to पेलुँ,* and this to पेलूँ, which last is the present Maráthí form of the word. Now the genitive of the Prákrit पेडय्य is पेडय्यस्स or पेडय्यस or पेडय्यह. The last of these forms becomes in Gaurian पेलुय्य or (contracted by Gaurian law) पेलुय्य, which is the present Maráthí *oblique form* of the word. Dadoba in his Maráthí Grammar admits only this form; but the *Manual* apparently admits also a form पेलुवा. If this be correct, the *oblique form* in अवा, doubtlessly, is merely a euphonic modification of the original *oblique form* in वा, in order to obviate the difficulty of pronouncing a double consonant.† Again चाँचूँ is a neuter of the *third* class. I know no Sanskrit or Prákrit etymology for this or most of the neuters of this class, though, no doubt, some of them may have such an etymology. But they all have been evidently so much phonetically modified by the Gaurian, that their origin is almost unrecognizable. And having thus a purely Gaurian form, it is no wonder, that they are subject to Gaurian law, and admit no *oblique form* at all; that is, they belong to the *proper Gaurian* element. I ought to mention, however, that Dadobá (in his Grammar, §. 198., p. 72) does not admit these neuters at all; neither is any of them found in Col. Vans Kennedy's Maráthí dictionary; and, lastly, Maráthí Paṇḍits of Benares, of whom I have enquired, do not know them.‡ Even according to the *Manual* which enumerates them on p. 29., §. 67, 7., they are only a very few (about 18 altogether); and even of these some are optionally *Prákritic* and admit the *oblique form* in वा or आ. They are the following अवालूँ, उठलूँ, उवालूँ, खटूँ, चाँचूँ,

* In Bangálí उय्य or उव commonly change to ओ, see Forbes' Gr pp. 160-4.

† The separation of a compound consonant by means of an inserted euphonic अ or इ is rather common in Gaurian.

‡ I have seen, however, since that Molesworth gives them all in his dictionary.

झाँझूँ, जावुँ, टाँटूँ, पचेरूँ, फाँफूँ, हाँहूँ, हूँचूँ, * * अगहूँ, * * राजालूँ, * अंसूँ, * अलूँ, * कुँकुँ, * कुसूँ. Those marked with two asterisks have optionally an *obl. form* in आ, and those marked with one asterisk an *obl. form* in दा. This latter fact is explained by the circumstance, that, as has been already noticed, the deterioration of the termination अकं (or अञ्चं) to उकं (or अञ्चं) took place, as it were, on the confines of the Prākṛit and Gaurian, and that, therefore, the neuter nouns which exhibit this deterioration, are sometimes treated as *Prākṛitic*, sometimes as *Proper Gaurian*. As regards the two other classes; that which has the *oblique form* in आ (*i. e.*, 1st class), contains all the neuter nouns in ऊँ,* the only exceptions being those already mentioned as *proper Gaurian*, and the following nine nouns मलूँ *boil*, जूँ *yoke*, तारूँ *ship*, यरूँ *haft*, रूँ *scar*, वरूँ *iron ring*, बोलूँ *sauce*, फारूँ *branch of a river*, पेलूँ *boil*, which form together with those marked with two asterisks in the list of *proper Gaurian* neuters (hence altogether 13) the 2nd class, *i. e.*, that which has an *oblique form* in दा. The paucity of the nouns of this class cannot surprise, if we consider, that the deterioration of the termination अकं into उकं can only have taken place quite exceptionally.

Next, we come to the Gujarātī and Naipālī neuter nouns in उँ, and the Marwārī neuter nouns in ओँ. They all have an *oblique form* in आ, and are evidently, as regards the formation both of the *direct* and *oblique form*, identical with the first class of the Marāṭhī neuter nouns in ऊँ. E. g., *gold* in Naipālī is सेनुँ; in Sanskrit it is सुवर्ण, in Prākṛit सुवर्ण or सुवर्णकं or सुवर्णञ्चं. The last form सुवर्णञ्चं becomes in Gaurian सेनोँ, and this changes to सेनुँ, and this to सेनुँ, which last is the present Gujarātī *direct form* of the word. Now the genitive of the Prākṛit सुवर्णञ्चं is सुवर्णञ्चस्स or सुवर्णञ्चस्स or सुवर्णञ्चाह. The last of these forms changes in Gaurian to सेनञ्चा and this to सेना, which last form, with the addition, apparently, of a final nasal सेनाँ (the meaning of which will be explained afterwards), is the present Gujarātī *oblique form* of the word. As another representative example, we may take the Gujarātī infinitive करवुँ *to do*, to which the Marwārī infinitive करवोँ corresponds. The derivation of these infinitives has already been explained. They are formed from the Sanskrit participle future passive in तव्य. The Sanskrit is कर्त्तव्यं, in early Prākṛit this is (करितव्यं or) करिअव्यं, in later Prākṛit करिव्यं or करव्यं or amplified करव्यञ्चं,† the last of these करव्यञ्चं changes in Gaurian to करवोँ, which is the present Marwārī *direct form* of the word,

* To this class of neuter nouns belong all Marāṭhī diminutives, which are neuter nouns in रूँ or डूँ.

† This amplified form करव्यञ्चं admits a two-fold explanation. Either it may be formed from the form करव्यं by the usual addition of the affix क (being originally करव्यकं); or, which is perhaps more probable, the affix तव्यं may have become in

and next to करवूँ or करवुँ, which last is the present Gujarátí *direct form* of the word. Now the genitive of the Prákrit करव्वञ्च is करव्वञ्चस्स or करव्वञ्चास्स or करव्वञ्चाह. The last of these changes in Gaurian to करवञ्चा and finally (contracted by Gaurian law) to करवा which is the present Gujarátí and Marwáří *oblique form* of the word. The Naipáli neuter nouns in उ are the infinitives. While, e. g., the Gujarátí has करवुँ *to do*, and the Marwáří करवौँ, the Naipáli has करनुँ.* The derivation of these infinitives has also been already explained. They are derived from the Sanskrit participle future passive in अनीय. The Sanskrit therefore is करणीयं; in Prákrit it is करणीञ्च or करणिञ्च and (broadened) करणञ्च. This last form करणञ्च changes in Gaurian to करनौँ (or करनौँ) which is the present *direct form* of the word in the Braj Bháshá, next to करनू which is the present Alwarí *direct form* of the word, and, finally, to करनुँ, which is the present Naipáli *direct form* of the word. Now the genitive of the Prákrit form करणञ्च is करणञ्चस्स or करणञ्चास्स or करणञ्चाह. The last of these becomes in Gaurian करनञ्चा or, contracted by Gaurian law, करना, which is the present Naipáli *oblique form* of the word.†

The final nasal which appears in the *oblique form* of Gujarátí neuter nouns in उँ is puzzling.‡ At first sight, one might take it as an inorganic Prákrit, not only अव्वं, but also अव्वयं and (with elision of य), अव्वञ्च, or अव्विञ्च (अव्वियं) and (broadened) अव्वञ्च (comp. vedic चल्थ *having gone*, Prák. चलिञ्च). In the latter case the process of development of करवुँ is this; Skr. कर्त्तव्यं, Prák. करिअविञ्च or करिअवयं = करिअवञ्च = करअवञ्च; Gaur करवौँ = करवूँ = करवुँ. In this case the single व of the Gaurian form is explained by the Prákrit itself. In the other case it must be explained by the Gaurian law according to which a Prákrit similar double consonant is reduced to the single consonant. The Maráthí form करवेँ is contracted either from the Prákrit form करव्वञ्च (which becomes in old Gaurian करावञ्च) or from the Prák. form करअवञ्च. (Compare the note at the end of the essay).

* In St. Luke's gospel the Naipáli infinitive is spelled without the final nasal; thus करनु. This may be mere inaccuracy; or, if it is correct, we must assume that the original final nasal is dropped, as so often in *modern* Gaurian. This view is confirmed by the fact that traces of that Gaurian tendency of dropping the final neuter nasal, appear also in Gujarátí, where, according to Edalji's Grammar, the neuter may end in उ as well as in उँ e. g., gold is both सेनु and सेनुँ.

† This Prák. from करणञ्च becomes in Gaurian contracted into करणेँ which is the present Maráthí *direct form* of the word.

‡ This final nasal, I think, should be written as an anunásika. In Hindí, at all events, all final and medial *Gaurian* nasals are anunásikas, but all medial (there are no final nasals of this kind) *Sanskritic* or *Prákritic* nasals are anuswáras. I am inclined to think that this rule obtains not only in Hindí, but in all Gaurian languages; it certainly does, as far as my limited acquaintance with the pronunciation of the other Gaurian languages enables me to judge. In Hindí, *kareṅge* they will do “is करेँगे not करेँगे; *evening* is साँझ (Skr. सन्ध्या, Prák. संझा); *true* is साँच (Skr. सत्य, Pr. सच्च);

addition for a mere euphonic purpose, or to distinguish the neuter *oblique form* from the (otherwise identical and indistinguishable) masculine *oblique form*, or to assimilate the neuter *oblique form* to the neuter *direct form*. The addition of an inorganic final nasal occurs here and there in Gaurian, as e. g. in the negative particle नाहोँ or नहाँ, and in the noun मुँह (Skr. मुखम्; Prák. मुहं). The Gujarátí Grammar of the Rev. Joseph Van S. Taylor does not admit a neuter *oblique form* with a final nasal at all (see §. 140. 44., pp. 26-29). Even in Mr. Sh. Edalji's Grammar the forms with the final nasal seem to be allowed only as optional (see §. 94., p. 40). Under these circumstances the conclusion appears to be justified that the final nasal is inorganic, and, in fact, an incorrect addition made perhaps for some reason like those suggested above. If, however, the final nasal should be organic, the only solution—by no means satisfactory to my own mind—that I can suggest for the present is this; the Sanskrit neuter nouns in इ and उ insert a nasal (न or ण) before the affix of the genitive; e. g., वारि *water* has Gen. वारिणः; दधि *curds* has Gen. दधिनः; गुरु *heavy* has Gen. गुरुणः; मधु *sweet* has Gen. मधुनः. In Prákrit this use, as an optional one, is extended even to the masculines in इ and उ; e. g., अग्नी *fire* has Gen. अग्निणो (or अग्निस्स), वाउ *wind* has Gen. वाउणो or वाउस्स. This renders it not improbable that perhaps in later or vulgar Prákrit that use was even more extended, viz., also to neuter nouns in अ, so that, e. g., सुवस्सं *gold* would have not only *saint* is गोसाईँ (Skr. Pr. and गोस्वामी); *where* is कहाँ (Skr. किंस्थान, Pr. कयाने); *in* is में or साहो (Skr. मध्ये Pr. सज्जन्नि), etc., etc. In all these and like words, the nasal is pronounced by Natives as an anusásika, not as an anuswára. They are all *proper Gaurian* words. But in *Prákritic* words, as चंगा *healthy*, लंबा *long*, घंटा *clock*, etc., and in *Sanskritic* words, as सन्ध्या *evening*, संयुक्त *joined*, etc., etc., the nasal is pronounced by Natives as an anuswára. The difference may, perhaps, be best illustrated by the French and English; *langage, exemple, environs* are pronounced with what Pandits would call the anunásika, but *language, example, environs*, are pronounced with what they would call the anuswára. There is an essential difference between the two nasals. The anunásika is a mere nasalization, which may be given to any sound (commonly to a vowel, but also to consonants), and therefore a mere modification of a sound (वर्णधर्म) but not a distinct sound (वर्ण) itself; while the anuswára is a distinct and separate nasal sound (वर्ण). See Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Languages, 2nd vol., p. 164. Panini 1, 1. 8. 8, 3. 23. 24. In poetry the distinction of the two nasals is clear and important; the anuswára makes the preceding vowel *always* long, while the anunásika has no influence on it whatever. In modern printed books, unfortunately, the distinction between the anunásika and anuswára is very rarely and incorrectly observed. Those printed by natives are in this respect generally more exact, than those edited by foreigners. In future, in these essays all modern Gaurian nasals will be represented by the anunásika. In quotations, however, from the oldest Hindí, of Chand, I shall, for the present, retain the anuswára; as there may be some uncertainty as to the date, when the old anuswára of the Prakrit was changed by the Gaurian into the mere anunásika.

a Gen. सुवसस्स, but also सुवसणो; and similarly सुवसञ्चं a Gen. सुवसञ्चस्स or सुवसञ्चणो. The latter form सुवसञ्चणो might easily originate the Gaurian forms सोनञ्चन, next सोनान, finally सोनाँ. This theory appears to receive some confirmation from the Mārwarī where the *oblique form* of the pronouns generally ends in ण or the anuswāra, e. g., *his* is इणरा; it corresponds to the Hindī इसका; and as इस is a Prākrit genitive इस्स (see Essay 2nd), so perhaps इण is a corruption of a Prākrit genitive इणो (= Sanskrit इनः).*

Next we proceed to the Marāṭhī neuter nouns in ईँ. Their *oblique form* ends in या. E. g., मिरीँ *pepper* is derived from the Sanskrit मिरिचं; in Prākrit it is मिरिञ्चं; in Gaurian मिरियं or, contracted, मिरीँ. The genitive of the Prākrit मिरिञ्चं is मिरिञ्चस्स or मिरिञ्चास or मिरिञ्चाह. The last of these forms becomes in Gaurian मिरिञ्चा or (contracted by Gaurian law) मिर्या which is the present Marāṭhī *oblique form* of the word. Again पाणीँ *water* is derived from the Sanskrit पाणीयं; this becomes in Prākrit पाणिञ्चं (Pr. Pr. i, 18); and the latter changes in Gaurian to पाणीँ. The genitive of the Prākrit पाणिञ्चं is पाणिञ्चस्स or पाणिञ्चास or पाणिञ्चाह, of which the last form changes in Gaurian to पाणिञ्चा or पाण्या, the present Marāṭhī *oblique form* of the word. Again दहीँ *milk* is derived from the Sanskrit दधि; in Prākrit it is दधिं or दहिं or दहिकं or दहिञ्चं. The last of these forms becomes in Gaurian दहियं, and this contracts into दहीँ. The genitive of the Prākrit दहिञ्चं is दहिञ्चस्स or दहिञ्चास or दहिञ्चाह. The last of these forms changes in Gaurian to दहिञ्चा, and is contracted into दह्या, the present Marāṭhī *oblique form* of the word. Again मोतीँ, *pearl* is in Sanskrit मुक्ता (or मौक्तिकं); in Prākrit it is मोत्ता or मोत्तिका or (diminutive) मोत्तिकं or मोत्तिञ्चं. The last of these forms becomes in Gaurian मोत्तियं, and this contracts into मोतीँ. The genitive of the Prākrit मोत्तिञ्चं is मोत्तिञ्चस्स or मोत्तिञ्चास or मोत्तिञ्चाह. The last of these changes in Gaurian to मोत्तिञ्चा, and is contracted to मोत्या, the present Marāṭhī *oblique form* of the word.

There remain for consideration the Marāṭhī neuter nouns in एँ and the Hindī neuter nouns in ओँ, औँ, ऊँ. To these is to be added a Naipālī class of neuter nouns which I have only met with in the *oblique form* ending in या, and the *direct form* of which, I think, would probably end in ओँ or perhaps in ऊँ. A comparison of the passages, in which the Naipālī *oblique form* in या occurs, shows us the following points concerning them; 1., they are (adjective) nouns of agency; e. g., St. Luke viii. 5. एक बीउ छरन्या निस्ख्यो, *i. e.*, High Hindī एक बीज बनेवाला निकला; again दस अखपि ऊन्या लाइ देउ; *i. e.*, H. H. दस अखपिवाले को दो; again St. Luke xxii. 21. सलाइ पक्राउन्या को हात, *i. e.*, H. H. मुक्त को पकड़नेवाले का हाथ; again St. Luke xxii. 20, मरा वगन्या रगत को नजा घा हो; *i. e.* H. H. मेरे वहनेवाले रक्त के नाईँ है; again विखाउन्या दिन, *i. e.*, H. H. विश्राम का दिन. In the two last examples the *oblique form* is clearly an adjective (qualifying रक्त and दिन); but in the others also it is an adjective, though put by itself and thus used substantively.

* See, however, a note at the end of this essay.

Further in the first example we have it as a nominative ; in the second as a dative ; and in the fifth as a genitive. 2., These *oblique forms* belong to words which are equivalent to Hindí and Maráthí infinitives or gerunds ; this can be seen clearly by comparing the Hindí and Naipáli in the above examples ; compare also Naipáli जन्माउन्या दिन with Hindí जनने का दिन ; and Naipáli करन्या कौ प्रेरना with Maráthी करणा कौ प्रेरणा, etc. 3, These *oblique forms* are *genitives*. This may be seen from the fact that in the above examples विसाउन्या दिन and जन्माउन्या दिन the *oblique forms* विसाउन्या and जन्माउन्या are equivalent to the Hindí genitive विश्वास का, जनने का. Again सुनन्या in Naipáli is = सुननेवाला a hearer ; the plural of it is सुनन्याहेर, lit. hearer's multitude = सुननवाले का घेर. Here सुनन्या in the plural word is clearly in the genitive case. A little consideration will show, that, in fact, these *oblique forms* cannot be anything else but genitives. The words to which they belong are, as we have seen, infinitives, that is, verbal nouns expressing an act. On the other hand, the *oblique forms* themselves are, as we have also seen, adjective nouns of agency. Now the only way of turning a noun expressing an act, into a noun expressing an agent doing that act, is by putting it in the genitive case and supplying a common noun (as man) either expressed or understood. By doing this, the noun of act in the genitive case becomes equivalent to an adjective expressing the possession of the act by the supplied noun which is qualified by the adjective, e. g., सुनना is hearing ; and the genitive सुनने का, if मनुष्य man be supplied, (i. e., सुनने का मनुष्य or Naipáli सुनन्या मानिस), is a man of hearing, that is, a man who hears. Here सुनने का or सुनन्या is equivalent to an adjective. The word मनुष्य need not be expressed, and the adjective may be used by itself as a substantive noun of agency.

Now if these Naipáli *oblique forms* in या must be genitives, they can only be Prákrit (organic) genitives, modified, of course, by Gaurian phonetic laws. It has been already shown that the Gaurian infinitives or gerunds are identical with the Sanskrit or Prákrit future participles passive. And it can be easily shown that, according to the phonetic process explained in the beginning of this essay, the Gen. Sing. of the Prákrit will assume the Naipáli *oblique form* in Gaurian. E. g., to hear (the dhātu) is श्रु ; the Skr. Part. Fnt. Pass. of it is श्रवणीय, in Prák. सुणणीय or सुणणिञ् ; the Prák. Gen. is सुणणिञ्स or सुणणिञ्चास or सुणणिञ्चाह. The last form changes probably in late Prákrit to सुणणिञ्चा or सुननिञ्चा, and finally is contracted in Gaurian (by Sandhi according to Gaurian law) to सुनन्या, which is the present Naipáli form of the word.

This view of the Naipáli nouns of agency in या, is confirmed by the Bangáli, which possesses nouns of agency in अनीया and दूवा, as करनिधा or करिवा doer (see Sama Churn Sircar's Grammar pp. 149., and 153.)* To the

* The forms in या and दूये, as करा and करिय doer are probably, merely contractions of those in दूवा and अनिया.

Naipálí सुनन्या *hearer* and the Hindí सुनने would correspond the Bangálí सुननिया; and to the Hindí form (in Braj Bháshá) सुनवे or सुनिवे or (in Marwárí) सुनवा (the alternative Low Hindí forms of सुनने) would correspond the Bangálí सुनिवा. It is evident that the Bangálí nouns of agency in अनिया and इवा are derived from the two Skr. and Prák. Part. Fut. Pass. in अनीय and तव्य in the sense of the infinitive or of a noun expressing act; and that (as regards form) they are equivalent to the organic genitive of those participles, and thus came to signify the agent. Thus the Part. Fut. Pass. of the root श्रु (Prák. सुण) *to hear* is either सुणणीञ् (Skr. श्रवणीय) or सुणिञ्च or सुणिव्व (Skr. श्रोतव्य). The genitive of the former (सुणणीञ् or by Sandhi सुणणिञ्च) is सुणणिञ्स or सुणणिञ्चास or सुणणिञ्चाह, of which forms the last changes in Gaurian to सुननिया, the present Bangálí form of the word. Again the genitive of the other Prákrit form सुणिञ्च or सुणिव्व is सुणिव्वस् or सुणिव्वास or सुणिव्वाह, of which the last form changes in Gaurian to सुनिवा, the present Bangálí form of the word.

The Bangálí nouns of agency in अनिया and इवा (or इये and आ) and the Naipálí nouns of agency in या are, then, Prákrit genitives, or, looked at from the Gaurian standpoint, *oblique forms*; they all require, to complete their sense of agency, the supplement of some common noun (as मनुष्य *man*). This noun is, however, suppressed and in course of time the real genitive-nature of those nouns of agency was forgotten, and they came to be considered as regular original adjective or substantive nouns;* and, accordingly, to be declined as if their form were a nominative singular. Hence we meet in Naipálí with a genitive सुनन्या को, Dat. सुनन्या लाइ, as if सुनन्या were the Nom. Sing. e. g., St. Luke xxii. 21.; तर देख सलाइ पक्राउन्या को हात मेरा सँग मैच साथि छ, (*i. e.*, H. H. मेरे पकड़नेवाले का हाथ, etc.); or St. Luke xix. 24. दस अखपि ऊन्या लाइ देउ (*i. e.*, H. H. दसअखफिवाले को दो). Similarly in Bangálí the nouns of agency may be declined. In illustration of this phenomenon, I may refer to a parallel one in German. Some of the modern German surnames are the Latin genitive of original Christian names; but now they are considered and are declined as regular original nouns in the nominative case. E. g., such names as *Jacobi*, *Georgii* are really genitives to which *filius* “son” is to be added; *Jacobi* meant originally, the son of Jacob; *Georgii*, the son of George; and they are declined as *Jacobi philosophic*, the philosophy of *Jacobi*, as if *Jacobi* were a nominative. Similarly such names as *Stevens* are really genitives; for *Stevens* is properly *Steven’s* son.

* A very similar phenomenon happened in the formation of the *direct form* of the plural in some Gaurian languages; e. g., Naipálí सुनन्याहेर *hearers* (lit. hearer’s multitude) corresponds to Hindí सुननेवाले, where some noun like घेर must be supplied. Thus Naipálí भोकाहेरpl. of भोको *hungry* = Hindí भूके (or complete भूके घेर). This will be fully discussed in a future essay on the inflexional base of the Plural.

We must return now to the examination of the Maráthí neuter nouns in एँ and Hindí neuter nouns in औँ, औँ, ऊँ. The oblique form of the Maráthí neuter nouns in एँ ends in या; that of Hindí neuters in औँ, औँ, ऊँ ends in ए. E. g., *done* in Maráthí is केलेँ, oblique form केल्या; in old Hindí it is कियौँ or कौनौँ oblique form कोये or कीने;—*high* is in Maráthí उच्चेँ, oblique form उच्चा; in (High) Hindí ऊँचा (Braj Bháshá ऊँचौँ, old Hindí उँचौँ), obl. form ऊँचे;—*doing* is in Maráthí करणेँ, obl. form करणा, in Hindí (Braj Bh.) करनौँ, obl. form करने, etc., etc. Here we see that the Hindí terminal ए always stands in the place of a Maráthí terminal या. Now if we put together this fact with the other fact, already stated, that in Gaurian the syllable या (or अय, इय, etc.) is often contracted into the diphthong ए; and also with the fact noticed before, that the Naipálí *oblique form* in या corresponds to the Hindí oblique form in ए, (as Naipálí करन्या to Hindí करने); the conclusion must necessarily be drawn, that the terminal ए of the Hindí *oblique form* of nouns is a contraction of an original termination या; and this will apply not only to the termination of the oblique form of Hindí neuter nouns, but also to that of Hindí masculine nouns in औ or आ; for, e. g., the Hindí masculine noun (घोड़े or) घोड़ा *horse* is identical with the Maráthí (घोड़े or) घोड़ा; and the oblique form of the latter घोड़्या must also be identical with the oblique form of the former घोड़े; and so forth.

The next question is, what is the origin of this original termination या of the Gaurian *oblique form* of neuter nouns in औँ, औँ, ऊँ, एँ, and their corresponding masculine nouns. Here the infinitives afford us again a clue to its right interpretation. A Hindí infinitive is, e. g., करनौँ *to do*; we have seen, it is derived from the Prákrit करणीञ्च. Now करणीञ्च changes in the Nom. case successively into करणिञ्च, करणञ्च, करनौँ or करनूँ. In the genitive case it changes successively from करणीञ्चस्स, करणिञ्चस्स to करणिञ्चास्स करणिञ्चाह, करणिञ्चा, करन्या, करने. And thus by phonetic changes, perfectly regular, natural and easy, we arrive at the *direct form* in औँ and ऊँ, and the *oblique form* in ए of the Hindí neuter nouns. And the conclusion we draw, is that the termination या of the Gaurian *oblique form* is a contraction of the termination इञ्चस्स of the Prákrit genitive; and this is the case also with all Hindí neuter nouns which are not infinitives. E. g., the oblique form किये of the neuter noun कियौँ *done* must represent a Prákrit genitive किइञ्चस्स (for किडिक्स्स = Skr. कृतकस्य), which must have changed successively into किइञ्चास्स, किइञ्चाह, किइञ्चा, किया, किए or किये (with euphonie य). Perhaps at first sight there will seem to be a difficulty in this theory. In the case of the infinitive करनौँ both the *direct form* in औँ and the *oblique form* in ए were traceable to an original Prákrit base in इञ्च; on the other hand, as regards all other Hindí neuter nouns in औँ or ऊँ (as, e. g., कियौँ, etc.) their *direct form* in औँ is derived from a Prákrit base in अञ्च; while, if the theory be correct, the *oblique form* in ए must be derived from a Prákrit base in इञ्च. In other words the theory necessitates

the assumption that Prákrit bases which in the nominative case ended in अञ्च changed or deteriorated in the genitive case into इञ्च.* To illustrate this, let us take again the case of कियैँ done. Its *direct form* represents a Prákrit nominative किदकं, which changed successively into किञ्चञ्च, किञ्चैँ or किञ्चैँ, कियैँ. The *oblique form*, as we have just seen, postulates a Prákrit genitive किदिकस्स, that is, the Prákrit nominative किदकं or किञ्चञ्च with a base in अञ्च, has a genitive किदिकस्स or किदइस्स with a base in इञ्च. Now though this change may surprise at first sight, there is really nothing irregular or extraordinary in it. It is a phenomenon which under certain phonetic circumstances regularly occurs. I have had occasion already to notice that the base termination अञ्च (अक) has a tendency to degenerate into इञ्च (इक) or उञ्च (उक). Thus we have in the Mirchchhakati केरिञ्च besides केरञ्च; and विदुञ्चो for विसिक्कः, etc.† But the change has become an absolute rule in the feminine. Bases which in the masculine end in अक (अञ्च) change always in the feminine into a base ending in इक (इञ्च), and this rule obtains already in Sanskrit; e. g., Skr. masc. बालकः *boy*, but fem. बालिका *girl*; Prákrit masc. बालञ्चो, fem. बालिञ्चा, etc. The reason of this change, probably, is that, as the ultimate in the feminine is heavily weighted (by changing अ to आ), the penultimate is lightened (by changing अ to इ). Now under exactly the same circumstances the same change evidently takes place in the later or vulgar Prákrit declension of bases in अक. Take again the example of किदक. The Nom. sing. is किदको. The Gen. किदिकस्स or किदकास्स or किदकाह or किदका. At this stage, I think, the change must have taken place; the form किदका would correspond exactly to an original feminine form बालका; and as the latter changed to बालिका, so the former changed to किदिका, and for the same reason; because the ultimate had become आ for अ, the penultimate was shortened to इ for अ. Next किदिका or किदइञ्चा changed to किय्या; and this to किए or किये. This theory applies equally to Hindí masc. nouns in ओ or आ. Take, e. g., घोड़ा *horse*. It is derived from the Prákrit base घोडक or घोडञ्च, which in the feminine becomes घोडिका or घोडिञ्चा. The Nom. Sing. of the Masc. is घोडको or घोडञ्चो, which in Gaurian is contracted into घोड़े and changed to घोड़ा. The Gen. Sing. of the masc. is घोडकस्स or घोडञ्चस्स, which changes successively to घोडञ्चास्स, घोडञ्चाह, घोडञ्चा, घोडिञ्चा, घोड्या, which is the present Maráthí *oblique form*, and finally to घोड़े, which is the present Hindí *oblique form* of the word.

There is another explanation possible of the Hindí *oblique form* in ए which is not open to the difficulty just now discussed. But it is open to

* It should be noted, however, that, as explained previously, the Hindí infinitive termination औँ or ऊँ requires a change of the original Prákrit termination इञ्च to अञ्च; so that, practically, there is no difference in this respect between Hindí infinitives and other Hindí neuter nouns.

† See also some more examples in the note 5 on page 105.

other difficulties ; not only to *one*, but several, which moreover are more serious and much less capable of being surmounted. The explanation is this. The Gaurian diphthong ए can be not only a contraction of या, but also of अया. If we suppose the latter to be the case in the Hindí *oblique form* in ए there is no necessity of assuming a change of the Prákrit base termination अय into इय. In this case the *oblique form* in ए (e. g., किये) is to be explained thus ; the Prákrit genitives किङ्कस्स or किञ्जस्स change to किञ्जस्स to किञ्जयाह or किञ्जया. At this stage, as I have shown on former occasions, the word passed into Gaurian, and, according to Gaurian rule, either Sandhi must take place, or a euphonic letter must be inserted, to prevent hiatus. The question is, which of these two alternatives happens. According to the present theory we must assume that the euphonic letter य् was inserted. Hence we get किञ्जया which finally changes to किए or किये. So far there is no difficulty ; on the contrary it obviates the difficulty involved in the other theory of changing the base in अय into one in इय. But there is positive evidence to show that of the two alternative cases just now mentioned, not the one here assumed (*viz.*, insertion of य्), but the other (of Sandhi) took place in reality. In Marwáří, namely, the *oblique form* is not किये but किया, and what this fact indicates is this, that in the form किञ्जया when it passed into Gaurian, not the insertion of a euphonic consonant य्, but *Sandhi* of the hiatus-vowels (अ and या) took place ; *viz.*, किञ्जया was contracted into किया or (with euphonic य्) किया. Evidence of the same fact is the Naipálí and Gujarátí with their *oblique form* in या, which, as I have already shown, is the contraction of a terminal form अया ; e. g., Gujarátí सोणुँ gold, obl. form सेना ; equivalent to Prákrit Nom. sing. सुवस्सञ्च and Gen. sing. सुवस्सञ्चस्स, or सुवस्सञ्चास, or सुवस्सञ्चाह, or सुवस्सञ्चा, and contracted सेना. It follows from all this that if the Prákrit base in अय remained unchanged in the process of transition of the Prákrit into Gaurian, the termination of the Prákrit genitive was contracted by *Sandhi* into या, and not changed, by the insertion of a euphonic य्, into अया ; and hence the origin of the termination ए must be differently explained. And the explanation is, that there was an alternative case ; in some places the Prákrit base in अय remained unchanged, and gave rise to the *oblique form* in या ; in other places the Prákrit base in अय was weakened to इय, and thus gave rise to the *oblique form* in या or ए. E. g., the base सुवस्सञ्च gold remained unchanged in Gujarátí and its genitive सुवस्सञ्चा (for सुवस्सञ्चस्स) was contracted to सेना ; while in Hindustán, it was weakened to सुवस्सिञ्च, and its genitive सुवस्सिञ्चा was contracted to सेन्या or सेने.

The objection explained in the preceding remarks is only one of the reasons against the derivation of the termination ए of the Hindí *oblique form* from an original termination अया. I shall now proceed to state a few more reasons against it, in order to remove as much as possible, all doubts as to the truth of the theory, that the termination ए stands for या, and this for इया (= इका).

2. A second reason is this. To the Hindí *oblique form* in ए the Maráthí *oblique form* in या corresponds and both must have an identical derivation. Now though ए may be explained as a contraction of अया in Hindí, this cannot be done with Maráthí या. In Maráthí the initial consonant य् of the syllable या is always compounded with the final consonant of the base. There does not seem to be any trace that it may be separated from the final consonant of the base, and pronounced as अया; e. g., the *oblique form* of घोड़ा *horse* is घोड़ा, but not घोड़या. In the case of the *oblique form* in वा, the *Manual* admits an alternative form in अवा; e. g. तारु *ship*, obl. form तारवा or तारवा; but in the case of the *oblique form* in या neither the *Manual*, nor Dadobas's Grammar, nor any other grammar that I have consulted, admits an alternative form in अया. If it had existed at all, it would surely have been mentioned by one or other of the grammars. Even the alternative form अवा is doubtful, seeing that it is only mentioned by the *Manual*; but the alternative अया, it appears, does not exist at all. Now this fact would be very improbable on the supposition that the form in अया is the original one, out of which the other (the present) form in या arose by the suppression of the medial अ. Such a suppression of a medial अ, indeed, is not uncommon in Gaurian; but whenever it occurs, both forms remain equally current, the original one without the suppression and the derived one with the suppression; and at all events, whatever the pronunciation may be, the spelling wherever accuracy is observed, follows the origin of the word. Thus in Hindí, though *he knows* is pronounced jántá it is always by correct Nágari writers spelled jánatá (*i. e.*, जानता, not जान्ता). Now neither of these is the case with the Maráthí *oblique form* in या; it is always *spelled* with the य् compounded with the preceding consonant, and always so *pronounced*. Even if we should rely on the analogy of the *oblique form* in वा, it would not help us out of the difficulty. For, as I have shown formerly when treating of the Maráthí neuter nouns in ऊँ, the case is just the reverse with the obl. form in वा. There the original form is that in वा and the derived form is that in अवा, *i. e.*, with the insertion of a euphonic अ to prevent the necessity of pronouncing a compound consonant; such insertion being also not uncommon in Gaurian. If, therefore, the analogy of the *oblique form* in वा proves anything, it proves the very thing demanded by my theory; *viz.* that the form in या is the *original form*; and if a form in अया should exist, it could only be a vulgar corruption of the form in या with *inserted* अ. Further, it should also be noted, that even if two alternative forms in या and अया should exist, this fact, though it might allow the opposite theory, would in no way contradict my theory; (for the form in या, as just shown, might be the original one); while if only *one* form in या exists, this fact is altogether fatal to the opposite theory, but accords entirely with my theory. It seems certain, then, that, at all events in Maráthí, the termination या of the obl. form is original, and not reducible

to a form in अया. But if this is the case, the Hindí corresponding termination ए must also be a contraction of an original termination या, and not अया. And further it follows, that both in Maráthí and Hindí, the Prákrit base from which this oblique form in या and ए is derived, must have ended in इया.

3. In Maráthí there is one exception to the rule that the initial consonant य of the obl. form termination या is compounded with the final consonant of the base. It is the gerund in आवेँ. According to both the *Manual* (see § iii, III.) and Dadoba's Grammar (see §. 463.) the *oblique form* of these gerunds does not end (as we should expect according to the analogy of other neuter nouns in ऐँ, as करणें [obl. form करणा], उच्चें [obl. उच्चा]) in आव्या, but in आवया; e. g., करावेँ to do, obl. form करावया (not कराव्या), जावेँ to go, obl. form जावया (not जाव्या). Here the alternative form in व्या does not exist at all. Now this exception proves the rule extremely well. It has been observed several times already that these Gaurian gerunds or infinitives in आवेँ are derived from the Skr. and Prák. Part. Fut. Pass. in तव्य, and it has been shown in a previous place, that the Sanskrit termination तव्य may become in Prák. अवयं; thus Skr. कर्तव्य becomes Prák. (करिअव्वं or) करिअवयं or करअवयं. The genitive of the latter form is करअवयस्स, which changes to करवयास्स or करअवयाह or करअवया. Here the form passes into Gaurian which, according to its law, contracts the form, by Sandhi of the hiatus-vowel, into करावया; and thus we obtain the present Maráthí *oblique form*. Now let it be noted that here the semivowel य् is not a euphonic insertion of the Gaurian, but an original, integral part of the word, taken over from the Prákrit. The case would be very different with any other neuter nouns, as e. g., उच्चें high. In Prákrit this neuter would be उच्चअ, which in Gaurian would become उच्चयं; the genitive of the Prákrit उच्चअ would be उच्चअस्स or उच्चआस्स or उच्चआह or उच्चआ, in which last form it passes into Gaurian, and now if we are to obtain the form उच्चया, we must assume that the Gaurian inserts a euphonic य्. This, as we have seen, is not the case; the Gaurian, on the contrary, makes Sandhi under these circumstances; we should obtain the form उच्चा. We see, therefore, that the reason why the *oblique form* of the Gerund in ऐँ differs from the *oblique form* of other neuters in ऐँ, is this, that the consonant य् of the former is organic, while the य of the other neuters would be an inorganic euphonic insertion. But, as I have proved by examples from the Gujarátí, Naipálí and Marwáří, it is contrary to the habit of Gaurian to insert य् in this particular case; it prefers to make Sandhi. Hence the difference under discussion proves, that the oblique form in या must be explained in an altogether different way, and the theory advanced by me, that it is the modified genitive form of a Prákrit base in इया fulfils all the requirements of the case.

4. The *oblique form* in या is not altogether peculiar to Maráthí neuter nouns in ऐँ, but it belongs also to the Maráthí neuter nouns in ईँ. Now

the *oblique form* of the latter originated, as I have shown formerly, from the genitive of Prākṛit bases in इञ्; and, as there is no reason to suppose that the *oblique form* in या of the neuter nouns in एँ differs in nature from it, the former must also be derived from the genitive of Prākṛit bases in इञ्. E. g., दहीँ *curds* has the oblique form दह्या, i. e. दहिञ्चा = दहिञ्चाह = दहिञ्चास = दहिञ्चस्स (दधिकस्य), which is the Gen. sing. of a base in इञ्. Similarly सोन्या, the obl. form of सोनेँ *gold*, must be सोनिञ्चा = सुवणिञ्चाह = सुवणिञ्चास = सुवणिञ्चस्स = (सुवणिकस्य), i. e., the Gen. sing. of a base in इञ्.

There can be little doubt, then, I think that the Marāṭhī *oblique form* in या postulates a Prākṛit base in इञ्, and so also the Hindī *oblique form* in ए, which is evidently identical in nature with the former. And I may here add, that this is true also of the Panjābī *oblique form* in ए which is identical in nature and form with the Hindī obl. form in ए. In consequence, it must be assumed that while the *direct form* in एँ, औँ, औँ, ऊँ, of neuter nouns is derived from the nominative Sing. of a Prākṛit base in अञ्, the oblique form in या of the same nouns is derived from the genitive Sing. of a Prākṛit base in इञ्, into which the Prākṛit base in अञ् degenerated in the course of transition into Gaurian, in consequence of the final of the word having become heavily weighted in the genitive.

5. Moreover in Hindī, there is one instance which affords us positive evidence of the fact, that the obl. form termination ए is equivalent to या, and not to अया. The *oblique form* of the *proximate demonstrative pronoun* in the Braj Bhāshā, is या; on the other hand in Gaṇwārī it is ए. E. g., *in this* is in the Braj Bhāshā यामेँ, in the Gaṇwārī एमे; *of this* resp. is याकौ and एकर; *to this* याकौँ and एको, etc. There can be no doubt that the Gaṇwārī ए is merely a contraction of the Braj Bhāshā या. This is easily confirmed by a further comparison of the Gaṇwārī and the Braj Bhāshā. It has been already remarked that in Gaurian या is often contracted to ए, वा to ओ, य to इ, and व to उ. Now the Braj Bhāshā *oblique form* of the *distant demonstrative pronoun* is वा and this, in the Gaṇwārī, is represented by ओ; e. g., Braj Bhāshā has वाकौ, वाकौँ, वामेँ; but the Gaṇwārī ओकर, ओको, ओमे. Again while the Braj Bhāshā has यहाँ *here*, वहाँ *there*; the Gaṇwārī has इहाँ and उहाँ.

There is still a point remaining for settlement concerning these neuters; viz. the Prākṛit original of the final एँ of the *direct form*. The Marāṭhī final एँ corresponds to the Hindī final औँ, औँ, or ऊँ (High Hindī आ); e. g., Marāṭhī सोनेँ *gold* is equal to Low Hindī सोनैँ or सोनूँ (H. H. सोना); Mar. केलेँ *done* is = Hindī कियैँ (H. H. किया); Mar. करणँ *doing* = Hindī करनैँ or करनूँ (H. H. करना), etc. The terminations औँ, ऊँ, there can be no doubt, are the modifications of the Prākṛit terminal form अञ्. It is, therefore, *primā facie* probable, that the Marāṭhī एँ is also a modification of the Prākṛit termination अञ् into अयं by inserting य, which अयं afterwards contracted into एँ. But this is merely Gaurian law; and the existence of

neuters in अयं in early Gaurian has been already amply proved. But there are two circumstances, which would seem to indicate a different derivation of the Maráthí final एँ; viz. from a Prákrit final इअं, which in early Gaurian would become इयं (with insertion of euphonic य्). Those two circumstances are; 1. that the original of the termination एँ of the Maráthí gerunds in ऐँ (or नेँ) is the Prákrit termination इअं, (e. g., करणे *doing* is contracted from Prákrit करणिअं), and that by parity, all Maráthí-neuters in एँ are derived from Prákrit neuters in इअं. 2, that as the *oblique form* in या of these neuters in एँ is derived from the genitive of a Prákrit base in इअं; if we derive the *direct form* in ए from the nominative Sing. of a Prákrit base in इअं, all difficulty attending the derivation of the oblique form is removed. Though it must be admitted, that these reasons are of considerable force, yet I think, the reasons which decide for the other view outweigh them. These are, 1., that it equalizes the derivation of the neuter nouns which are common to both Maráthí and Hindí; while the Prákrit termination अअं (old Gaurian अयं) would explain easily the Gaurian neuters ending in औँ, ऊँ, as well as एँ, the Prákrit termination इअं would only explain the Maráthí ending एँ, but not the Hindí ending औँ or ऊँ, for which we would have to keep the Prákrit termination अअं. 2., There is the Maráthí neuter termination ईँ which, to a certainty, is contracted from the Prákrit neuter termination इअं; if the Maráthí neuter termination एँ be also taken as a contraction of the Prákrit termination इअं, there is no intelligible reason, why in some words the ending इअं should have been contracted into ईँ and in others again into एँ. On the other hand, there is a very good reason for this difference, if we suppose that originally neuter nouns ended partly in अयं, partly in इयं; and those ending in अयं contracted their final into एँ, while those ending in इयं contracted it into ईँ. E. g. सोनेँ *gold* is contracted from the Prákrit सुवणअं, old Gaurian सोनयं; but दहीँ *curds* is contracted from the Prákrit दहिअं old Gaurian दहियं.—3., Again to anticipate a point which will be fully gone into in the next essay; to the Maráthí neuters in एँ correspond Maráthí masculines in आ; now according as the Maráthí neuter in एँ is derived from an original form in अयं or इयं; the masculine in आ must also be derived from an original form in अयो (अयो) or इयो (इयो); but the form अयो yields much more readily the contraction आ (old Maráthí ओ), than the form इयो, the latter could in the first instance give us only the contracted form ओ; and though there is perhaps no absolute difficulty in assuming a contraction of ओ to ओ (as in उच्चो to उच्चो *high*),* still it is not so easy and natural as the

* In illustration might be adduced the High Hindí participle past passive in आ, for the Braj Bháshá ones in ओ; as H. Hindí कहा, for Braj Bháshá कह्यो. Here कहा may have arisen by the elision of य् in कह्या. But its origin may also have taken place in a different manner. The corresponding participles in Maráthí end in अला, which stands for the Skr. ending इत; e. g. *read* is पढला, the Skr. is पठितः, the

contraction of अओ to ओ (as in उओ to ओ).—4., while on the theory of the Prākṛit terminal form अअ being the original of the Marāṭhī terminal form एँ, the two objections to this theory (noticed above) can be reconciled; on the other hand, on the theory of the Prākṛit termination इअ being the original, the three objections to this theory are incapable of being surmounted. As regards, namely, those two objections, it may be said: 1, that the ending एँ of the Marāṭhī gerunds in ऐँ (or नेँ), though, no doubt, ultimately derived from a Prākṛit termination ईअ or इअ may well be proximately derived from a Prākṛit termination अअ. For it has been shown already that the Prākṛit Part. Fut. Pass. affix अणोअ may change to अणिअ (or अणियं) or अणअ (or अणयं).^{*} And this derivation

Prāk. (with the amplificative affix क) पढिदको or पढिदओ; in the more vulgar and broad Prāk. dialect it must have become पढदओ, this changed to पढडओ and finally to पढलओ; in Gaurian it was contracted to पढलो or पढला. We may well suppose that the affix इत was also in Hindī sometimes broadened in अत. Hence Skr. कथित would become in Prāk. कहिदको or कहदको. The latter form would change to कहअओ or कहओ or कहो or कहा which last is the High Hindī form of the word. The former form would change to कहिअओ or कहिओ or कह्यो or कह्यौ which last is the Braj Bhāshā form of the word. The extreme improbability of the Prākṛit termination इओ being contracted in Gaurian first to ओ, next to ओ or आ is illustrated by the word मूषिक mouse, which becomes in Gaurian मूसा or मूसो. Here the Gaurian termination आ or ओ might be thought to be a contraction of the Sanskrit termination इकः or Prākṛit इआ. But if we turn to Prākṛit, we find the following sūtra in Subha Chandra's grammar, अपथिष्ठिवीप्रतिश्रुद्धिभीतकहरिद्रायाम् (II, 47, corresponding to Hema Chandra I, 88.); that is, the first इ of the words mentioned in the sūtra changes to अ; hence the Skr. मूषिकः becomes in Prākṛit मूसओ, and this, now, changes in Gaurian to मसो or मूसा.

^{*} The insertion of a euphonic य, which, as has been remarked in another place, has become one of the phonetic laws of Gaurian, is not altogether unknown to the later Prākṛit. Thus Hema Chandra in his Prāk. grammar gives the following sūtra अवर्णा यश्रुतिः I, 180, in Subhachandra the corresp. sūtra is यश्रुतिरः III, 5, and the commentary thereon कगादिलोयेऽवर्णात् परो योऽवर्णोऽवशिष्यते तत्र लघुप्रयत्नतरयश्रुतिर्भवति, which means, that if a consonant which is preceded by अ or आ and is followed by अ or आ is elided, a euphonic य is inserted; some examples given are सयडं (for शकटं), तित्थयरो (for तीर्थकरः), रययं (for रजतं), etc. This sūtra limits the practice to a particular case. But in Gaurian there is no limitation; and there are not wanting evidences that even in later Prākṛit the limitation was not strictly observed. Thus Hemachandra himself in his commentary to sūtra I, 14, of his own grammar makes the following remark बङ्गलाधिकारादीषत्सृष्टतरयश्रुतिरपि, that is, by the rule of variety the semivowel य may be slightly pronounced, and he gives among others as an example सरिया for Skr. सरित्. Also in the previously mentioned sūtra he mentions as an exception पियद् for Skr. पिवति. In all MSS., in my possession, both of his grammar and that of Hema Chandra the euphonic व is generally inserted in the Prākṛit examples; while in the MSS. of Vararuchi's Prākṛit Prakāsha it is never met with.

is rendered almost certain by the fact, that the Hindí equivalent of the Maráṭhí gerundial ending अणेँ is अनैँ or अनूँ which can only have arisen from a Prákrit ending अणञ्च. Thus the Maráṭhí करणेँ corresponds to the Hindí करनैँ or करनूँ. Now the *proximate* original of the Hindí form करनैँ or करनूँ must have been a Prákrit form करणञ्च; hence it is probable that it was also, in the form करणञ्च, the original of the Maráṭhí form करणेँ; though the *ultimate* original of both forms (Hindí as well as Maráṭhí) was the Prákrit form करणीञ्च or करणिञ्च. Moreover the word पाणीँ *water*, which is a contraction of the Prákrit form पाणिञ्च or पाणीञ्च,* shows plainly, that if the Prákrit termination अणीञ्च was modified to अणिञ्च or अणिञ्च, it changed its final in Gaurian according to rule into ईँ, and not to एँ; and that, therefore, in order to explain the change of the ultimate Prákrit form अणीञ्च to अणेँ in Maráṭhí, we must assume, that first it was modified to अणञ्च अणञ्च and afterwards अणञ्च to अणेँ.—2., It has been proved already that there is nothing extraordinary or irregular in a change of a Prákrit base in अञ्च in the Nom. Sing. to a base in इञ्च in the Gen. Sing.

The conclusion, then, which we must draw, appears to be this, that the termination एँ of Maráṭhí neuters is in all cases of substantives (as सेनेँ), adjectives (as उचेँ), and participles (as केलेँ), and probably in the case of gerunds (as करणेँ) a contraction of the old Gaurian termination अञ्च and the Prákrit termination अञ्च.

In order to complete the subject of the neuter inflexional base, I may add, that in the modern literary form of the Hindí-class Gaurian languages (excepting Gujarátí) the final anunásika of the neuter *direct form* of the inflexional base is always dropped. Thus in High Hindí we have करन; for the Braj Bháshá करनैँ and Alwarí करनूँ.† Again compare पाणी *water* with Maráṭhí पाणीँ, and High Hindí अलू *potatoe* with Maráṭhí अलूँ; this is but the legitimate conclusion of a regular phonetic process affecting the final nasal. In Sanskrit we have final ण्; in Prákrit final ण् is toned down to the anuswára; in Gaurian the anuswára is attenuated to the anunásika; and in modern literary Gaurian finally the anunásika is dropped. The result of this process is the disappearance of the neuter gender in the modern literary Hindí-class Gaurian languages (excepting Gujarátí); for by the dropping of the final anunásika the neuter and the masculine become identical and indistinguishable in form; and hence were also not distinguished in gender.

It was remarked above when treating of the Maráṭhí neuters in ऊँ that the formation of the final ऊँ took place, as it were, on the confines or the debatable ground between Prákrit and Gaurian; and that, therefore,

* See Hema Chandra I, 101. Subha Chandra II, 59.

† Similarly the Dative post-position in High Hindi is को for Braj Bháshá कौँ.

neuter nouns in ऊँ may be considered and treated as well as *Prákritic* as *Gaurian proper*. This remark applies with equal force to neuter nouns in ईँ. In Maráthí these neuter nouns in ऊँ and ईँ are *generally* considered as *Prákritic*, and treated accordingly; *i. e.*, have an *oblique form* (as पणीँ *water*, obl. form पाण्या; अलूँ *potato*, obl. form अल्वा). But in the Hindí-class Gaurian languages, they are always considered as *proper Gaurian* and treated accordingly, *i. e.*, have no *oblique form* (as Hindí, Gujarátí, etc. पाणी *water*, अलू *potatoe* remain unchanged throughout the declension).

The next essay (No. V) will be devoted to the examination of the inflexional base of the masculine and feminine nouns with reference to the proof of these two points; that the *oblique form* is identical with the *Prákrit* genitive, and that the termination ओ or आ of the *direct form* (of masculine nouns) is owing to its original being the termination of a *Prákrit* base, formed by means of the pleonastic affix क. This will also afford an occasion to examine an old Hindí *oblique form* in हि or ह and the inflexional base of the pronouns.

APPENDIX.

A table exhibiting the various stages of phonetic decay of the nominal forms in the development of Gaurian from Prākṛit and Sanskrit.

A. DIRECT FORM.

Sanskrit.		Theoretical or (vulgar Skr.?)	Prākṛit.		Gaurian ¹ .	
Base.	Nom. Sing.		Early.	Late or vulgar.	Old.	Modern.
Bases in ॥	सुवर्ण	सुवर्णम्	सुवर्णञ्	सोसञ्	{ सोनो (or सोनवं?) सोनयं	सोनो B. सोना H. सोनुँ G. सोने M.
	पिल्ल	पिल्लम्	पिल्लञ्	पिल्लञ्	पिल्लो (or पिल्लवं?)	पिल्लो B. पिह्लू M. पिल्ला H.
	मुक्ता	मुक्ता	मोत्तिञ्	मोत्तिञ्	मोत्तियं	मोत्तो M. मोतो H.
	स्पर्श	स्पर्शः	फंसञ्	फंसञ्	फांसुवं or फांसो	फांसू M.
	पिटक	पिटकम्	पिडञ्	पिडञ्	पेलुवं or पेलो	पेलू M.
	OR	OR	OR	OR		
Bases in ॥	दधि	दधि	दहिञ्	दहिञ्	दहिञ्	दहो M. दहो H.
	अशु	अशु	अंसुञ्	अंसुञ्	अंसुवं or अंसो	अंसू M. अंसू H.
Bases in ॥	गडु	गडु	गडुञ्	गडुञ्	गलुवं or गलो	गलू M.

Sanskrit.			Theoretical		Prākṛit.		Gaurian ¹ .	
Base.	Nom.	Sing.	or (vulgar Skr ?)	Early.	Late or vulgar.	Old.	Modern.	
Gerund in कृत्वा	करणीय	करणीयम्	—	करणीञ्	करणिञ् or करणञ्	करणियं or (करणं) (करनवं ?)	करणे M. करणी B. करनू A. करनु N. करना H.	
	पानीय	पानीयम्	—	पाणीञ्	पाणिञ् or पियणिञ् ⁶ or पियणञ्	पाणियं पीणयं पीनीं (पीनवं ?)	पाणी M. पानी H. (water) पीणे पीनी B. पीनू A. पनु N. पीना H. } drink.	
	करिष्य	कर्त्तव्यम्	करितव्यम्	करिष्यञ् or करिष्यवयं ² or करअवयं	करिष्यं (करिवञ् or करवञ् करअवयं	करिवीं Mr. (करिववं ?) करवीं (करववं ?) करावयं	करिवाँ B. करिवू A. करवाँ B. करवू A. करवुं G. करावे M.	
Miscellaneous	मिरिच	मिरिचम्	—	मिरिञ्	मिरिञ्	मिरियं	मिरि M.	
	युग	युगम्	— { युगकम्	जुञ्	जुञ्	जवं or जों	जं M.	
	कुङ्कुम	कुङ्कुमः	कुङ्कुमम्	जुञ्चञ् कुङ्कुमं	जुञ्चञ् कुङ्कुञ्चं ³	जुञ्चो (or जुञ्चवं ?) कुङ्कुवं कुङ्को	जुञ्चो B. जुञ्चा H. कुङ्कुं M.	

B. OBLIQUE FORM.

Bases in ४					
सुवर्ण	सुवर्णस्य	सुवर्णकस्य	सुवर्णस्य OR सुवर्णस्य OR सुवर्णस्य (सुवर्णस्य ?)	सोण ⁴ OR सोण	सोना G. सोन्या M. सोने H.
पित्त	पित्तस्य	पित्तकस्य	पित्तस्य OR पित्तस्य मोक्षस्य OR मोक्षस्य	पित्तस्य OR पित्तस्य मोक्षस्य	पित्ता M. पित्ते H. मोत्या M.
मृत्ता	—	मौक्तिकस्य	मौक्तिकस्य OR मौक्तिकस्य	मौक्तिकस्य	
स्पर्श	स्पर्शस्य	स्पर्शकस्य	स्पर्शस्य OR स्पर्शस्य	फांसस्य OR फांसस्य	फांखा M.
पिटक OR पेटक	पिटकस्य OR पेटकस्य	पिटकस्य OR पेटकस्य	पिटकस्य OR पेटकस्य	पेटकस्य OR पेटकस्य	पेत्वा M.
Bases in ४					
दधि	दधिनः	दधिकस्य	दधिकस्य OR दधिकस्य	ददिया	दह्या M.

Miscellaneous.					
मिरिच	मिरिचस्य	—	मिरिआस or मिरिआह	मिरिआ	मिर्या M.
युग	युगस्य	{ युगस्य or युगकस्य	जुआह	जुआ	ज्वा M.
कुङ्कुम	कुङ्कुमस्य		जुअआह	जुअआ or जुइआ	जुए H.
		—	कुङ्कुमास or कुङ्कुमाह	कुङ्कुआ **	कुङ्काँ G. कुङ्का M.

NOTES TO APPENDIX.

Note 1.—M. = Maráthí; B. = Braj Bháshá; A. = Alwar dialect; N. = Naipáli; G. = Gujaráti; MR. = Marwári; H. = High Hindí.

Note 2.—The Prákrit grammars allow only those forms of this gerund, which change the compound consonant व्य into व्व (see Pr. Prák. VII, 33); as करिअव्व or करेअव्व, to which Hemachandra adds also करिव्व and करेव्व. But the Gaurian dialects seem to postulate two more Prákrit forms of that gerund; viz. such as change the comp. cons. व्य into विअ or वअ; and such as change the connecting vowel इ into अ (see my note on p. 83, 84); e. g., besides करिअव्व also करिअविअ or करिअवअ or करअवअ. Now since writing the present essay, I have found that my conjectures are supported by the Páli of the rock inscriptions; e. g., in the Dhauli inscription occurs the form कटविअ and in the ordinary Páli कातव्व or कतव्व besides करितव्व (see Dr. Muir's Skr. Texts, Vol. II., p. 113, and Dr. Mason's Páli Grammar, p. 90). This is all the more important, as, no doubt, the Páli of the inscriptions represents much more closely the *spoken* language than the Prákrit of the grammars, which may have sacrificed sometimes the established but irregular forms of popular usage to the uniformity and regularity of a fancied rule.

Note 3.—The forms कुकुअ and कुकुआ I have given on the analogy of two sūtras in Śubha Chandra's Prákrit Grammar (Adhy. I, Páda I, sūtra 14. 15.): डित् आनुनासिकम् ॥ i. e., whenever the technical letter ड is added, an anunásika must be pronounced; and मोड यमुनाचामुण्डातिमुक्तककामके ॥ i. e. in the (four) words yamuná, chámunḍá, atimuktaka, kámuka म् must be pronounced as an anunásika; e. g., जडुणा, काडुओ, etc. Perhaps we may assume, that in later and vulgar Prákrit the elision of consonants generally was compensated by the pronunciation of anunásika; and this conjecture might afford us another explanation of the puzzling final anunásika of the neuter *oblique form* in Gujaráti and Panjábí. E. g. if the elision of क् should be compensated by anunásika, we should have the Gen. सुवसँआह for सुवसँकस्य; and सुवसँआह would change to सोसँआ, and finally to सोना. This explanation, perhaps, appears less forced than that given above in the text p. 85, 86.

Note 4.—In the text (see above p. 60) I have explained that the Prákrit Genitives in आह, as सोणआह, drop the final ह, and change to सोणआ. In support of this theory compare the remarks of Beames in his Comp. Gram. of the Modern Aryan languages of India p. 259., which I have received in the meanwhile. The only example given there is Skr. कर्पास which in Panjábí is कपाह, but in Oríya कपा. A still more apposite evidence of my theory has since occurred to me in the Gaṇwári (Hindí) *oblique form* of the *near demonstrative pronoun* which is ए or एह and corresponds to the Braj

Bhášhá form या or याहि. The original, namely, is the pronominal base इम which is defective in Sanskrit, but in Prákrit has a complete declension. The Gen. Sing. of इम is in Prákrit इमस्स or इमास or इमाह, in which, in later Prákrit, the म becomes changed to anunásika, thus इँआह (see note 3). Finally the form इँआह becomes in Gaurian contracted (by sandhi) to एह which is Ganwárí, or to याहि which is Braj Bhášhá. At the same time it is manifest, that the alternative forms ए and या must be contractions of an original Prákrit form इँआ (with apokope of ह). Similarly the *oblique form* of the second personal pronoun in the Ganwárí is तो or तोह, in Braj Bhášhá तो or तोहि. The original of these forms is the Prákrit genitive तुमस्स (nom. तुमं), or तुमास or तुमाह or (in late Prákrit) तुँआह or तुँआ. Of the two last forms the former तुँआह is contracted to तोह; the later तुँआ to तो. And so forth; the pronouns offer many more illustrations.

Note 5.—The Maráthí गलूँ *boil*, might be also derived from the Sanskrit गण्ड; which might be preferable, as the Skr. गण्ड means *boil*, while गडु does not exactly. In illustration of the change of the Skr. ण्ड to ल, I may quote the word कुष्माण्डी which according to Śubha Chandrá sūtra II, 80. changes in Prákrit to कोहंडी or कोहली. If this derivation be correct, then गलूँ is another example of the change of the termination अक to उक; for its proximate original will, then, be गण्डुकं. I may here add a few more examples of the change of the termination अक to इक or उक in Prákrit which have occurred to me since writing the foregoing essay. They have not always been recognized as such by Prákrit grammarians. E. g., in Śubha Chandra sūtra अमृद्वादौ वा (II, 8. corresp. to Hema Chandra I, 44), it is said among the examples that पावास्स is a modification of the Sanskrit प्रवासी; and again in his sūtra उर्द्धिनि प्रवासीदौ (II, 53. corresponding to Hema Chandra I, 94, 95) it is said that by the change of इ to उ the Sanskrit प्रवासी becomes in Prákrit पवासुओ. It is manifest, that the Prákrit पवासुओ or contracted पवास्स (or पावास्स) is not a modification of the Sanskrit प्रवासी (of the base प्रवासिन्) but of a Sanskrit form प्रवासकः. Again Śubha Chandra has a sūtra वाद्मयटि (II, 20, corresponding to Hema Chandra I, 50), according to which the vowel अ of the affix मय optionally changes to अइ; the example given is धम्ममइओ for Sanskrit धर्ममयः; that is, according to the Prákrit grammarian's theory the Skr. धर्ममयः changes to धम्ममइओ or, with elision of the medial य, धम्ममइओ. This is evidently a fanciful theory. The truth, no doubt, is that the Sanskrit base धर्ममय is, by adding the affix क, amplified to धर्ममयक and then weakened to धर्ममयिक; the latter form naturally yields the Prákrit form धम्ममइओ (by cliding य् and क्). Again Śubha Chandra has a sūtra सर्वज्ञादौज्ञोणेच (II, 18, corresp. to Hema Chandra I, 57), according to which, if the comp. cons. ज्ञ is changed to ण, the inherent vowel अ becomes उ; thus Skr. सर्वज्ञः becomes in Prákrit सव्वणू. Now the form सव्वणू presupposes an original base सर्वज्ञु, but there is no such base in Skr. ;

but सर्वज्ञ would be naturally amplified to सर्वज्ञक, and this might very well be modified to सर्वज्ञुक, which would yield a Prákrit form सव्वसुओ or contracted सव्वसू. It should be noted, that all the words referred to here, are such in which the forms in इक and उक are confined to the Prákrit, while in Sanskrit they occur only in the form in अक. But there is a not inconsiderable number of Sanskrit nouns in अक (*i. e.* अ + affix क) which have, *in Sanskrit itself*, alternative and equivalent forms in इक and उक. Now considering that most of these forms in इक and उक occur only *rarely* and in *late* Sanskrit works, I think we are justified in concluding that, a., they are merely phonetic modifications of the original form in अक (*i. e.*, not formed by a separate and original Skr. affix इक or उक, which is the common opinion); b., that originally they were peculiar to Prákrit, having originated by Prákrit phonetic law; and c., that they have been retransferred from Prákrit into Sanskrit (a theory regarding the relation of Prákrit and Sanskrit which admits perhaps of wider application, than is generally thought). If this view be correct, the number of those cases where a Skr. base in अक has undergone in Prákrit a modification into इक or उक, will be very much enlarged. As to the prevalence of the addition of the affix क (resp. इक) in Prákrit, see the testimony of Dr. J. Muir in *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. II, p. 122, and Dr. Weber in *Fragment der Bhagavatí*, I. ster Theil, pp. 437, 438.

Note 6.—The Gaurian verb, पीना *to drink*, must be derived from the reduplicated root पिव (for पा), which, probably, was much more extensively employed in colloquial Prákrit than either in Skr. or literary Prák. The Prák. Gerund of पिव would be पिवणीञ् or पिवणिञ्, or (with elision of व्) पिञ्णिञ्, or with insertion of euphonic य (espec. mentioned by Hema Chandra I, 180, Subha Chandra III, 5), पियणिञ्, or (broadened) पियणञ्. This latter form would be contracted in Gaurian regularly to पीनयं (old G.), पीने^० M., पीनौ^० B., पीना H.

Note.—I withdraw, for the present, the remarks on the Skr. Past Part. Act. affix इतवान् on page 67.

The following errata, chiefly broken vowel points, occur in the first three essays published in the Journal for 1872.

Page	line	5, <i>for</i>	ल	<i>read</i>	ले
125,	11,	”	स	”	से
126,	12,	”	चैं	”	चें
127,	35,	”	य	”	ये
127,	38,	”	कर	”	केर
128,	2,	”	केरा	”	केरो
131,	35,	”	कैस	”	कैसे
133,	14,	”	छता	”	छतो
133,	15,	”	निश्चय	”	निश्चयः
135,	20,	”	कद	”	कदे
135,	21,	”	करक	”	केरके
136,	13,	”	केरक	”	केरके
138,	14,	”	तेर	”	तेरो
138,	15,	”	हाना	”	होना
138,	27,	”	भ्	”	लभ्
141,	6,	”	Kabír	”	Kabír and
141,	16,	”	भष	”	भेष
142,	35,	”	करक	”	केरक
145,	13,	”	घाड़ा	”	घोड़ा
145,	34,	”	घोड़ा	”	घोड़े
145,	34,	”	घोड़	”	घोड़े
146,	1,	”	कुरा	”	कुरो
146,	7,	”	धंधा	”	धंधो
146,	7,	”	ना	”	नो
146,	9,	”	ना	”	नो
146,	10,	”	ना	”	नो
146,	11,	”	ना	”	नो
146,	19,	”	ना	”	नो
146,	20,	”	ना	”	नो
147,	1,	”	काह	”	कोह
147,	41,	”	करणीयं	”	करणीय
142,	14,	”	जा	”	जो
149,	14,	”	ना	”	नो
149,	16,	”	कादा	”	कदो
151,	7,	”	लज्ज	”	लाज
151,	8,	”	लहो	”	लाहो
151,	8,	”	लभः	”	लाभः

Page 152,	line 8,	for सुमांन्ध्या	read सुमांन्या
„ 152,	„ 12,	„ पास	„ पासे
„ 155,	„ 13,	„ लग	„ लगे
„ 152,	„ 13,	„ लग्य	„ लग्ये
„ 152,	„ 19,	„ सनऊ	„ सनेऊ
„ 153,	„ 30,	„ सनहो	„ सनेहो
„ 153,	„ 31,	„ घाड़ओ	„ घोड़ओ
„ 153,	„ 35,	„ सनऊ	„ सनेऊ
„ 154,	„ 5,7,9,	„ भमर	„ भमर
„ 153,	„ 35,	„ हाता	„ होता
„ 154,	„ 25,	„ आ	„ ओ
„ 154,	„ 28,	„ अआ	„ अओ
„ 155,	„ 4,	„ सनहो	„ सनेहो
„ 155,	„ 12,	„ आ	„ ओ
„ 155,	„ 20,	„ माहा	„ मोहो
„ 159,	„ 1,	„ भाष	„ भाषे
„ 159,	„ 1,	„ विद्य	„ विद्य
„ 162,	„ 33,	„ for	„ or
„ 163,	„ 28,	„ कर	„ केर
„ 164,	„ 42,	„ काट	„ कोट
„ 165,	„ 2,	„ काटआ	„ कोटओ
„ 165,	„ 2,	„ काटक	„ कोटक
„ 165,	„ 3,	„ काटएर	„ कोटएर
„ 166,	„ 1,	„ कत्तिअ	„ केत्तिअ
„ 166,	„ 6,	„ कर	„ केर
„ 170,	„ 1,	„ का	„ को
„ 170,	„ 1,	„ हा	„ हो
„ 170,	„ 35,	„ धली	„ धूली
„ 171,	„ 23,	„ ह	„ है
„ 173,	„ 7,	„ आफ	„ आफु
„ 173,	„ 9,	„ चिन्ह	„ चिन्ड
„ 173,	„ 18,	„ घाम	„ घामु
„ 173,	„ 23,	„ घला	„ घला
„ 173,	„ 23,	„ का	„ को
„ 173,	„ 33,	„ कोदी	„ कोरी
„ 164,	„ 4,	„ का	„ को

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1873.

Note on two Coins from Kausambhi.—By THE HONORABLE E. C. BAYLEY,
C. S. I., C. S.

The two coins which I lay before the Society, come from the site of the ancient city of Kausambhi, situate on the river Jamuná, near Alláhábád, a full description of which will be found in Genl. Cunningham's work on the Geography of Ancient India, Vol. I, pp. 391-98, as also in his Archaeological Reports from 1862 to 1865, Vol. I, p. 301.

Bábu Sivaprasád, C. S. I., the Inspector of Schools for the Banáras Division, to whom General Cunningham acknowledges his obligations for information regarding this site, some time ago sent me several coins found upon it. I told him, that though evidently containing types of much interest, they were unfortunately too imperfect for identification, but that I had no doubt, more perfect coins would yield a valuable result.

Bábu Sivaprasád has now sent me the two present coins with a few others of less interest, one of the latter is of the type which Col. Stacy termed the "Cock and Bull" type, and bears the legend 'Deva mita (sa?).' This coin, however, is not from Kausambhi, but from Eastern Audh.

The first of the two coins which I am about to describe (Fig. i), is rather thin, weighing 37·035 grains, and is of a white metal which does not appear to be silver, but which I have not ventured to clean. The reverse bears a rude and faint representation of some animal, apparently the Indian bull. The obverse bears, in the field of the coin, the symbols of the sacred tree on the left; in the middle a curious semicircular disk, with a sort of handle and some marks within the semicircle, more like a spade or similar agricultural instrument than anything else to which I can compare it.

The symbol on the right appears to be identical with one often found on the early punched silver coins so common in India, and resembles the rod of Æsculapius, or rather perhaps two serpents entwined across a staff.



The legend, however, is the most remarkable part of the coin. It is quite legible, and I read it as *महवरुण्ड*, or “Maha Varuṇḍa,” the last letter being a compound (as I take it) of the cerebral *n* = ण = ण and the cerebral *ḍ* = ढ = ḍ. The last letter may, however, be possibly ण्ड, in which case the word would read “varuṇḍú.” In either case, the word would be “varuṇḍa,” Prakrit for Vāruṇḍa, for which no other meaning is given in the dictionaries, but that of “king of the serpents,” of whom it was either the name or title. I am indebted to Rājā Kālikrishna for the etymology of the word, which he derives from the root वृ (वृणाति), “to nourish or support,” or as in some lexicons, “to protect, to surround,”—a root from which is said also to be derived the word ‘varanda’ or ‘veranda’ in such common use among us.

The conclusions I would draw from the use of this term are as follows,—whether it was used as the name of the striker of the coin, as such names Balarām, Mahārām, Mahādeo, Śrīkishn, are used in our own day, or as an invocation to the deity worshipped; in any case the use of the acknowledged name or title of the serpent king indicates the prevalence of snake worship at Kausambhi at a period which, from the character of the letters, I should be inclined to place at least one century before the Christian era, possibly much earlier.

The next coin (Fig. ii) is even yet more curious. It is of copper and thicker than one above. The weight is 60.444 grs. The reverse also apparently bears the figure of an animal, now undistinguishable; the obverse, however, is unusually clear and distinct, and from the form of the letters, I would give it a more recent date than the previous coin, but still place it not later than the first century of the Christian era.

The symbol to the left Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh assures me is the true “svastika,” that which is ordinarily so called, and which is identical with the “fylfot” or Odin’s seal being properly termed Vajráṅkus’a.

The centre symbol is the sacred tree, and the third to the right a serpent. The legend runs plainly thus—

ठहजतमित

ṭhaha jata mita

I have consulted Bábus Rájendralála Mitra, Pratápachandra Ghosh, and Sivaprasád as to the reading of this somewhat obscure compound. Admitting that “ṭha” might be taken as the equivalent of “tha,” and that again as the Prakrit representation of “stha,” Bábu Rájendralála nevertheless prefers to read the legend as written, and I am disposed to agree with him so far. He would take the syllable “ṭha” as representing the little used word “ṭha,” ठ, an idol; “ha,” ह, to break; and, jata, जत for जित, conquering or conqueror, with of course “mita” मित, for मित्र, and would read the whole as “the friend of the conqueror of the idol breaker, or the “idol breaker conquering friend,” the latter construction being one used not uncommonly at the period which I have above assigned to this coin. Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh would prefer to read “stha” for “ṭha,” and the second letter as “pa,” thus making the two first syllables “stha pa,” for sthá pa, which, taking “stha” in the secondary of “the world,” would of course enable them to be rendered as “protector of the world;” but the second letter is, I think, too plainly “ha,” so that the reading of “pa” is not admissible.

Bábu Sivaprasád prefers reading “jata” as “jāta,” born, quoting the parallel name of “Ajātasatru,” a suggestion which may be well worth considering, the entire thus read might be translated as “friend of him who was born an iconoclast.” Without expressing any preference for these readings, which I give only as suggestions, I leave the further discussion of this very interesting coin to Sanskrit scholars.

Accepting, however, as is, I think, almost unavoidable, Rájendralála’s version of the two first syllables, the question naturally arises as to who “the iconoclast” is, to whom they point. Genl. Cunningham considers that the earlier Buddhists admitted the use of at most only symbols of the deity, and rejected all representations or worship of Buddha personally. If that be so, the “idol breaker” might well be one of the earlier Buddhist rulers or missionaries: in any case the term is curious as pointing thus early to a struggle against idolatrous worship.

In the next place it seems to me that this curious and somewhat ponderous combination of terms can hardly have been the actual *name* of any individual, but that it was more probably an assumed title, or synonym, perhaps that of some municipal functionary of Kausambhi. Bábu Rájendralála has suggested as accounting for the use of the curious word ठ, that it might have been employed under a custom by which the first letter of a Hindu name is often that of the asterism under which he is born, and as ठ is the letter for Leo, the name might indicate the birth of its bearer under that asterism. If, however, it was an *official* title, this suggestion

would not apply, unless, indeed, it might perhaps similarly indicate the commencement of office under that asterism.

Any way, the coins are both very suggestive contributions to the little-known early history of India, and Bábu Sivaprasád deserves the thanks of the Society for bringing them to light.



Rude Stone Monuments in Chutiá Nágpúr and other places.—

By COL. E. T. DALTON, C. S. I., Commissioner of Chutiá Nágpúr.

(With three plates.)

A passage in the address of our President published in the Proceedings for February last, reminds me that I should no longer delay in laying before the Society some extracts from my journal describing rude stone monuments in Chutiá Nágpúr. We have here the advantage of possessing both ancient and modern monuments of this type, we may find them crusted with lichens of time and belonging to a generation of whom no tradition even remains, or we may find them still moist with the tears of the mourner!

In my work on Descriptive Ethnology, I have given all the information which I possessed regarding the ceremonies and solemnities adopted by the Kolarian tribes in the disposal of their dead, but in regard to their monuments, their dolmens and monoliths, there is much more to say, especially since, after reading Fergusson's deeply interesting work on the subject, I find that so little is apparently on record regarding the rude stone monuments of Bengal.

In the cold weather of 1871, my work took me through some of the wildest parts of the Singbhúm District, and I saw many good specimens of the sepulchral and monumental stones of the Larka Kols or Hos. The former are in the village sometimes in one place or burial ground under the finest and oldest of the village trees, but sometimes the principal families have each their own collection near their houses.

The sepulchral stones consist of huge slabs covering the spot or spots where the ashes repose in earthen urns, raised a few inches from the ground by smaller stones used as pillars. In the village of Borkela, eight miles south of Chaibásá, I noticed a burial slab placed over the ashes of the grandfather of Sikur, the present deputy Manki of the Pir. Its dimensions were as follows: length, 16 feet; breadth 7 feet; and 1 foot 3 inches thick. Another over Turam, the grandfather of the Manki, length, 16 feet; breadth $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet; thickness, 1 foot. This stone, an enormous slate, was carried from its site three quarters of a mile from the village, and the people devoted two months to the work, moving it inch by inch on rollers, when men could be collected for the purpose.

It is not surprising that they should take all this trouble for a man in the position of the Borkela Manki who is a chief of considerable influence and old family; but at the next halting place, Sargam Hato ('the village of the Sál Tree'), I saw a huge stone which had been brought to the village in anticipation of the death of an old woman who was in the last stage of decrepitude. This old crone was not a pleasing object to gaze upon, and she had been for many years a burden to her family, but she had been kindly cared for, and had the gratification of knowing that a public funeral had been decreed to her, and the satisfaction of gazing on the monumental stone which had already been prepared to commemorate her virtues.

The Saranda Pir is a mass of hills forming the southern geographical division of the District of Singbhúm, and has a population, chiefly Kols, of about 700 souls. I entered the northern portion of this wild, unfrequented tract on the 1st January, 1872, and passing through it from end to end, emerged in Bonai on the 7th.

The villages of Saranda are few and far between, and the scanty population of the Munda type of Kols are in a very primitive state having no intercourse with the world beyond their own valley. In marching through the Pir to Bonai, the road continued up the valley watered by the Koina, which we traced almost to its source, and the small villages were for the most part on or near its banks. The sites were picturesque enough, and we generally found for our bath, pools shaded and rock-bound, in which Diana and her nymphs might have disported themselves. The people were at first rather shy. Many of them had never before seen a white face, but they gained confidence as we quietly advanced, and no evil fell on them in consequence of our intrusion. On one occasion, the women of a village which we passed were induced to follow us to camp, and there they sang and danced for us. Most of the men were away clearing the road; but those we saw, and the girls, in number twenty-five, who danced for us, were of strikingly fine physique, and there was very little drapery to hide their grand proportions. The predominance of eyes, nose, and mouth of the Mongolian type was very remarkable; some of them were of very light and bright colour, one of the group from her features and complexion might have been taken for a Chinese girl. Such traits stereotyped in Saranda, seem to indicate that these Mundas have been there from a very remote antiquity without opportunities of miscegenation. Some of the young women told me they had never ventured to cross the borders of their Pir.

After the dance we remained on very good terms with the fair sex in Saranda. The young women joined the men in clearing our path through the forest, and the vigour with which they used their felling axes, the hearty, good humour with which they toiled at the work, greatly astonished and edified our comparatively indolent and apathetic camp followers.

There are no ruins in Saranda, no indications of its having ever been even partially inhabited by people of civilization superior to those who are now there. The Saranda Garh (*i. e.* fort) shewn in the map is a mere earthen wall and moat constructed round the site of a house, formerly occupied by a family who are said to have held the position of chiefs of Saranda. Within this enclosure, there is a wonderful iron kettle-drum of gigantic size. It lies bottom upwards half buried in the earth. The people of the place could not be induced to go near it, except as postulants in an attitude of prayer! The tradition is that when the chief wished to summon his people, the drum was conveyed to the summit of the highest hill, and it could thence be heard in every village in the Pir.

I give these extracts from my journal to shew that in the Saranda Kols we find a very primitive type of the race. They are, by their own account, the true autochtones of the country, and till recently, no one has ever attempted to intrude on their exclusive occupation of this mass of hills. They repudiate all traditions of migrations which neighbouring cognates accept. The country they occupy was made for them and they for the country, and how long have they been here?

The oldest looking village that I saw, was called Rongso, where my tents were pitched under some grand old tamarind trees of immense age. Close adjoining, two noble Banyan trees stretch out their long arms and great hands over a vast area of massive slabs, which cover the ashes of past generations of the villagers. The small huts in which the living dwell, are miserable structures, but the dead lie in the most solemn and impressive burial ground that I have ever beheld. I have seen no finer Banyan trees than those which here form not only the canopy of the mausoleum, but *grow* columns and arches separating the whole into compartments, which fill the mind with a vision or dream of aisles, transepts, and crypts,—an old abbey of the Elves or Dryads. The site, it is said, was originally taken up by one family. There are now fifteen houses and about 75 inhabitants. The deaths are at the rate of about two per cent. per annum. All who die do not attain to the dignity of a slab, and the ashes of several members of a family may be deposited under one stone; for this is the custom of the Mundas, and I found the Saranda people more Munda than Ho, that is, in customs resembling more the Kols of Chutiá Nágpúr proper, than the Singbhúm members of the family. The slabs above ground considerably exceeded 300 in number, but there were more buried or nearly buried. We may assume 400 slabs, and if we give only two to a slab and make allowance for the increase which starting with one family there must have been in numbers, we have proof of great age in what we see.

But this is a pigmy burial-ground in comparison to some which I subsequently visited.

I am indebted to Mr. T. F. Peppé for having directed my attention to the great Munda burial ground of Chokahatu ('the place of mourning'), and for the photograph of this very interesting scene, which I am sending with this paper.

This village is situated between Bundú and Buranda with Tamár to the south. These are all estates in the Lohardagga District, or it would be better to say in Chutiá Nágpúr proper, called now, with two others, Páneh (five) Parganah. The majority of the population and oldest people are Mundas, and the chiefs, who are usually called Rájás, are unquestionably Mundas too, though they are now thoroughly Hinduised, and call themselves Rájputés and Kshatriyas. There is a burial ground at Bundú, which merits attention, as a section of an understratum of graves, buried by time, is shewn where the soil has been cut away by water, and the cinerary urns are exposed, but the account of one will suffice.

The road from Bundú to Chokahatu goes east through a highly cultivated country. It crosses the Kanchi River, and on the right bank of that stream, I came unexpectedly on some very old looking ruins of stone temples, eight in number, apparently dedicated to Siva, as I noticed several lingas about, the only visible objects of worship.

The temples were mere shrines built of cut stones, squared and put together without any cement or clamps. No one in the neighbourhood has the faintest notion by whom, or at what period, these shrines were constructed. A quarter of a mile east of the ruins, I found a *deserted* Kol burial-ground, close to the village of Dáruháru, but the people of Dáruháru dare not use the old burial-ground; the descendants of those whose ashes lie there are gone out of sight and memory. And the Dáruháru people's remains must be taken to a spot two miles distant from their houses! Now I noticed that in this deserted burial-ground a very free use had been made of the stones cut for the temples, the slabs rested on such cut stones, so the deserted burial-ground was in use when the temple was in ruins, but all around have now passed away from the recollection of man, both those who worshipped the Sivas of the shrines, and those of another dispensation who helped to destroy them.

It was past noon when we came in sight of the great Chokahatu* burial-ground. It was then between us and the village of the name, the centre of a great plain, an anomalous interruption to a huge expanse of terraced cultivation. There are no great trees here to shade the graves, the field of mourning has no such solace.

The march had been a long one, and there was no time to lose, as I could not afford a halt, so I set all my clerks at once to work to count the slabs, and to measure the area of the space which they covered. The result gave

* Lat. 23° 10', North; Long. 85° 56', East.

seven thousand three hundred and sixty tombs, mostly of the dolmen or cromlech form, almost covering an area of 22 bighas and 16 kattas, more than seven statute acres, and so close together, that you might traverse the ground in different directions stepping from grave to grave.

Many of the slabs appeared level with, some even below, the surface. Their sunken condition proclaimed their age, as we may presume that originally they were like the others above ground, supported on vertical stones. The horizontal slabs are many of them, huge masses of gneiss of various irregular forms. One, 15 feet 3 inches in length, by 4 feet 6 inches in breadth, was supported on five square pillars, 18 inches above ground; one half-buried slab, nearly elliptical in form, measured 12 feet 9 inches by 9 feet 10 inches; one nearly circular, like a table, 33 feet in circumference; another 18 feet in length had seven legs. A triangular slab properly appeared as a tripod, and one 13 feet 4 inches by 6 feet 8 inches had six legs.

I do not know that I have given the dimensions of the largest; there were many that appeared at least as large as those I measured.

There is no question as to the object of these raised slabs. Chokahatu, the 'place of mourning,' is still used by the Mundas of the village so-called, and nine of the surrounding villages, for the interment of their cinerary urns, and I believe one need not be long there to witness the ceremony. Many of the cromlechs appeared to have been freshly set up, many had about them a look of hoary age.

I obtained a list of villages which have places allotted to them in the burial-ground, and from the census returns, these villages contain nearly two thousand Mundas who by their faith, if they preserve it, *must* there deposit their cinerary urns. The mortuary statistics of the selected areas of the Lohardagga District give an annual average death-rate of under 20 per mille. If the population and the death-rate were always the same, and every cromlech covered the ashes of only one person, the number of slabs (which we may assume to be 8000, including buried and broken up graves not counted) would represent a period of only 200 years; but if, as with the Kasias, each cromlech is a family vault, and we allow for increase of population as years advanced, and make corresponding deduction in the number of deaths annually, as we count back we might give 1000 to 2000 years as the age of the oldest now existing, and probably excavation would disclose an understratum of similar graves.

I was told on the spot that some of the slabs were known to cover the ashes of several members of a family, but the ashes of one or two great men reposed in solitude. In Singbhúm, the latter custom is prevalent; but amongst the Mundas of Lohardagga, the family grouping of ashes is practised.

It is, of course, hard to say what changes may have taken place, likely

to affect the numbers of the Munda people in this part of the country, but there is no reason for supposing that there has been any considerable reduction by emigration. All Mundas who make use of the Chokahatu cemetery, must, in accordance with the creed of the race, be the descendants of colonists who established themselves at Chokahatu or somewhere near it. The founders of the other villages must be offshoots from the first settlement; the probability, consequently, is, that the Munda population of this neighbourhood has greatly increased.

The monumental stones in this part of the Munda country are few in comparison with the sepulchral; but many are noticeable, some in the villages, even within the garden enclosures (as they are always placed by people of the Kharriah tribe), some scattered in the fields as if placed there for the benefit of the cattle, like those whose founder Scotchmen are said to bless, and some in groups. The arrangement of the group is in line, perhaps indicating a line of ancestors or a family. They frequently served for a father, mother, and their offspring; but I do not find that more than one monumental pillar is ever set up in honor of one person. The turban seen occasionally on the central and tallest of a line of such monuments in the Kasia Hills, I have never perceived amongst the Kols; but though I have not myself seen carved pillars erected by Mundas to the memory of the dead,* I have heard of them.

It appears from Yule's account† of the Kasia cenotaphs, that cromlechs are sometimes found in front of them, a flat stone resting on short rough pillars which form the ordinary road side resting place of the weary traveller. These are not cineraries. I have stated in my 'Ethnology' that the Singbhúm Kols, when they first set up a monument, make round it a plinth of earth, on which the ghost of the departed or other person who is bold enough to take the seat may rest, but I have recently seen both in the Lohardagga and Singbhúm districts.

Monumental monoliths with little cromlechs in front, ghost seats, resembling exactly the Kasia seats, depicted and described by Colonel Yule, I first saw in Sonapet, a beautiful valley, the hills forming which give birth to the Sona River, an auriferous stream, hence the name. This valley has been held for ages exclusively by Mundas. Each village is a parish with its separate burial-ground and head man, and at the entrance of one of these, the village of Súrasi, I saw a fine monument of this description, raised to the memory of a respectable inhabitant recently demised. The Hargari, or cemetery, was at the other side of the village, and his grave was there shewn to me. So there could be no doubt that the seat was not, as I

* Mr. T. F. Peppé has kindly favoured me with a sketch of such carved pillars which I forward.

† Journal, As. Society, Bengal, No. CLII, 1864.

had at first supposed, the cinerary. The pen and ink sketches herewith sent are of similar monuments in and near the village of Regadih in Kursaoon.

As the monolithic monuments throughout the Kol country, nominally, bear no proportion to the cromlechs, we must infer that the erection of the former in the name of the deceased is a much greater and rarer honor than the construction of the latter. In Singbhúm, the Mundas and Mankis are even now ruminating on the expediency of cutting on the pillar at least a name and date to shew to posterity in whose honor it was set up and when; for they admit that the object is not attained under the present system, as the name does not survive to a third or fourth generation.

The same remark applies to many pillars which have been set up to commemorate some solemn compact or action of importance, of which the stone itself now tells nothing. The art of making the stone tell its own story must be taught at the Chaibásá Industrial School.

In some parts of the country, suitable stones are not readily procurable. The first alternative is a cairn, a heap of stones usually constructed round a post, the second the post alone; but the top of the post, if set up in honor of some deceased friend or hero, is credibly carved into the representation of some animal. It looks like a cross between a camel-leopard and a horse. It is, I believe, the Bir Sádóm of the Kols, the jungle horse, the Nílgaí, *Antelope picta*.

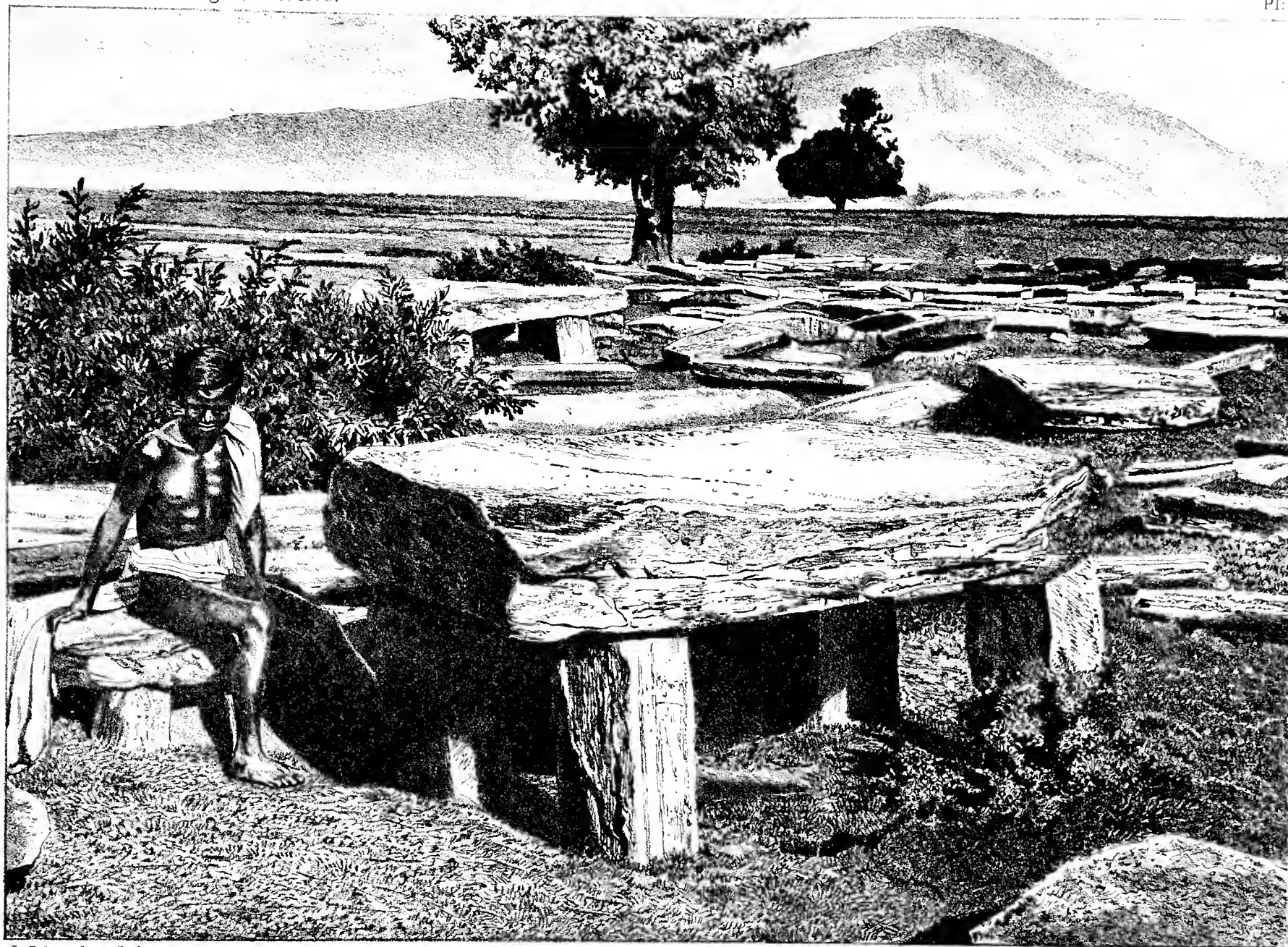
It is obvious that a people thus addicted to the use of these milestones of ages, (without figures unfortunately) must have left traces of themselves in all places which they have successively occupied; and from all I have heard and read and also from what I have seen, I am of opinion that such traces of Kolarian occupation may be found wherever the cognates of the Mundas of Chutiá Nágpúr have been located.

There are traditions of the pre-Aryan Kol occupation of the Bihár and Gayá districts, and Mr. T. F. Peppé, Sub-Deputy Agent, who takes great interest in these questions, has seen the monolithic monuments in Japla, and Balaunja, in Siris Kútúmba, in the wilder parts of the Gayá district, and about Shergháti. We thus have them up to the Son River and in the Gangetic provinces. Mr. Peppé's note to me on the subject is appended.

From the western parts of the Mánbhúm district, the Kúrmís, it is said, expelled the Kols. We have good proof of this in the fact that the Kúrmís are now there in possession, and within their boundaries we find the sites of the old Munda villages clearly indicated by their old cemeteries and occasional monolithic monuments.

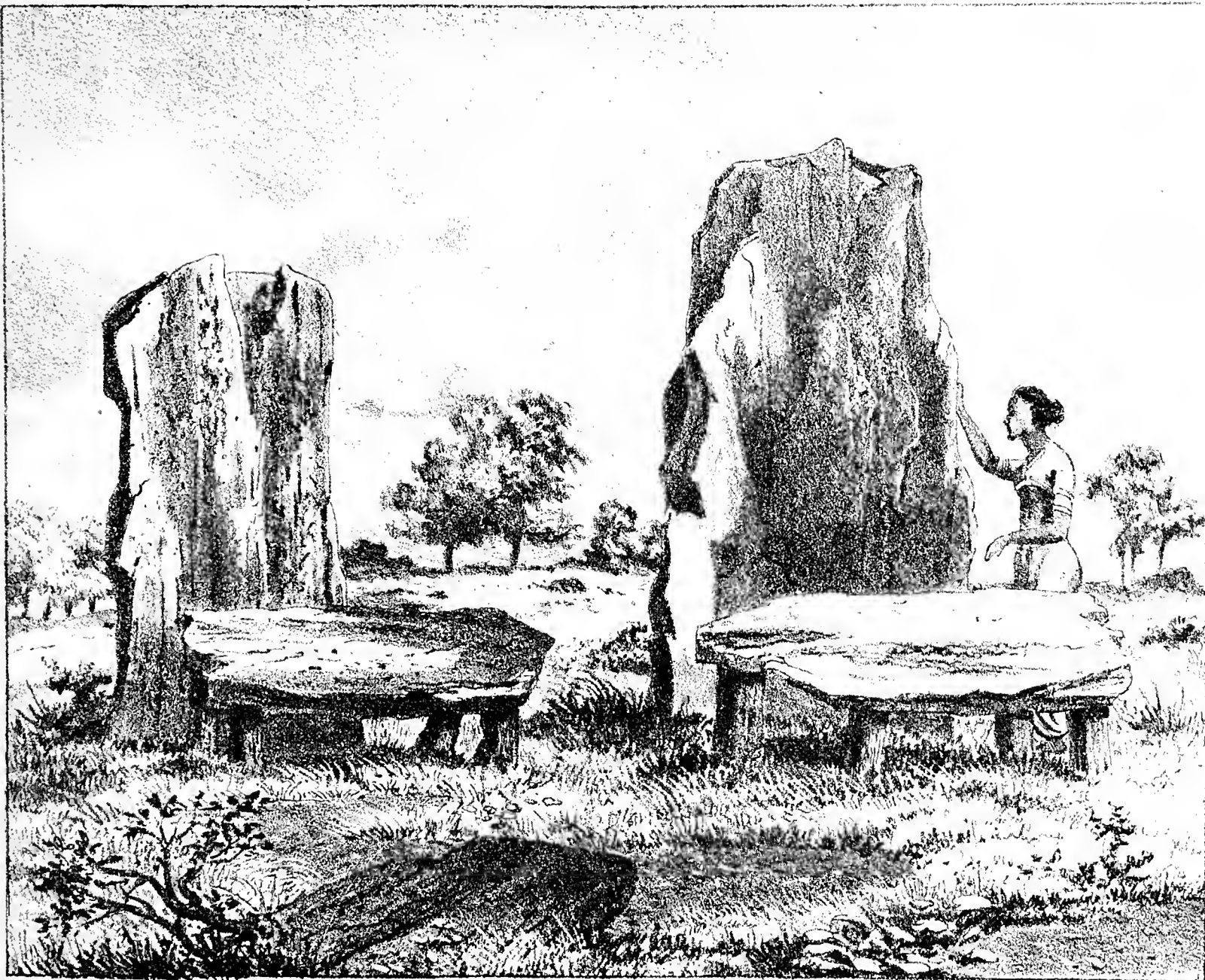
In a southerly direction, I have found these Munda footprints as far as the confines of the Sambhalpúr district, and indeed in that district, and in Bámrá.

In all the places above mentioned, we have either the Mundas *in situ*, or traditions of their occupation and the stone monuments to attest the tradi-



J. Schazonburg, Lith:

*The great Munda Burial-ground at Chokichata (p. 115).
(From a photograph.)*



*Regadhi Monumental Stones with Ghost's seats.
(From a Sketch by Col. E. T. Dalton, C. S. I.)*



*Monumental Stones, carved and plain, near Bajpūr,
Lohardaggā, Chutia Nāgpūr.*



Photocircographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta.

REGADHI MONUMENTAL STONES WITH GHOST'S SEATS

(From an Ink Sketch by Col. F. T. Dalton, C. S. I.)

tion; where we find the latter without the traditions or the people, we may still safely infer that we have got on Munda tracks.

Note by Mr. T. F. Peppé.

‘I have observed the monumental stones all along the boundary between Bihár and Chutiá Nágpúr, and have little doubt they would have been found in the more civilized portions of the Bihár and Patna districts, had not the custom been so common of erecting monumental stones in honor of deceased Hindús at the road sides leading into the village; and all sorts of stones are found set up in this way, many of them rude uncut stones, others parts of temples, and I feel sure many of them have been appropriated from their Kolarian predecessors.

‘In the wilder parts of Bihár, in parganahs Japla, Balaunja, Sirris Kútúmba and also in Shergháti, they are often to be met with, and their being found scattered over the country leaves little doubt of their Kolarian origin, to which local tradition assigns them.

‘In several places, I have seen a singular kind of monumental stone in the Lohardagga district, and the accompanying sketch may give you some idea of those I have seen near Bajpúr, some few miles north of Nugri. They were claimed by the Pahan, or priest, of the village, who said that they had been set up in honor of his ancestors. I have seen them at other places also, but cannot remember where.

‘With regard to Hargaris, or Harsaris, as they are sometimes called, I think it worth noting that the largest collections are found in the tract of country lying on both sides of the Subanrekhá, bounded on the west by the Chutiá Nágpúr Gháts, on the east by the Ajodia hill, on the south by the Singhbhúm hills, and on the north by the hills forming the boundary between Hazáribágh and Lohardagga and Mánbhúm. This tract includes the parganahs of Sillí, Barunda, Rahi, Bundú, and Tamár on the west side of the Súbanrekhá, and parganahs Julda, Bygonkudar, Bághmúri and Patkom on the other side. Judging by the vast collections of grave stones, this tract must have been occupied by a Munda population for a much longer time than any other portion of Chutiá Nágpúr I have seen. As you approach or recede from this centre, the collections of grave stones increase or diminish in number and importance, and it is curious to observe that, in the upper portion of the Damúdar valley, such indications of a Munda population are wanting, only monumental stones being met with.

‘The largest slab I measured at Chokahatu, was 16 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$, by one foot in thickness, but at Barundah, about two miles to the north-west, there are some much larger.

‘On remarking the comparative insignificance of the burial places on the plateau with those in the ‘Lutur Desum’ or low country, I have frequently been told in reply that it is only the Munda and his Bhúinhárs who have slabs in the former, whereas down below every Munda family have their slab.’

The History of Pegu.—By Major General SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE,
K. C. S. I., C. B.

(Continued from p. 57.)

Rádzádirít was succeeded by his eldest son, Binya Dhaminá Rádzá. His two younger brothers, Binya Ran and Binya Keng, who were governors of Dala and Takun (Rangoon), believing that he bore them illwill, entered into a mutual compact for their own protection. They came then to open war with the king; but Binya Ran made his peace, and was appointed crown prince. Binya Keng then wrote to the king of Ava, asking for assistance, and tendering his allegiance. The king of Ava at this time was Thíhathu. He at once sent a force into Pegu, which occupied Dala, but gave great offence to Binya Keng by plundering the town. Binya Keng, disgusted with his allies, secretly made submission to his brother. Some of the principal Burmese officers were treacherously murdered; and a small remnant of the invading force was allowed to retire to Prome. Binya Keng was now forgiven, and was sent to Dala to put the defences in order. After some time Binya Ran, wishing to have the western provinces under himself, induced Binya Keng to move to Muttama, where he was appointed governor; while Binya Ran had Dala, Bassein, and Tharawati. The king remained at the capital with only nominal authority. The king of Ava at this time was Mengréthíhathú, who ascended the throne in 784 (A. D., 1422). He determined again to invade Pegu, and sent down an army under two generals. Binya Ran decided to enter into an alliance with him, and offered his sister Tsáubomé in marriage. This was accepted, and the princess having first been consecrated as a queen, went to Ava. After this, the king of Pegu was poisoned by one of the queens, instigated, it is supposed, by Binya Ran. He reigned only three years.

The crown prince now succeeded, and is known as Binya Rankit. He allowed Binya Keng to be viceroy at Muttama, where he was almost independent. He enjoyed that power for eighteen years, and was then succeeded by his sister, who was married to an officer of high rank. This king, though he had some causes for dissatisfaction with the king of Ava, did not go to war. In the Burmese history it is stated that, about the year 799 (A. D., 1439), he interfered in the succession to the throne of Táungu, and placed thereon Mengtsán-ú, the son of a former king. This event is not mentioned in the history of Pegu. The rulers of Táungu, at this period, were anxious to be independent of Ava, and the fact is, no doubt, correctly stated. About this time the king's sister, who had been married to Mungthi-ha-thá, king of Ava, under the name of Tsáu-bo-mé, being dissatisfied with her position at that court, fled secretly with the assistance of two

Buddhist monks, and came to Pegu. She was received by her brother with great distinction, and now becomes known in Peguan history as Thakheng, or Sheng-tsáu-bú.

When Monhyin Meng-ta-rá succeeded to the throne of Ava, the ruler of Táungú, Theng-kha-rá, declared himself independent, and claimed to be the rightful king of Ava. He entered into correspondence with Binya Rankit, proposing that they should march with their joint armies to take Prome, and promising, if he was successful in gaining the throne of Ava, to present annually gold and silver flowers in token of allegiance. This was agreed to, and a force of 35,000 men with five hundred elephants, under the command of Tha-min-pa-rán, and 30,000 men by the river under Binya-in, proceeded to Prome.

The king himself went by water; the king of Táungu marched his men across the mountains, and the allied armies then invested Prome. The king of Ava was too much occupied at home in securing his own position, to be able to send any succour to Prome. The governor of that city was, therefore, obliged to surrender it. But negotiations were opened, and Binya Rankit married a daughter of the king of Ava, and then appears to have deserted his ally. Ava and Pegu were now on good terms, but the historian is silent as to what was done with Prome. Pegu was prosperous in this king's reign, and he was much beloved. He repaired and adorned the two great national pagodas Shwé-máw-dau and Shwé-ta-kun. He died in the year 808, or A. D. 1446, after a reign of twenty years.

This king's successor was his nephew and adopted son, Binya Wa-ru, the son of Sheng-tsáu-bú by her first husband. He reigned only four years. He was careful as to the administration of justice; the country was quiet; and there was unrestricted commerce with the adjoining kingdom.

The next king was Binya Keng, a son of Binya Rankit. The Burmese history says that he was assisted to gain the throne by Narapati, king of Ava. He reigned only three years, and was succeeded by Mháu-dau, his cousin.

This King was a cruel tyrant, and put to death all the male members of the royal family whom he could lay hold of. The whole people, clergy and laity, joined against him, and five noblemen put him to death. He reigned only seven months. All the leading men of the country now implored queen Sheng-tsáu-bú, the daughter of Rádzádirít, to take the sovereign power of the kingdom. She consented and was consecrated. All the people, Mun, Mrámmá and Kulá, rejoiced, and the country had rest. The queen received letters from the kings of surrounding countries, and beyond sea from Ceylon and Bij-ja-ná-ga-ran, with which there was much commerce. The queen was devoted to religion; religious buildings were repaired or erected; and the two great national pagodas were entirely re-gilded. Additional land was assigned to them, and five hundred families were dedi-

cated as slaves to the service of the Shwé Dagun, with a complete establishment of artificers and warders for service, day and night.* One of the Buddhist monks who had assisted the queen to leave Ava, was chosen by lot to become a layman; he was then raised to the rank of crown prince, with the title of Dhammá dzedi, and was married to the queen's daughter. Being suspicious that the other monk would, from envy, seek to raise a disturbance in the country, he had him put to death. After four years, the queen retired to Talkun, where she built a new palace, the site of which is still preserved by tradition. The crown prince remained at Hantháwati, where he carried on the duties of government, but once a month he came to pay his respects to the queen. Sheng-Tsáu-bú, after reigning three years at Ta-kun, died at the age of sixty-five years. Her name is held in high honour among the people to this day; and a national festival to her memory is celebrated once a year at Rangoon.

The crown prince Dhammá Dzedi was consecrated king. Some nobles were discontented as he had no hereditary right; but when they saw how well he ruled the country, they were reconciled to him. He is celebrated in the history of Pegu for his great wisdom. Numerous instances are given of the difficult questions which he solved, and the decisions he gave in various legal suits. Embassies came to him from China, Siam, Ava, Hau (?), and Ceylon. He was earnest in religion. He made no wars, but extended the boundary of his kingdom east of the Than-lwin, establishing the district of Mháing-lun-gyi. His subjects believed that he could make gold. He died after a prosperous reign of thirty-one years, in the year 853, or A. D. 1491. He received the funeral honours of a Tsekya-wati (Chakrawartti), or universal monarch, and a pagoda was built over his bones, which was crowned and gilded all over, as if it were an object of worship.

He was succeeded by his son Binya Ran, whose mother was the daughter of Sheng-tsáu-bú. During the long reign of this king, nothing is recorded as to intercourse with foreign countries, which had been so prominent in his father's time. He made a progress up the Eráwati at the head of a large army, which is called a pilgrimage to the Shwé-zí-gun pagoda at Pугán. When passing Prome, he was received with high honour by the ruler of that city, who appears then to have been an independent prince. At this time, the king of Ava had little power beyond his own city. In the Burmese history, it is stated that Binya Ran made an attack on a fort built by the king of Táungu, but this is not mentioned in the Peguan history. Binya Ran died in the year 888 (A. D. 1526), after a reign of thirty-five years.

* For many centuries the servitors and warders of pagodas in Burma have been slaves, that is, persons condemned to the occupation, or descendants of such persons. They are degraded outcasts among the general population. Joshua condemned the Gibeonites to similar occupation. See Book of Joshua, chapter ix. 27.

This king had appointed one of his younger sons to succeed him. This was done through the influence of the mother, but the child was put to death the day his father died, and another son, named Ta-ká-rwut-bi, who was fifteen years of age, ascended the throne. He paid no attention to the affairs of the kingdom, but passed his time in frivolous amusements with evil companions. He disregarded all warnings, and as many evil portents appeared, and even a flaming comet waved in the sky, the people dreaded some dire disaster. At this time Meng-ta-ra Shwé-htí, called Ta-beng Shwé-htí, was the king of Táungu, having succeeded his father in the year 892, when he was only sixteen years of age. Táungu, from being an insignificant state, had slowly risen to importance, and when Ava fell to a race of Shan kings, the rulers of Táungu gradually came to be considered the representatives of the ancient Burmese monarchy. Binya Ran, no doubt, had made an attack on Táungu which had been repelled. The young king, a warlike and ambitious prince, determined to avenge the insult. His first attack on Pegu was made in the year 896. It was unsuccessful, but for four successive years he led his armies against his enemy. At last in the year 900 (A. D. 1538), he mastered the capital Hanthá-wati.* Takárwutbi is said in the Burmese history to have retired to Prome, where he was kindly received by the king; and it is added that the king of Ava, Tho-han-bwá brought a Shan army to his assistance. But Tabeng-Shwé-htí appeared with an army near Prome, and a battle was fought, chiefly by the flotillas on the Eráwati, in which he was victorious. But he does not appear to have been strong enough to take Prome; for he retired down the river, and no action was taken to follow him. The unfortunate king of Pegu, unable to induce his allies to support him further, marched down with a small force, and lost his life in the jungle of his native country. In the Taláing history is stated that the king of Ava, who is referred to merely as a Shan Tsáu-bwá, came down to Pegu with an army to assist Takárwutbi, but as they could not agree to the term of an alliance, the former retreated without doing anything. The king of Pegu then died of sickness in the jungle of the district of Engabu. This was in the year 902 (A. D. 1540), and the Shan royal line of Pegu, which had been established by Wa-re-ru in A. D. 1287, became extinct. The new dynasty pursuing a reckless career of conquest, raised the kingdom to a height of dazzling, but false, prosperity, which excited the astonishment of European travellers. But in less than half a century, the country was utterly exhausted, and the population so reduced by war, pestilence, and famine, that to this day it has not recovered.

The narrative having reached thus far into the sixteenth century, when

* These destructive wars which ended in the conquest of Pegu by the king of Táungu, are described in the Burmese history. See Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII, for 1869.

European voyagers appeared in Burma and Pegu, it is desirable to relate what can be gathered regarding those countries from the narratives of travellers which have come down to us. They give, as might be expected, an insight into the condition of the people, which is not to be obtained from the native chronicles. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, European travellers had arrived in Indo-China, either by land, by sea from India, or after the Cape of Good Hope route was discovered, from Malacca. At that time there appears to have been no jealousy felt at their presence. That feeling was developed throughout Southern Asia by the conquests of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British, by which European dominion seemed, to the minds of the people, to loom like a dark cloud over their destiny.

After Marco Polo, who came into Burma from Yunan towards the close of the thirteenth century, the earliest traveller's narrative which has come down to us, is that of Nicolo Conti, a Venetian, whose travels have been edited by Mr. R. St. Major, for the Hakluyt Society. This traveller, leaving Europe on a trading expedition, arrived by land at Bussora, and sailing from the Persian Gulf reached Cambay. From thence he went to Ceylon and Sumatra, and sailed up the Malay coast to Ternasseri, now Tenasserim. Passing then by Pegu, he went to Bengal entering the mouth of the river Ganges. Remaining some months in India, he returned southward, and sailing apparently from Chittagong, came to the city of Rachan (Rakháing, or in the modern Europeanized form, Arakan), and river of the same name.

From this city he travelled through "mountains void of all habitations, "for the space of seventeen days, and then through open plains for fifteen "days more, at the end of which time he arrived at a river larger than the "Ganges, which is called by the inhabitants 'Dava.' Having sailed up this "river for the space of a month, he arrived at a city more noble than all "the others, called Ava, and the circumference of which is fifteen miles."

It appears most probable from the narrative that Conti was at Ava about the year 1430, which would be in the reign of Monhyin Meng-ta-rá, the eighth in the list of kings who reigned in Ava. The river Dava, it has been suggested by Colonel Yule, was originally written "Fiume d' Ava," the name told to Conti for the Eráwati on first reaching that river, after having crossed the Yoma Mountains. The country of Upper Burma he calls 'Macinus,' derived from Maháchín, or Máchín, a name which Colonel Yule has shown to have been applied by Muhammadan voyagers both to China and Indo-China. Conti, no doubt, was in company with Indian traders from Bengal, from whom he would learn this name. In the *Aín Akbarí*, it is stated that former writers called Pegu 'Chín.' Conti describes very correctly two methods employed in Burma for catching wild elephants.

He mentions the habit of tattooing the body, and says that the women practise it as well as the men, which is not now the case. The king, he says, has ten thousand elephants, which he uses in his wars. "They fix castles on their backs, from which eight or ten men fight with javelins, bows, and those weapons which we call crossbows." The number ten thousand is, no doubt, an exaggeration, probably double the actual number. From Ava, Conti proceeded towards the sea, "and at the expiration of seventeen days he arrived at the mouth of a moderately sized river, where there is a port, called Xeythona, and having entered the river, at the end of ten days, he arrived at a very populous city, called Panconia, the circumference of which is twelve miles."

It is not said by what route Conti went from Ava, but apparently it was by land to Raméthen and Táungu. The port Xeythona may possibly be the town of Sittang, but that town being situated on the river of the same name some seventy or eighty miles from its mouth, and the river not being navigable from the sea, it can scarcely be called "a port." The name, therefore, is more probably meant for Tha-htun, which was an ancient and celebrated port, and was still to some extent frequented. It is now mentioned for the last time in the history of Pegu. The populous city of Panconia, a misprint probably for Pauconia, is no doubt Pegu, or, as Conti would have heard it called, Pa-go or Ba-go. The traveller makes no mention of any war between the kings of Ava and Pegu, and from A. D. 1426 for many years no such war is recorded in the native histories. Conti's narrative agrees well with the local histories, and from his notices of the people, the truth of his statements is evident, even when he mistakes some of the native customs. Thus he observes of the Burmese: "All worship idols; nevertheless, when they rise in the morning from their beds, they turn towards the east, and with their hands joined together say, 'God in Trinity and his law defend us.'" All pious Budhists in Burma, on first awaking in the morning, invoke or bless the three precious objects "Budha, his law, and his disciples;" but, of course, there is here no reference to God in Trinity.

The next traveller who claims our notice, is Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian, who came to India between 1428 and 1474. He mentions having gone from Ceylon to Shibait and Pegu. He merely observes of the latter—"It is no inconsiderable port, principally inhabited by Indian dervishes." He perhaps means that the principal merchants were Indians, as he says the products of the country were sold by the dervishes. Why he should style them *dervish* is not apparent, but probably most of the Muhammadan merchants assumed the title of Hájí.

Hieronimo de Santa Stefano, a Genoese, came by the Red Sea to India, to the port of Calicut; thence to Ceylon and Coromandel, which latter

probably means a port on the Krishna or Godávarí. From Coromandel, the traveller came to Pegu, and records that he was detained there for a year and a half, and that his companion Hieronimo Adorno died on St. John's day, 1496. He was buried "in a certain ruined church, frequented by none," which refers no doubt to a deserted Buddhist kyaung, or monastery. Pegu he calls Lower India, and says of the capital:—"Here is a great lord who possesses more than ten thousand elephants, and every year he breeds five hundred of them. This country is fifteen days journey by land from another, called Ava, in which grow rubies, and many other precious stones. Our wish was to go to this place, but at that time, the two princes were at war, so that no one was allowed to go from the one place to the other. Thus we were compelled to sell the merchandize which we had in the city of Pegu, which were of such a sort that only the lord of the city could purchase them. * * * * The price amounted to two thousand ducats, and as we wished to be paid, we were compelled, by reason of the troubles and intrigues occasioned by the aforesaid war, to remain there a year and a half, all which time we had daily to solicit at the house of the said lord." At this time, 1496, Binya Ran was king of Pegu. It does not appear from the native histories that he had any direct war with the king of Ava, but he did attack Dwárawati, a fort belonging to Táungu about this very year 1496; and as the king of Ava affected to consider himself the superior of the king of Táungu, some expectation of hostilities may have existed. An expedition was made up the Eráwati a few years later, as we shall see presently. Though the traveller complains of the delay in payment being made for his merchandize, yet he appears to have been treated justly. The property of his deceased companion was seized as a forfeit to the king, such being the ancient law of Burma in the case of foreigners dying in the country. He says, "I was so grieved and afflicted by his death, that it was a great chance I had not followed him, but * * * * being consoled by some men of worth, I exerted myself to recover our property. In this I succeeded, but with great trouble and expense."

The same king Binya Ran, who reigned from A. D. 1493 to 1526, appears from the account of another traveller, Lewes Vertomannus of Rome, to have been, as he expresses it, "of great magnificence and generosity." This traveller came to Pegu about the year 1503. In his narrative, as translated in Hakluyt, he states that he "came to Pego from Bengalla with a Persian. The city is walled and the houses buylded and very fayre of stone and lime. Here are but few elephants. There are exceeding great reeds, as big as the body of a gross man, or a tub. The king useth not such pomps and magnificence as doth the king of Calicut, but is of such humanity and affability, that a child may come to his presence and speak with him. It is in a manner incredible to speak of the rich jewels, pre-

“ cious stones, pearls, and especially rubies which he weareth, surmounting
“ in value any great city. Not long after, news were brought that the king
“ of Ava was coming with a mighty force, whom the king with an innumer-
“ able army went to resist.” This army probably was the force which Bin-
ya Ran led up the Eráwati to Prome, and then on to Pugán. This expedi-
tion may have been made to resist an anticipated attack, but in the Taláing
history, it is represented, with some dubiousness, as a pilgrimage to the pago-
das at those cities. When Vertomannus says, “ here are not many ele-
phants,” he must mean in the city, for the great strength of Pegu consist-
ed in elephants; or they may all have been gathered at a distance to accom-
pany the army.

Early in the sixteenth century, we have notices of Pegu by Portuguese
voyagers, who under Vasco de Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.
Their actions in Pegu are recorded in the history of “ The Portuguese in
India, by Manuel de Faria y Sousa, translated by Stevens into English, and
printed at London in 1695.” The Portuguese were established at Malacca
under Albuquerque in 1510. In 1517, John de Sylvera went to Bengal
with four sail. He was invited by the king of Arakan to his country, and
he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king’s dominions.
In 1519, it is recorded that Antony Correa, “ concluded a treaty with the
“ king of Pegu at Martavan, when peace was sworn to by both parties with
“ solemn ceremonies. The metropolis of the kingdom is Bagao, corruptly
“ called Pegu.”

We have seen in the Taláing history that the last king of Pegu was
Ta-ka-rwut-bi, who succeeded to the throne in 1526, and was conquered by
the king of Táungu, styled Ta-beng Shwé-htí, the capital having surrendered
in 1538. How a Portuguese force happened to be present on this occasion,
but which is not noticed in the native histories, is thus stated by Sousa.
“ Ferdinand de Morales was sent by the Viceroy with a great galeon to
“ trade at Pegu. Pegu was then invaded by the king of Brama. Brama had
“ been tributary to Pegu, but had revolted. The cause of this was that 30,000
“ Bramas laboured in the king of Pegu’s works. The king used to visit
“ them, attended only by his women. They suddenly rose and murdered
“ the king, and fled to their own country. Then Para Mandara, king of the
“ Bramas, rose, recovered his own kingdom of Ava, and overrun the Laos
“ and other countries tributary to Pegu. The king of Brama now invaded
“ Pegu with such a power, that the two armies consisted of two millions of
“ men with 10,000 elephants. Morales went into a galliot, and commanding
“ the fleet of Pegu, made a great havock among the enemy’s ships. Brama
“ came on by land like a torrent, carrying all before him, and his fleet
“ covering the river, though as great as the Ganges. With this power he
“ easily gained the city, and the kingdom of Pegu. At the point Ginamarre-

“ca was a furious, bloody, and desperate fight. But the Pegus overpowered
“by the Bramas deserted Morales, who alone in his galliot maintained
“himself against the enemies, performing wonders with vast slaughter of
“them ; but oppressed by the multitude, he was killed.” Of the Peguans
generally it is remarked that “their bodies are all wrought blue with hot
“iron down to their knees. In general, they are not only not civilized, but
“very brutal.”

In this account it should be observed that the Portuguese historian, writing more than a century after the events described, and probably from imperfect documents, in addition to evident exaggerations on points where the European actors in this tragedy might have furnished more accurate information, has been led to narrate supposed events, which caused or preceded the invasion of Pegu by “the king of Brama.” These are in themselves highly improbable, and not to be found in the native histories. The king of Brama is, in fact, Meng-ta-rá, or Tabeng Shwé htí, king of Táungu, who, as has already been stated, had by a remarkable train of events come to represent the national party of Burma, against the Shan dynasties of Ava and Pegu. The term Pará Mandara (Phrá Mengta-rá) is a title equivalent to the king’s Majesty. In the native histories no distinct cause is alleged for the invasion of Pegu by the king of Táungu ; but the relations between the two monarchies, for about a century before, sufficiently account for the event. If “Brama” of Táungu had not been exactly tributary to Pegu, he had for several generations, when it was convenient, depended on the latter to support him in resisting Ava. By the Burmese history, the chief of Táungu, so early as the year 788 (A. D., 1426), had offered to become tributary to Binya Rankit, if he helped him to the throne of Ava, which the chief of Táungu claimed as his right. The two kings had entered into an alliance, and in 1481, the then king of Táungu, fearful of an attack from Ava, sent his wife and children for safety to Pegu. Afterwards, the two kings quarrelled in A. D. 1496, or thereabouts ; the king of Pegu attacked Dwárawati, a fort and city belonging to Táungu, but the expedition was unsuccessful. Such an incident as Burmese prisoners or labourers when at work, being visited by a king of Pegu unaccompanied by male attendants, may be regarded as in the highest degree improbable. There is no trace of such an event or of the king’s death under such circumstances in the Taláing or Burmese history. The last king of Pegu, of the Shan dynasty, who was dethroned by Tabeng Shwé htí, died, as we have seen, in the jungle, having no army, and the king of Ava having failed to give him further support. Some rumours of his having been assassinated in the jungle may have reached the Portuguese, and have given rise to the tale recorded. “Para Mandara, king of the Bramas” who conquered Pegu, was not the king who recovered his own “kingdom of Ava, and overran the Laos and other countries tribu-

tary to Pegu.” Those conquests were accomplished many years after the conquest of Pegu, by the successor of Tabeng Shwé htí, who is generally styled Bureng Náung, and by the Portuguese historian ‘Branginoco’ and ‘Chaumigrem.’ Both of these kings are mentioned in the Taláing history with the title Meng-ta-rá (to which Phrá would be added in speaking of them); both invaded Siam, and both besieged Prome, so that the error which confused one with the other, is not to be wondered at.

It is doubtful whether Bureng Náung had any hereditary right to succeed Tabeng Shwé htí. His claim seems to have been his great military talent, and his marriage with the king’s sister.

The following statement is taken from the *Universal History*, Vol. VI., published in London in 1781. It professes to derive its information regarding Pegu and the adjoining countries from Portuguese, Dutch, and English authorities. “In 1519, Antony Correa was sent to Bressagukan (Binya “Ran), king of Pegu, to conclude a treaty. That king was slain, in 1539, “by some Barma labourers who were furnished by Para Mandara, king of “the Barmas. The cause of the rising is not stated. The king of Barma “now invaded the country, and Dacha Rupi, the heir to the deceased, was “unable to oppose him. At this time, Ferdinand de Morales arrived with “a great galleon, sent by the Viceroy of Goa to trade. He took the side “of Dacha Rupi, but they could not resist the overwhelming numbers of “the Barmas, and De Morales was slain. This occurred in 1539.”

Here we have the names of the two last kings of Pegu, one considerably distorted, and it is Binya Ran who is here said to have been killed by the Burmese labourers in 1539. But that king as we have seen, died peaceably before the great troubles came in 1526. His son and successor Takárwutbi, whom we recognise in Dacha Rupi, died (or was killed) in the jungle in 1539 (or 1540, by the Taláing history), and this date with his flight and death in the jungle seems to give the clue to the origin of the story of the king killed by Burmese labourers.

Tabeng Shwé htí, having taken the city of Hantháwati, proceeded to lay siege to Muttama. This city, which lies to the south-west of the ancient capital, and at a travelling distance of nearly one hundred miles, was then governed by Tsau-bi-nya, brother-in-law of the conquered king, who had the rank of a Viceroy. The siege operations against Muttama, or Martaban, are related in detail in the Burmese Mahá Rádzáweng,* but the Taláing narrative is brief, and draws a veil over the final defeat of the Mun race. The besieging army numbered 130,000 men, with numerous vessels of every description. The whole was under the command of Bureng Náung, the king’s brother-in-law, who is called by the Portuguese historian ‘Branginoco.’ Not a word is said in either of the native histories of Europeans being in the service of the

* See History of Burma race, *Journal, As. Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXVIII, for 1869.

king of Pegu on this occasion, but it is mentioned that several ships were moored in the river opposite to Muttama, for the defence of the city, which were manned by Muhammadans, called on this occasion in the Burmese history ‘Kulá-Pánthé.’* The native histories make the siege occur in the year 1540, while the Portuguese account places it in 1544. The first is probably correct; the dates in the Portuguese history are not to be depended on. But the story of the siege is told in simple language, and reveals the dreadful doom of the Viceroy and his family, inflicted by the pitiless conqueror, which is passed over in silence by the native historians.† The account is as follows: “In the year 1544, the king of the Bramas, by sea and land, “besieged the city of Martavain, metropolis of the great and flourishing “kingdom of that name, whose yearly revenue was three millions of gold. “Chaubainaa was then king, and Nhay Canotoo Queen thereof, who from “the height of fortune fell to the depth of misery. The Brama fleet “consisted of 700 sail, 100 of them great galleys. In them were 700 Portuguese, commanded by one John Cayero, reputed a man of valour and “conduct. After a siege of seven months and five assaults, wherein the “Bramas lost 12000 men, Chaubainaa found it was impossible to with- “stand that power; provision being already so scarce, that they had eaten “3000 elephants. He offered to capitulate, but no conditions were allowed by “the besieger. He, therefore, resolved to make use of the Portuguese, to “whom he had always been very just and serviceable. But man never re- “members favours received in prosperity of those he sees in adversity.”

The history then narrates how the unfortunate Viceroy entered into communication with Cayero, through Seixas, a Portuguese in his service, and offered, if supported by all of them, to become the vassal of the king of Portugal. But this was rejected, and a large body of men from the city having deserted, discovered the design to the besieger. The narrative proceeds: “The king thus betrayed, capitulated with the enemy for his own “and the lives of his wife and children, and leave to end his days in retire-

* The Burmese historian has somewhat carelessly applied the word Pán-thé to Muhammadans from India and Persia. In the present day, it is used to designate the Muhammadans of Yunan only. All Muhammadans from countries west of Burma are called ‘Pa-thí,’ which is believed to be a corruption of ‘Fársí.’ The word Pánthé has probably a different origin. The Burmese became acquainted with the Muhammadans of Yunan several centuries ago, from the caravans of those people trading to Ava. As their religion, and some of their customs, differed from those of the Chinese, they, to avoid the hateful name of foreigner, spoke of themselves as being Pan-ti or Pun-ti = indigenous, and thus, it is believed, the name originated in Burma.

† In the paper on the History of the Burma race, J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. XXXVIII, of 1869, it was stated that the governor of Martaban was pardoned by the conqueror. I am now satisfied that this was not the meaning of a somewhat obscure sentence in the Burmese history.

“ment. This and more was granted easily, because the conqueror designed
“to perform no part of the promise. From the city gate to the king of
“Brama’s tent was a league distance, all which way was a lane of many
“thousand musketers of sundry nations, and next the gate were posted the
“Portugueses. The first came out was the Queen in a chair with her two
“daughters, and two sons in two others. About them forty beautiful ladies
“led by as many ancient ones, encompassed by Talegrepos (a sort of reli-
“gious men among them, habited like our Capuchins), who prayed and com-
“forted them. Then came the king guarded by his enemies, seated on a
“small she-elephant, cloathed in black velvet ; his head, beard, and eyebrows
“shaved, and a rope about his neck, which moved even the enemy to com-
“passion. The unfortunate king seeing the Portugueses, would not stir
“one foot till they were removed from that post, and that done went on.
“Being come before the king of Brama, he cast himself at his feet, but not
“being able to speak for grief, the Raolim of Mounay Talaypor, Chief Priest
“of those Gentiles, and esteemed a saint, made an harangue in his behalf,
“of force to have moved to compassion any other but that obdurate king.
“The miserable king, his queen, children, and ladies were secured. The two
“following days were spent in removing the treasure, at which a thousand
“men laboured, and it amounted to 100 millions of gold. The third day, the
“army had liberty to plunder, which lasted four days, and was valued 12
“millions. Next, the city was burnt, wherein perished by fire and sword
“above 60,000 souls, besides as many made slaves ; 2000 temples, and
“40,000 houses were laid even with the ground. There were in the town
“6000 pieces of cannon, 100,000 quintals of pepper, and as much of other
“spices. The morning that followed this destruction, there appeared on a
“hill, called Beydoo, 21 gibbets, with a strong guard of horse. Thither was
“led the queen with her children and ladies, in all making 140, and were all
“hanged up by the feet. The king and fifty men of great quality were
“cast into the sea with stones about their necks. The army seeing this
“barbarity mutinied, and the king was in great danger. He leaving peo-
“ple to rebuild the ruined city, returned to Pegu with the rest of his army,
“and among them John Cayero and his 700 Portugueses. Of these four
“stayed at Martavam.”

King Tabeng Shwé htí, before his departure for Pegu city, received the submission of the governor of Maulamyáing, and took the precaution to guard the frontier towards Zimmé. At the ancient capital he was consecrated king. He put the fortifications in repair, and with great solemnity placed a new htí on the summit of the Shwé mau dau pagoda, and afterwards one on that of the Shwé Dagon. He thus proclaimed his sovereignty of the ancient Taláing kingdom. But he determined to push his conquests without delay. As a first step towards asserting his right to the throne of Ava,

he collected an army to advance against Prome, where Meng Kháung was tributary king under the Shan king of Ava, Thohánbwá, whose daughter he had married. Tabeng Shwé htí proceeded with his army up the Eráwati, Bureng Náung being the general in command. He invested Prome by land and water, but did not make any assault, as the place was strong and well defended with guns. While thus engaged, news arrived that the Shan king of Ava was marching down with a large army to the relief of Prome. Half of the army was sent to meet this force. It was under Bureng Náung, who attacked the Ava force with his accustomed vigour and utterly defeated it.* A force from Arakan also, brought to assist the besieged, was compelled to fly. The besieging force having sustained heavy loss, was compelled to trust to famine for the surrender of the city. The unfortunate king of Prome was at length forced to surrender, and proceeding to his conqueror's camp, attended by the superior of the Buddhist monks, implored mercy for himself and family. The native histories place this event in the year 904, or June 1542, the siege having lasted for seven months. The king and queen, it is stated in the Burmese history, were sent as prisoners to Táungu, and no more mention is made of them. The Portuguese history states that the siege occurred in 1546. This is incorrect, but the events recorded may, no doubt, be relied on. The queen of Prome, who was older than her husband, appears to have had the direction of affairs in the city. She offered to pay tribute, and hold the crown from Tabeng Shwé htí. But "the king insisted that the queen "should put herself into his hands with all her treasure ; but she knowing "how perfidious he was, resolved to defend herself. He gave several assaults, "and by the sword and a plague that raged in the army, lost 80,000 "men, among which were 500 Portugueses." It is also stated that a mount was raised overlooking the town, and being well armed with cannon left no place of safety to the besieged. But in a sally, the besieged destroyed the mount, and carried off 80 cannons. Tabeng Shwé htí on this occasion was wounded, and "in a rage slew 2000 Portugueses that were upon the guard as negligent of their duty." Probably there is an error here in the number ; 200 artillery men being more likely intended. The savage treatment of the king and queen is very different to what is narrated by the Burmese historian. "The queen was publicly whipped and delivered up to the lust of

* The Portuguese history has caused some confusion regarding the events which led to this siege by stating—"The king of Brama was alarmed by him of Siam, who attempted to recover the kingdom of Tangu, which had been wrested from him." For Siam here must be understood the northern Shan or Shian confederation, now led by the king of Ava. This king did claim the allegiance of Táungu, which state had formerly been subject to his predecessors. It was never claimed by Siam. The Siamese and Shians both belong to the Tháí race, and the early European writers may thus occasionally have confused the two. In Father Sangermano's work on Burma, the Shan people are always called 'Sciam' .

“the soldiers until she died. The young king was tied to her dead body
“and east into the river. The same was done with 300 gentlemen, after
“stakes were drove through their bodies.”

Tabeng Shwé hti appointed one of the brothers of Bureng Náung tributary king of Prome, with the title of Tha-dodhammá Rádzá. He then returned to Hantháwati, where he endeavoured by works of religious merit to atone for the guilt of bloodshed. He cast a pure gold image of Budha, and next built a new palace. But he was not left long in repose. In Ava on the death of Tho-hanbwá, the chief of Unbáung named Khun-mháing-nge had been elected to the throne. He determined to retake Prome. He marched down at the head of an army formed of the troops of seven Shan chiefs. Tabeng Shwé hti quickly came to the rescue of his tributary king. The Shans once more were defeated near Prome, and Bureng Náung followed them up the Eráwati, capturing all the cities as far as Pugán. He also appeared before Ava, but apparently thinking it too strong to be safely attacked, the army returned to Pugán, and there he established his frontier post.* The king having taken measures for the safety of his army, returned to Pegu, where he arrived in the year 906, or August, 1544. In the following year, he was again solemnly consecrated, assuming the title of King of Kings, which may be translated ‘Emperor.’ The tributary kings of Prome, Táungu, and Martaban were present to do homage; and Bureng Náung was formally declared Ein-Shé-meng, or crown prince.

About this time, the king of Arakan died, and Tabeng Shwé hti made an expedition to that country, to place his brother on the throne. The emperor appears to have failed to take the capital, but eventually the son of the late king, styled Mahá Dhammarít, on agreeing to present gold and silver flowers, was confirmed on the throne, and the emperor then returned to Pegu. This expedition occurred in the year 908, or A. D., 1546-47. The return of the emperor seems to have been hastened by news of a movement, which this time was really made by the king of Siam. That monarch had lately taken possession of Tavoy, a town which for many years had been a disputed possession between the two countries. The emperor determined to punish this aggression, not by seizing the town in question, but by marching on the capital of his enemy. All the arrangements were as usual entrusted to Bureng Náung. The emperor left his capital in the year 910 (November, 1548), and proceeded to Muttama (Martaban), where the army had already

* This expedition up the Eráwati, called the ‘Queytor’ by the Portuguese historian, has by him been mixed up with the siege of Prome two years earlier. It is said that the invader returned from Ava, because he heard the king of Siam was coming to its relief. This can only refer to the northern Shans. In the native histories, no reason is given for the retreat from Ava on this occasion. The Portuguese historian then refers to the Empire of Calaminam, and to affairs which occurred many years later, but of which the writer evidently had a very confused notion.

assembled. The plan was to march eastward from that city to Myawati on the Tháung-yin River, and from thence to the upper course of the Mo-nam, the 'mother of waters', on which river Yodaya, the then capital of Siam, was situated. The army occupied in succession the fortified cities of Kamánbaik, Tháuk-katé, and Pi-tha-lauk, and then moved down by land and water to the capital. But from the strength of the wall, the deep and broad moat, the numerous water-courses, and the ships moored and armed with guns manned by foreigners, the city was deemed to be too strong for an assault, and the emperor, with the advice of Bureng Náung, determined to retire. In retreating towards Kamánbaik ('Camambee' of the Portuguese) and the other places they had captured, they were attacked by the Siamese, but entirely defeated them, and even took prisoner a son-in-law of the king's. According to the Burmese history, the king of Siam then entered into negotiations and promised, if his son-in-law were released, to pay tribute. This was agreed to by Tabeng Shwé htí, and the invading army then retired. The king returned to his capital in April, 1549.

The Portuguese history gives two accounts of this expedition; one in the first volume, in which it is (wrongly) represented as the second invasion of Siam by Tabeng Shwé htí, and states that the Portuguese who accompanied the army, were only 180 men under James Soárez; and another more detailed account in the third volume, in which the Portuguese force is stated to have been one thousand. Both accounts give the year 1549 as the date of the expedition, and the Burmese history states that it lasted from November 1548 to April, 1549. In the Burmese and Taláing histories, not a word is said as to the leader of the Portuguese, James Soarez de Melo, though they speak generally of foreigners. But there is no doubt that the guns, which were worked by the Portuguese, were regarded with great importance by the emperor. The Portuguese history after relating that an illegitimate son of a murdered king of Siam had succeeded to the throne, continues thus:—"The king of Brama, or Pegu, for it is the same, seeing the affairs
 "of Siam in confusion, resolved to conquer that kingdom. He raised an
 "army of 800,000 men, among which were 1000 Portugueses, 40,000 horse,
 "60,000 musqueteers, 20,000 elephants, 1000 cannon drawn by as many
 "yoke of oxen and Abadas, and 1000 waggons of ammunition drawn by
 "buffaloes. The Portugueses were commanded by James Soarez de Melo,
 "called the Gallego, who came to India in the year 1538; in 1542, was
 "pyrating about Mozambique; in 1547, was at the relief of Malacca;
 "and in 1549, being in the service of this king, was worth four millions in
 "jewels and other things of value, had a pension of 200,000 ducats yearly,
 "and the title of the king's brother, was supream governor of all his
 "dominions, and general of his army.* The king marched with that

* The position of Soarez is here perhaps exaggerated; but that he held a high

“prodigious multitude, and after one repulse took the fort of Tapuram, defended by 2000 Siamites, putting all to the sword with the loss of 3,000 men. By the way the city of Tuvopisam surrendered, and he sat down before Odiaa, the capital of Siam, which seemed to make no account of that great power. James Soarez, who commanded in chief, surprized hereat, gave an assault and lost 10,000 men. Another attempt was made with elephants, but with no better success. * * * * * Five months being spent with the loss of 150,000 men, news was brought that Xemindoo, a man of great parts had rebelled at Pegu and killed 15,000 men that opposed him. As soon as this was known in the camp, 120,000 Pegues deserted, in hatred to that foreign king that oppressed, and to the insolence of James Soarez who commanded them.”

It appears that there were some Portuguese in the city under the command of James Pereyra, who served the guns, and probably caused the failure of the attack. Certain differences are apparent in the accounts of the native historians and of the Portuguese, as to the causes which led to the retreat of the Burmese army. The former attribute it to the prudence of the king on seeing the great difficulties before him; and omit to mention the failure of an assault. The insurrection of Xemindoo in Pegu at this time also is not mentioned. But it broke out, according both to the Burmese and Taláing histories, immediately after the return of the army, and possibly the presence of the discontented Taláing soldiers was deemed a favourable opportunity. Before the insurrection, the Burmese history relates that king Tabeng Shwé htí had become utterly incapable from constant drunkenness, the liquor being supplied by a nephew of James Soarez, a youth to whom the emperor had taken a liking, and who was his constant companion.* At length, Bureng Náung banished this young man from the country, and then took the whole power into his own hands. His father, who was the tributary king of Táungu, had died in the previous year, and one of his brothers or kinsmen had been appointed with the title of Meng Khaung. Bureng Náung was the virtual ruler of the empire, and the acknowledged successor of the emperor, to whom he appears to have been a faithful officer.

It was in the month Pyatho, 911 (December, 1540), according to the Burmese history, that the insurrection of Thamin-htau, or Thaminhtau rá ma, broke out. He is called by the Portuguese ‘Xemindoo.’ He is represented in the Taláing history as being a son of Binya Ran, the last king but one of the dynasty of Wararu, by an inferior woman of the palace. He had been post is apparent from the Burmese history, in which subsequently his name occurs as Pits-tsa-rit, with the affix “Meng,” or Lord. His miserable end will be seen hereafter.

* In a royal order, issued not very long ago, degrading an officer of high rank, this historical incident was referred to, as illustrating the evil effects of drinking intoxicating liquor, and the danger of familiar association with foreigners.

a Rahán, but threw off his monastic habit and became a layman. He then took the name of Thaminhtau, and began to collect followers in the delta of the Eráwati, where the Mun race was most numerous, and where a rebel force could most easily avoid attack. He was at first very successful, having taken Dála and even Syriam; he then marched boldly to attack Makau, a fort only sixteen miles south of the capital. Here he was attacked by troops sent from Hantháwati, and was defeated. He retreated to Syriam, where Bureng Náung routed his followers. He fled westward, and Bureng Náung followed him up, and fixed his head quarters at Dála, from whence he sent out parties in all directions to hunt down the fugitives. During this confusion, the emperor was under the care of the governor of Tsit-táung, who had the title of Thamin-tsau dwut, or Thamindurit. He is called by the Portuguese historian 'Xemin of Zatan.' This young man also was a scion of the Shan royal family of Pegu. He had been educated at the same kyoung as Thaminhtau, and was strongly recommended to the emperor by the Phungyí, or abbot, of the monastery. He was soon taken into favour, and was entirely trusted by Bureng Náung. His two younger brothers had appointments in the palace, one being commander of the emperor's bodyguard. The emperor had gone for change to a temporary palace at Pantarau, when a report was brought, no doubt to draw him away to a remote place, that a white elephant had been seen east of the Tsit-táung River, near the ancient city of Kátha. To capture a white elephant at this juncture would have a good effect on the whole people, and the emperor was easily inveigled into the jungle at the foot of the mountains. There he was murdered by one of the brothers of Thamindwut, in May, 1550. The latter at once proclaimed himself king at Tsit-táung, and soon after took possession of Hantháwati, where he was consecrated according to ancient custom.

Tabeng Shwé htí had reigned ten years in Táungu, his native kingdom, and ten years as emperor in Hantháwati. The Taláing history records that he made great gifts to the national pagodas of Shwé-maudau and Shwé Dagun; and that he constructed a road between Pegu and Táungu, with wells, zayáts, and gardens for the use of travellers. This road, which was well raised above the level of ordinary floods, still exists. He built a pagoda at Táungu, which was completed only the year before his death, as has been proved from an inscription on a silver scroll, discovered at that city a few years ago. The pagoda was built for the benefit, by means of the merit acquired by building it, of himself and family, and in memory of his father. He was only thirty-six years of age when he died.

Bureng Náung was at Dála when these events occurred, and finding the strength of the country against him, determined to march to Táungu. On the way he was joined by his wife who managed to escape from the city. When arrived at Táungu, he found that his brother Thi-ha-thu

would not open the gates to him. But all the best officers, Burma, Taláing, and Shan, had great confidence in him, and gathered to his camp. A force sufficient to blockade the city was thus collected. In Pegu, the struggle went on between the two Taláing chiefs, Thaminhtau and Thamindwut. The latter, in possession of the capital, exercised his authority with such cruelty, that the nobles called in his rival, who advanced with an army collected principally at Muttama. A battle was fought near the city in which Thaminhtau was victorious. Thamindwut was taken prisoner and beheaded. He had reigned for three months and a half. These events are thus recorded in the Portuguese history: “Xemindoo (Thaminhtau) “rebelled against the king of Pegu (Tabeng Shwé htí), and sent James “Soarez to suppress him. He followed him to the city of Cevadi, and he “slipping by, got into Pegu,* because the city sided with him. The queen “fled to the castle,† where she was defended by twenty Portuguese till the “king came and put the rebels to flight.‡ The army entered the city and “put to the sword not only men, women, and children, but even the beasts; “nothing escaped, but what was within the liberty of James Soarez his house, “which the king had ordered should be exempted.§ Above twelve thousand “saved themselves therein. The plunder was unaccountable. James Soarez “alone got above three millions. At his intercession, the king pardoned a “Portuguese who had furnished Xemindoo with ammunition. Though the “king escaped the hands of Xemindoo, he could not the villainy of Ximi-de- “Zatan (Ximi is equivalent to a Duke, and he really is one of Satan’s crea- “ting), who murdered him in the delightful city of Zatan.|| The traitor was “immediately proclaimed king, and falling among the murdered Prince’s “men, killed three of those that belonged to James Soarez, who fled to the “city Ova, and afterwards at Pegu was reconciled to this new king, till “Xemindoo, who fled before, came on again with a powerful army. Ximi “commanded James Soarez and his Portuguese to march with him against

* The Portuguese historian here confuses Thaminhtau (Xemindoo) with Thamindwut (Ximindezaton). The first did not enter the city of Pegu until he had conquered the last; whereas Thamindwut entered the capital in little more than a month after the murder of the Emperor. Cevadi is Saráwadi, = Tharáwati.

† This may be either the queen of Tabeng Shwé htí or of Bureng. The latter as we have seen soon after joined her husband.

‡ This can only refer to Bureng Náung on his march to Táungu, when, though he was not attacked, he did not venture to enter Pegu city.

§ This sentence can only refer to the taking of the city by Thamindwut, when his army would be sure to plunder the city. The Portuguese historian has been puzzled by the numerous “kings,” who in a short time enjoyed that title among the people.

|| Tabeng Shwé htí was murdered some distance from the city, but within the territory pertaining to Tsit-táung (= Zatan).

“the enemy ; but before he came thither, the punishment of his great insolence reached him, as we shall see hereafter. Zatan was taken and beheaded by Xemindoo, who gave out it was for the killing of Soarez, as if the murder of the king had not been a more justifiable motive. Thus the first rebel possessed himself of the crown till Mandaragri,* the late king’s brother-in-law, claimed it in right of his wife, and coming to a battle, gave him such a total defeat, that Xemindoo fled to the mountains where he married a poor fellow’s daughter. He discovered himself to her, and she revealed it to her father, at such time as great rewards were proposed to such as should discover him. The father-in-law delivered him up to the king who cut off his head.”

In a subsequent part of the history, this story is again told, but with some variations, and the battle between Xemindoo and the king (Bureng Náung) is erroneously represented as having occurred before Xemin de Zatan became king, thus antedating the event by more than a twelvemonth.† The account is extracted, as it relates the fate of Soarez in the city of Pegu, after he became “reconciled” to the usurper. “Xemindoo was of the ancient blood royal of Pegu, a great preacher and esteemed a saint. He made a sermon so efficacious against the tyranny of princes and oppression of that kingdom, that he was taken out of the pulpit and proclaimed king, whereupon he slew 5,000 Bramas in the palace, seizing all the treasure, and in a few days all the strongholds in the kingdom submitted to him. The armies of the two kings met within two leagues of the city of Pegu. That of Brama consisted of 350,000 men, Xemindoo’s of 600,000. Of the latter about 300,000 were slain, and 60,000 of the former. The victorious king entered Pegu, and contrary to agreement slew many, and seized great treasures. Meanwhile the city Martavam declares for Xemindoo, killing 2,000 Bramas. Xemin of Zatan did the same in the city of that name. The king marched towards him, but he contrived to have him murdered by the way.‡ This was the end of that tyrant. Xemin was proclaimed king by his party, and in nine days gathered 30,000 men. Chaumigrem,§ brother to the dead king plundered the city and palace, and fled to Táungu, where he was born. Xemin de Zatan became so odious by his ill-government, that in four months many of his subjects fled, and some joined with Xemindoo, who made an army of 60,000 men. Let us leave him awhile to relate the end of James

* Mengta-ragyi, = Bureng Náung.

† Thamihntau was defeated at Makau, sixteen miles from Pegu, before the other rebel had murdered the king. But that is evidently not the battle alluded to.

‡ As has already been seen, this entirely misrepresents the circumstances under which Tabeng Shwé hti was murdered.

§ Chaumigrem is another name for Bureng Náung, but is here probably meant for his half brother Thihathu, who left the capital when the king was murdered, and retired to Táungu.

“ Soarez de Melo, after the wonderful rise already mentioned. James Soarez
 “ passing by a rich merchant’s house on the day after his daughter’s wedding
 “ and seeing the great beauty of the bride, attempted to carry her away by
 “ force, killing the bridegroom and others who came to her rescue. Mean-
 “ while the bride strangled herself. The father expecting no justice while
 “ that king reigned, shut himself up, and never stirred abroad, till Xemin de
 “ Zatan coming to the crown, he so lamented his wrong about the town,
 “ that above 50,000 of the people gathered about him, crying out for justice.
 “ The new king fearing some worse consequence, caused Soarez to be appre-
 “ hended and delivered up to that rabble. This was accordingly performed,
 “ and the multitude stoning him, he was in a minute buried under a heap
 “ of rubbish. No sooner was that done, but they took the body from under
 “ that pile, and tearing it in pieces, delivered it to the boys to drag about
 “ the streets, they giving them alms for so doing. His house was plundered,
 “ and the treasure found being much less than what was expected, it was
 “ believed he had buried the rest. The new king, Xemin de Zatan, soon
 “ followed James Soarez, for his subjects no longer able to bear his cruelty
 “ and avarice, fled in great numbers to Xemindoo, who was now master of
 “ some considerable towns. He marched to the city of Pegu with 200,000 men
 “ and 5,000 elephants. Zatan met him with 800,000, and the fight was
 “ long doubtful, till Gonsalo Neto, who with 80 Portuguesees followed
 “ Xemindoo, killed Zatan with a musket shot, which opened the way for
 “ Xemindoo into the city, where he was crowned on the 3rd February, 1550.
 “ Gonsalo Neto received 10,000 crowns for that fortunate shot, and his
 “ companions 5000.”

It may be well here to explain how the Portuguese historian has failed to recognise Bureng Náung when mentioned under other names or titles. He probably drew information from letters and reports sent by many different officers through a long series of years to the Viceroy at Goa, and these were not used for the history until about a century later. Bureng Náung was for ten years the general of the armies of Tabeng Shwé htí, and afterwards his successor. When he became emperor, he assumed different titles at different periods, and the writers of reports regarding him probably used these different titles, so that it would not be possible without some key to understand that they all referred to the same person. The term Bureng Náung is rendered ‘ Branginoco ’ by the Portuguese, and in some accounts his actions, under this title as general, are attributed to him as king. Mandaragi is a common title for a king, used in conversation. The term ‘ Chaumigrem ’ is for Tsheng-phyu-mya sheng, = Lord of many white elephants, one of the later titles assumed by Bureng Náung. The letter ‘ u ’ in Chaumigrem, is a misprint for ‘ n.’

In another part of the Portuguese history, as we have seen, it was

stated that "Zatan was taken and beheaded." Yet the fortunate shot of Gonsalo Neto is told very circumstantially and can scarcely be an invention. Perhaps the wound inflicted led to his capture.

Thaminhtau was now declared king, and was consecrated after the ancient custom in the capital. He is henceforth called in the Taláing history 'Dzag-ga-li Meng.' The Taláing historian dwells fondly on the details of the consecration, which was the last received by a native sovereign in Pegu.

While these events were passing in Pegu, Bureng Náung had forced the city of Táungu to surrender. He forgave his half-brother Thihathu, who had refused to acknowledge him, and had taken the title of Meng Kháung. Bureng Náung then caused himself to be consecrated king, as successor to his father who had been tributary king of Táungu under the late emperor. He next determined to possess himself of Prome, where another of his brothers had, under Tabeng Shwé htí, been tributary king, but of which a noble, styled Thadothu, had possessed himself. He marched across the hills, and after some delay Prome was surrendered by treachery, and Thadothu was put to death. His brother Thado Dhammá Rádzá was then reinstated as tributary king. It was now the year 913 (A. D., 1551), and Bureng Náung had possession of Táungu, Prome, and the country of the Eráwati as far north as Pugán. In Ava, a struggle for supremacy was still going on among the Shan chiefs, and Bureng Náung deemed the time propitious for asserting his claim to that kingdom as the successor of Tabeng Shwé htí. But hearing of attacks from the Pegu side on his territory, he considered it prudent first to settle affairs there, and concentrated his forces for that purpose at Prome and Táungu. Just then Mobyé Meng, king of Ava, being conquered by Tsithu-kyau-hteng, had fled and taken refuge in Prome. Bureng Náung determined to invade Pegu from Táungu, and marched to that city, taking Mobyé Meng with him. He set out on his expedition in April, 1551. His army consisted of 110,000 men, 400 fighting elephants, and 5000 horses.

In Pegu Thamin htau, according to the Taláing history, had entered the capital in August, 1550. Having placed his own adherents in the several districts of the delta, he, in November, marched against the governors of Martaban and Maulmain, who had refused to submit. Having subdued both without difficulty, he returned to Hantháwati. He received an embassy from the king of Arakan, and did everything possible to make himself popular, and above all, to acquire religious merit by gifts to the pagodas and monasteries. But hearing of the surrender of Prome to Bureng Náung, he knew he would soon have to fight for his kingdom; and it was not long after, that news was brought that Bureng Náung himself was marching down by land from Táungu, and that a force under the king of

Prome was coming by water. He determined not to await attack in the city. The army took post at Muanu to await the Burmese enemy, and the battle took place close to the capital. A portion of the city was set on fire during the engagement by a force detached for that purpose by Bureng Náung; in order to alarm the enemy. Thaminhtau fought with courage, but his army was defeated, and he was obliged to leave his elephant, and mount a horse to fly from the field. He fled to Dala. Bureng Náung entered the city on the following morning. The battle was fought in the latter end of April, 1551. There probably were Portuguese on both sides in this battle, but no detailed account of it is to be found in the Portuguese history. The clearest reference thereto is in the following passage—"Chau-migrem who, the year before, retired to (from) Pegu, hearing afterwards that Xemindoo was unprovided, marched against him, and obtaining the victory, brought that crown again under the subjection of the Bra-maes. Xemindoo, taken some time after, was publicly beheaded." And again we read in another volume—"The first rebel possessed himself of the crown, till Mandaragi, the late king's brother-in-law, claimed it in right of his wife, and coming to a battle, gave him such a total defeat that Xemindoo fled."

Most of the Taláing nobles submitted to the conqueror. On the third day after the battle, Bureng Náung started in pursuit of Thaminhtau, who was striving to rally his followers in the forests of the delta. Being at last compelled to fly, he once more assumed the dress of a Phungyí, or Buddhist monk, and took refuge in the district of Bassein. From thence he found means to fly with a few followers by boat to Muttama.

Bureng Náung remained at Bassein until August, 1551, settling the affairs of that part of the country, and then returned to Pegu city. His first care was to repair the holy buildings injured during the war, and he built a Dzé-di over the remains of Tabeng Shwé-htí. Not long after, the unfortunate Thaminhtau, having been betrayed, was brought in. Bureng Náung offered him his life, if he would make obeisance; but this, the Taláing history states, he refused to do, and he died of a wound he had already received. The Portuguese account says that he was beheaded; and the Burmese historian merely observes, "An evil-minded man, had an evil death."

Muttama having now been occupied, another of Bureng Náung's brothers was made tributary king with the title of Meng-re-tsí-thú. Bureng Náung assumed the title of King of Kings or Emperor; and his eldest son was declared Mahá Upá Rádzá, or Crown-prince. The emperor ruled over a wide extent of country, and prepared to assert his claim to the throne of Ava; for as the successor of Tabeng Shwé-htí he assumed the title of king of the Burma race, though neither of them had reigned in the country of Burma proper. An army was sent up the Eráwati in July, 1553, under the

command of the Crown-prince. Either this was intended only as a reconnoitring expedition, or the strength of the king of Ava, Tsí-thú kyau hteng, had been miscalculated. The Crown-prince advanced no further than Pugán, and was then recalled.

During this year great exertion had been made to build the palace, which was completed in November, when a grand festival was held. The emperor was then, as stated in the Taláing history, consecrated according to the ancient ceremonies. Numbers of boats were being built in all parts of Pegu, and provisions were collected along the Eráwati as far as Pugán, with a view to an advance to Ava. In July 1554, the son and the nephew of the king of Arakan arrived. The latter was married to one of the emperor's daughters, and the former to a daughter of the king of Muttama. In November, the army of invasion set forth. The Crown-prince was left at the capital as his father's representative. The army in two main columns, one of which accompanying the flotilla, proceeded up the Eráwati route. The other with which was the emperor, marched from the capital to Táungu. From that city, the emperor led a corps across the hills to Táung-dwen-gyi, and on to Pugán, where they joined the water column. The remainder marching from Táungu under the emperor's brothers, Meng Khaung, king of Táungu, and Meng rai kyau hteng, entrenched themselves to the south of the ancient capital Pányá, to await intelligence from the emperor. The main army by means of the flotilla crossed the Eráwati to the western bank, probably because provisions were more plentiful there than on the other. The march was continued along the right bank, and up the Khyendwen to Amyen, where that river was crossed. The army then marched to Tsagáing, situated on the Eráwati opposite to Ava. The emperor's first care was to communicate with his brothers who were entrenched near Pányá. Arrangements for an attack on the city having been made, the two brothers issued from their entrenched position, but were at once attached by Tsithu-kyau-hteng, the king of Ava. He was, however, defeated and forced to retire into the city. The emperor's army now crossed the river, and a combined attack was made. Ava was taken in March 1555, and the king, the last of the Shan dynasty, was made prisoner. He was well-treated and sent to Pegu. But two sons of the last native king of Pegu who were found here, were put to death. The emperor's brother Meng-rai-kyau-hteng was made tributary king of Ava, with the title of Tha-do-meng-tsau. The emperor delighted to continue Hantháwati as the capital of his empire, but determined to remain at Ava until the northern Shans were subdued.

It is much to be regretted that the Portuguese historian gives no account of this expedition, though it is almost certain that Portuguese are alluded to in the Burmese history, which speaks of four hundred Western

foreigners dressed in uniforms and armed with muskets, whose position was in front, flanks and rear of the emperor's elephant. In the following passage, however, the Portuguese historian no doubt alludes generally to the conquests of Bureng Náung, including the campaign of Ava. The "kingdom of Pegu, before not very considerable, was raised to be one of the greatest empires in Asia, by the king of Uva and Brama, assisted by 1,000 Portuguesees under the command of Antony Ferreyra de Braganca, who served him as his natural prince."

Columns were despatched into the country north of Ava, and the emperor himself proceeded to Myé-du on the Mú River. But the rainy season being at hand, and the troops worn out with fatigue, it was deemed expedient not to advance further at this time. A garrison was placed there, and the emperor himself returned to Ava, and thence to Pegu, where he arrived in June, 1555. The new king of Ava remained in his capital.

The emperor had before determined to build a fortified post at or near the ground where he had defeated Thaminhtau, and it was completed in this year. This is referred to by the Portuguese historian in the following words: "The king, not thoroughly satisfied with the people of Pegu, built, not far from it, another great and strong city." The emperor was careful to observe what was required of him as a good Buddhist. Additional gold was placed upon his father's pagoda at Táungu, offerings were sent to the holy tooth relic in Ceylon, communication having been opened with Dhammápála, the king of that island. A scandalous custom which had hitherto prevailed, of annual sacrifices of animals to the Náts of the Mountain Pup-pa, which had existed from the time of the kings of Pugán, was suppressed as contrary to religion. In the Burmese history, it is stated that many thousands of people used to assemble annually to sacrifice bullocks, buffaloes, pigs, and other animals on this occasion.*

About this time the Tsaubwá of Unbáung having died, a dispute occurred among the relations as to the succession. The member of the family who succeeded was then attacked by the Tsaubwá of Moné, and he appealed to the emperor for assistance. The emperor deemed this an excellent opportunity for subduing the whole of the Shan country, and determined first to proceed against those in the north. A large army under the king of Táungu was assembled on that frontier to watch the southern Shans; while the emperor himself proceeded with his whole court to Ava, where a large army was also assembled. He arrived there early in 1557, and soon after proceeded up the Eráwati to Tsampanago, where his army was assembled. He then marched to Momeit, tho Tsaubwá of which state had joined the enemy, while the king of Ava and other commanders proceeded against

* Similar customs still exist in some remote parts of the country, though utterly contrary to Buddhism.

Unbáung. The whole of the country east of the Eráwati was subdued and annexed to the kingdom of Ava. As many heretical customs existed among the Shans, the observance of these was prohibited. On the death of a Tsaubwá, it had been the practice at his funeral to sacrifice his riding elephant, his horse, and his favourite slaves, and bury them in one grave with him. This was in future strictly prohibited. Pagodas for worship were erected; kyoungs were built, and orthodox monks placed in them, in order that religious duties might be exemplified and observed. Weights and measures were introduced in accordance with those existing in Hantháwati, and officers of justice appointed. Thus did the emperor provide for the temporal and spiritual welfare of the people. The emperor then determined to march against Modyin and Mogáung, which had formerly been subject to China.* For this purpose, he crossed to the west bank of the Eráwati, and after an arduous march north subdued both those states. The Mogáung Tsaubwá swore fealty, and the Monyin Tsaubwá was taken as a hostage, his son-in-law being appointed chief. The same reforms were introduced into these states, which had been enforced in Unbáung and Momeit. The emperor had now subdued the country as far north as the Patkoi range of hills, which separates Burma from Ásám. He returned to Ava, and from thence proceeded to Pegu, which he reached in August, 1557.

But already another disturbance had arisen among the restless Shan chiefs. The Moné Tsaubwá had attacked the chief of Thí-bá. The emperor determined to punish both. In November, he marched to Táungu and across the mountains towards Moné. Many Tsaubwás had united their forces, but were defeated. The emperor pardoned the Moné chief on account of his youth; but in this and the adjoining states the reformed worship was introduced. These states received the name of Kambaudza, or this ancient name was now revived.

The emperor now held a council as to future proceedings. It was agreed that, as all the northern Shan states west of the Than-lwin river, except Thinní, had been subdued, nothing should at present be attempted in that direction. Thinní was still subject to China, and should not be interfered with. But it was determined to march against the Ywun Shans of Zimmé, after which it would be easy to occupy the country of the Gun or Gyun, Kyáing-run and Kyáing-tun, with other neighbouring states bearing collectively the classic names of Mahánágora and Khemáwára. The army was at once put in motion from Moné, and made twenty-four marches to

* The northern Shan states in the valley of the Eráwati had, no doubt, been tributary to China. In the sixteenth century, the Ming dynasty had become weak, and the Manchoos had begun to assail the empire. It was these circumstances, probably, which determined Bureng Náung to attack these out-lying districts of the Chinese empire.

the Hta-tseng-tsheik on the Than-lwin, where that river was crossed. From thence twenty-one marches brought the invader to Zimmé. The king of that country had determined to defend himself in his capital, which was well provided with jinjáls. The emperor, however, had so large a force with superior artillery, that he surrounded the city and compelled a surrender. The king swore fealty, the emperor asking him if even the great ruler of China could help him. He agreed to pay an annual tribute of elephants, horses, silk, and other natural products of his country. Many artificers with their families were carried away to Hantháwati. No religious reforms were considered necessary. An army of occupation, numbering fifty thousand men, was left in Zimmé, and was placed on the frontiers of Siam and Leng-dzeng. The emperor then set out on his return to Ava. Being suspicious of the conduct of the Tsaubwás of Mong, Ngyáun-ywé, and other states, they and their families were detained as prisoners. The Tsaubwá of Thinní appeared with presents, but was not required to make his submission. The emperor arrived at Ava, in August, 1558. There he remained settling the country and repairing the religious buildings. All the Tsaubwás in the hills east of Bamau appeared and did homage. While thus engaged, news was brought that the king of Leng-dzeng* was assembling a force, to attack the Burmese army in Zimmé. The king of Ava was at once sent with reinforcements, and he forced the king of Leng-dzeng to retreat. Some cities nearer to the Me-kong River were now occupied, and the king of Ava was then recalled. The emperor returned to Pegu in May, 1559.

He had before commenced the foundation of a pagoda, and the work was now pushed on. Numbers of supposed holy relics were placed in the relic chamber, with golden images of the family of Budha and his disciples, and of the royal family. The religious zeal of the emperor did not stop here. He was shocked at the number of animals put to death by the Muham-madans at the capital and other cities. Those people seemed actually to rejoice in taking the life of a goat or a fowl. The emperor desired to put an end to such sinful deeds. He built a magnificent Tatsháung, or place of assembly, and ordered the foreign people to attend. The true religion was then preached by the royal teacher, and numbers of the foreigners embraced the doctrine of the three treasures.†

* Leng-dzeng is the Burmese name for the ancient Laos kingdom, east of the Mekong, or river of Cambodia, of which either Muang Luang Phaban, or Vien Chan, called also Lantehiang, was the capital. It is now subject to Siam. See Captain McLeod's Journal, p. 39, and Travels by Louis de Carné, p. 125.

† There are in Pegu a number of families who are Budhists and in no way distinguishable from the people of the country, but who state that they are of foreign origin. They bury their dead and erect tombs over them; and they abstain from eating pork. In other respects, I am not aware that they have any peculiar customs. It is probable they are descendants of those converted by Bureng Náung, whose

The empire enjoyed rest for nearly three years. The chief of Kathe (Manipur) indeed made an encroachment on the territory of the Kale Tsaubwá, but this was soon settled. About the middle of the year 924 (A. D. 1562), a more serious attack occurred. The Tsaubwá of Mo-mit reported that some of his frontier villages had been attacked by the Tsaubwás from Ho-tha, Tsánda, and other states eastward of Bamáu. The emperor called a council, and observed he had no doubt but that these Tsaubwás depended on the assistance of the emperor of China, but, as before the destruction of Pugán, all that country was a part of the territory of that kingdom, he should punish this aggression. He sent an army under the three tributary kings of Ava, Prome, and Táungu, and his son, the crown-prince. The Tsaubwás then all appeared at Bamáu and swore fealty to the emperor. The religious reforms were introduced; pagodas and kyoungs were built, and orthodox phúngyís sent, in order that the four monthly worship days and other religious duties might be carefully observed. Times of payment for the royal revenue were fixed, and once in three years the Tsaubwás themselves were to come to the royal feet. Later in the same year, it was discovered that the Tsaubwá of Tanenthari had been sending presents to the king of Siam, and a small force was sent to supersede the Tsaubwá. But the commander was wounded and the expedition was a failure.

The emperor still had his designs against both Siam and Leng-dzeng, but was willing to forego them if the king of Siam would be reasonable. In open court he observed that in the time of the younger brother, (so he now designated Tabeng-Shwé-htí), Siam was a tributary country; that he neither wished for war, nor did he wish to worry his officers and the army; but the king of Siam had four white elephants and ought to present one. This appeared to his ministers and courtiers only reasonable. Messengers were, therefore, sent and the king of Siam was reminded that, in ancient times, his ancestor had presented a white elephant to Wareru, the king of Pegu, to whose rights the emperor had succeeded. The reply of the king of Siam, veiled in ambiguous terms, was interpreted as a refusal, and the emperor determined to march on the capital of his enemy. According to the Burmese history, the army consisted of four great corps, each under one of the three northern tributary kings and the crown-prince. Each corps consisted of 140,000 men, 400 fighting elephants, and 5,000 horses. The emperor's own guards under his immediate command consisted of 40,000 men, 400 fighting elephants, and 4,000 horses.* The army was composed measures for attaining the object in view were probably not so mild as is represented in the history.

* The Portuguese historian gives no details of the march of the invading army, and, it is probable, did not clearly distinguish the two sieges of the capital of Siam by

of men from all parts of the empire, Pegu, Burma, and the most distant Shan states. The plan of the campaign was for the several corps to march on Zimmé, those starting from Pegu getting as far to the north as possible, and none proceeding from Muttama by the route eastward, which was the route followed by Tabeng Shwé htí in 1548. From Zimmé it was intended that the river should be used to convey stores for the army down to Yodayá, the capital of Siam.

The main army left Hantháwati in November, 1563, and marching up the valley of the Páung-láung River as far as Táungu, passed the eastern mountain range at various points. The several corps were assembled at Zimmé or the neighbourhood, but the king of that country had refused to join the expedition and absented himself. All the places of strength in the territory of Zimmé had to be besieged, though some surrendered on being summoned. The invader thus occupied Tháuka-té, Pithaláuk, and other cities, and Au-ga-dhammá Rádzá, a son-in-law of the king of Siam, was taken prisoner. Negotiations were now opened with the king of Siam, but he refused to come to terms. The invader gradually approached the capital Yodayá, and invested it on all sides. But it was necessary first to get possession of three ships mounted by Portuguese, which were moored in the river for the defence of the city, and were supported by batteries on shore. With great difficulty and loss these batteries were stormed, and the ships surrendered. The foreigners, it is said, were taken into the emperor's service. The king of Siam, disheartened at the loss sustained, now consented to appear before the conqueror, and though he was not required to do homage as a subject, he was dethroned, and his kingdom reduced to a tributary state. The king and his queens were carried off as prisoners and hostages, together with his younger son, styled Brá-rá-ma-thwun. The elder son, styled Brá-ma-hin, was made tributary king of Siam; the king's son-in-law and other members of the royal family were appointed governors at Pithaláuk, Tháuk-katé and other cities. These arrangements were made in March, 1564, and the emperor, after making all arrangements at Yodayá, set out with his prisoners for Pegu, where he arrived during the following June. He brought away three white elephants and numerous artificers.

The Portuguese historian, in the 3rd volume of his work, records these events in the following words, in which some errors will be observed: "For the conquest of Siam he led a greater force, possessed himself of the kingdom, and took the king and his two sons, called by reason of their Bureng Náung, as well as that during the reign of Tabeng Shwé htí, when he was general. The following passage in the third volume appears to refer to the invasion now related: "The war began again between Chaunigrem, king of Pegu, and him of Siam. The army of Pegu consisted of 100,000 men, among whom were many Portuguese, and 17,000 elephants. All this army came to ruin."

“different colour, one the black, the other the white. He was content to leave that king in possession of the crown as his vassal, having himself been till then his subject,* carrying away his two sons as hostages. Branginoco returning victorious to Pegu, entered the city in triumph, many waggons going before loaded with idols and inestimable booty. He came at last in a chariot with the conquered queens, loaded with jewels, at his feet, and drawn by the captive princes and lords. Before him marched two thousand elephants richly adorned, and after him his victorious troops.”

The emperor, notwithstanding this victory, was dissatisfied that nothing had been done to punish the king of Zimmé for his defection. He had retreated eastward, and was sheltered by the king of Leng-dzeng. Another large army was collected, and among the imperial guard and artillery one thousand Muhammadans and four hundred Portuguese are mentioned in the Burmese history. The emperor himself left the capital in November 1564, and proceeded to Labong, near Zimmé. A column under Binya Dála, an officer high in repute, took a southern route by Yaháing. All the Tsaubwás of the Yun tribe were anxious to support the independence of the king of Zimmé, but he himself came to the emperor and voluntarily submitted, saying that he did not wish to reign longer. He with his queen and their attendants then followed the emperor's camp. Troops were sent into the country east of Zimmé, to subdue the several petty chiefs.

While the emperor was thus engaged, a rebellion broke out in Pegu, headed by a Shan captive named Binya Kyan, with numerous Shan prisoners, and in which thousands of Taláings joined. They marched towards the capital, and the officers in command there were so alarmed, that they were on the point of sending off the empress and the whole of the royal family to Táungu for safety. They, however, took the advice of the deposed king of Ava, Narapati Tsithu, who pointed out that most of the rebel force were mere unarmed rabble, and might be easily checked. The ex-king was intrusted with a force, and went out and defeated the rebels close to the city. The leader was killed, and the rest fled into the thick woods of the delta. As soon as the emperor heard of this outbreak, he hastened back from Zimmé with a small force, and reached the vicinity of the city in June, 1565. Seeing that all the magnificent kyáungs and other buildings outside the city walls, which he had erected at vast expense, had been burnt by the rebels, he was so enraged, that without entering the city, he proceeded on to Dala to hunt them down. The king of Prome who had accompanied the emperor from Zimmé, was employed on this service; the rebels were utterly defeated, and several thousands of them taken prisoners. The whole of these the

* This apparently refers to the erroneous idea before mentioned, that Táungu had been tributary to Siam.

emperor intended should be enclosed in a vast temporary building of inflammable materials, and burnt alive as rebels according to Burmese law. The Burmese and the Taláing histories, however, both state that on the intercession of the Buddhist monks, Burmese, Taláing, and Shan, he pardoned all except the leaders, and those who had accepted titles from the rebel chiefs.

The emperor's eldest son, the crown-prince, had been left in command in the Yun country, and found great difficulty in subduing the chiefs, east and north-east of Zimmé. At length, they were driven to shut themselves up in Maing-zán, in which also was the king of Leng-dzeng and his family. The town was taken, and all were captured except the king of Leng-dzeng, who escaped in the confusion. The crown-prince leaving his sick and wounded in the town, followed up the fugitives, but the Burmese army suffered from want of food and long marches, and after much loss was forced to return to Maing-zán. The crown-prince then sent to Pegu all who were able to travel, with a report to the emperor of the difficulties encountered. Orders were at once issued for the return of the army, and the crown-prince reached Hantháwati in October, 1565. The queen of Leng-dzeng, and the whole of the prisoners of high rank, were brought and placed in the palace.

The emperor now occupied himself in building new city walls and other public works. The outer wall or rampart was a square of seven thousand yards on each face. There were five gates on each face, each gate being constructed by a tributary king and called after him. A new palace was likewise built, to which the tributary kings contributed materials. The whole was finished in March, 1567, when a grand festival was held.*

The last expedition of the emperor against the king of Zimmé appears to be referred to in the second volume of the Portuguese history in the following words: "Then he marched with an army of 1,600,000 men "and overran many neighbouring countries. But another rebellion breaking out at Pegu, the queen was forced to fly to the castle, chiefly relying "upon thirty-nine Portuguese, who defended her till the king came and "vanquished the rebels. Then the king sent an officer to bring those men "who had defended the queen to his presence. He brought him some Moors "of note. But the king knowing the Portugueses were the men, said in "anger, 'I sent you for men, and you bring me cowards; go, bring me men.'

* Of this palace the Portuguese historian writes: "He built a palace as big as "an ordinary city. The least part of its beauty was rich painting and gilding, for "the roofs of some apartments were covered with plates of solid gold. Some rooms "were set with statues of kings and queens of massive gold, set with rich stones, as "big as the life. He was carried on a litter of gold upon many men's shoulders: the "reverence paid him was more like a God than a prince." He called this palace, which was a vast collection of grand pavilions, Kambauza détha after one of the Buddhist countries of India.

“The Portugueses being brought, he bid them ask whatever reward they would, and they with the surprise doubting, the king loaded them with riches, praises, and honours.”

In the Burmese and Taláing histories, the Portuguese are not mentioned as contributing to the suppression of the rebellion in 1565. Although it is stated that the officers in command, during the emperor's absence, were utterly bewildered, the whole credit is given to the deposed king of Ava, and to an officer commanding a body of light troops detached by the emperor from Zimmé, and who advanced by forced marches on the capital. But it is evident that in the native histories, the services rendered by the Portuguese are systematically suppressed, and there appears no reason to doubt the truth of the anecdote above related.

The king of Leng-dzeng continued to make demonstrations against the towns in the Zimmé territory held by the emperor's officers. But his son-in-law came in and made his submission. Everything now looked promising. The capital was crowded with people, and was a scene of constant bustle and alacrity. But suddenly rice became scarce, which caused much suffering. The deposed king of Siam became a Rahán, and was permitted to go to his own country to worship. His son Bra-rá-ma-thwun had died, and his widow was allowed to return to Siam with her children. The tributary king of Siam now begun to take measures for once more being independent, and in this was supported by his father. But his brother-in-law, who was governor of Pithaláuk, would not join them, and leaving his government, came to Hantháwati with his family, where he arrived in June, 1568. The emperor saw that another invasion of Siam would be necessary, and began to make preparations. But as the campaign could not commence in the rainy season, he contented himself with strengthening the garrison of Pithaláuk and the king of Siam's son-in-law was sent back there. The reigning king of Siam determined to attack Pithaláuk at once, and the king of Leng-dzeng appeared with an army to help him. But the garrison resisted all their efforts by land and water. Their force became so reduced, that they at length drew off to a distance.

The emperor had collected even a larger army than before to march against Siam. It consisted of 5,300 fighting elephants, 53,000 horses, and 546,000 men. In the emperor's bodyguard were 4,000 Portuguese, and 4,000 Muhammadans, all armed with muskets, and cannon in great numbers. The army marched in October, 1568, and in forty-seven marches had reached sufficiently near Pithaláuk to relieve that place. The old king of Siam who had been deposed, appears to have resumed his position, having thrown off his monk's gown. He had made great preparations for the defence of the city, and his son Brámahin who had resigned power to his father, nobly seconded him. On the upper Menam and its tributaries, the emperor

collected numerous boats to convey stores of all kinds for the army on its march down to the capital. The commander under the emperor was Binya Dala, through whom all orders were issued. A portion of the army remained in the upper Menam to plant rice when the rain began to fall, in case there should be a scarcity lower down. The army invested the capital without any resistance. The emperor had determined to reduce it by famine. But after four months, that is, in May 1569, little or no effect had been produced. At this time the old king of Siam died, and his son Brámahin made some overtures for surrender, but these were not accepted. The losses in the Burmese army had been very severe, and the emperor becoming anxious, put two of his superior officers to death for neglect of duty. At this time, the king of Leng-dzeng approached with an army to relieve the capital. The emperor leaving Binya Dala in command, himself proceeded with the crown-prince and other officers, and a battle was fought in which the Laos king was defeated. The king now returned to renew the siege. Affairs had become very serious and the emperor had recourse to a stratagem. One of his Siamese supporters, a noble of high rank, pretending to desert, entered the city with irons on his legs. He was received with joy by Brámahin, and appointed to a high command. In pursuance of his treacherous design, he maintained a correspondence with the emperor, and opening one of the city gates allowed the enemy to enter. The city was taken in August, 1569, after a siege of seven months. It was given up to plunder. The unfortunate king Bráhmahin was made prisoner.* The emperor remained in the city of Yodaya for two months, and appointed Tháung-kyi, a member of the Zimmé royal family, tributary king of Siam. In a council of all the principal officers, it was decided, that it was now essential that the king of Leng-dzeng should be followed up. Sending back all surviving disabled men to Pegu, and an immense quantity of plunder, the emperor himself proceeded up the Menam, and fixed his head quarters at Pithaláuk. From thence the several divisions of the army marched eastward. After a long and tedious march, the emperor encamped on the right bank of the Mekong, opposite Máing-zán. Nothing had been heard of the corps commanded by the crown-prince and other generals. Orders were issued to fell trees, to prepare boats and rafts, to cross the river. A bridge of boats was at last made by which the army passed, and the enemy deserted Máing-zán. The other divisions, after great sufferings, had crossed the river some distance to the north, and now marched down to join the emperor. Máing-zán being made a depôt for stores and the sick, the king of

* Nothing more is said of this king in the Burmese history. Both that and the Taláing history dwell on the death of the old king and of the generosity of the conqueror in giving him a grand funeral. His son, it would appear, committed suicide, as we learn from an old Venetian traveller quoted hereafter.

Táungu was left in command, while the rest of the army under the emperor marched in pursuit of the enemy. The Leng-dzeng king was too wary to come to an engagement, and the invaders were wearied with long marches and want of food. At length, they returned to Máing-zán, and the whole army re-crossing the Mekong reached Pithaláuk, in June 1570.* From thence the emperor reached Hantháwati in the following month. Of the original army, which marched to subdue Siam, very few survived.

The emperor's first care after his arrival was to make rich offerings to the pagodas; to cast fresh images in precious metals, and to complete a new Hlwut dau, or royal council chamber, within the palace. He had turned his attention to foreign trade by sea, and built a ship of his own, which he sent loaded with merchandise to Melaput (?) and other ports of Ceylon and Southern India. In 1571, a rebellion of the northern Shans of Mo-gáung and Monhyin occurred. A force under the crown-prince and the king of Ava was sent against them; but the Tsaubwás could not be found, and the army was recalled. During this interval, the king of Leng-dzeng for some unexplained reason made an attack on a city belonging to Cambodia,† and was killed. One of his nobles usurped the throne. But the emperor, who had the deceased king's brother, named Ubarit, at his court, determined to support his claim, as he consented to become a tributary. An army was sent under the great general Binya Dala, to place him on the throne, but the expedition was unsuccessful. He was either put to death or sent into exile to a sickly place where he died. Binya Dala appears to have been a native of Pegu, but probably of Shan descent.

The last expedition of Bureng Náung against Siam, and afterwards into Laos, is related by the Portuguese historian in such a manner, that he appears to assert that the city of Yodayá was not taken. The fact of its surrender, however, admits of no doubt, though from the great loss sustained by the besiegers, it probably would not have fallen, had it not been for the treachery which has been related. De Sousa, after relating the capture of the Siamese princes in the first siege, but apparently not knowing that their father, the senior or first king of Siam was carried off as a hostage, proceeds thus: "After some time, the two brothers asked leave of the king to visit their father, which he granted, and afterwards sending to demand the usual

* This is probably a mistake for June, 1569, as will be seen farther on.

† Cambodia is called in the Taláing history 'Khameng,' probably a corruption of the native name Khmer. Cambodia seems to be the Portuguese form of Kamphoutehe, which itself is probably derived from Kambauza, the name of an ancient Buddhist country of India. All the Indo-Chinese nations have been in the habit of calling their cities after famous Indian cities. A portion of the Shan country was also called Kambauza, and the country east of Bamán was named Kosambi, which in popular language has been changed to Ko Shán pyí. Yodayá, the capital of Siam, is the Indo-Chinese form of the famous city of Ráma.

“tribute, the black Prince refused to pay it. The king in a rage sends his
 “great favourite Banna, with a powerful army against him. Banna ravaged
 “the country of Siam, and besieges the Prince in Hudixa, who defended it
 “so bravely, that Banna being forced to draw off, he fell upon and totally
 “defeated him. The king sends his brother-in-law with a greater power, and
 “he receives a greater overthrow; 200,000 of his men were cut in pieces
 “with a great number of elephants and horses, many more of both taken.
 “The black Prince remained victorious, his men were enriched and all en-
 “couraged to follow their good fortune. The king of Pegu raises another
 “army of 1,700,000 men, 1500 elephants, 80,000 horses, and all necessities
 “proportionable. The command of it he gave to Mapa Raja* his son, with
 “the title of king of Siam, not doubting of the victory. At the news of this
 “power, all Siam trembled except the valiant black, now king, who met his
 “enemy and gave him battle. The two kings encountering on their ele-
 “phants fought, and he of Pegu was cast dead off his elephant, at which
 “sight his men fled and the Siamites pursued them a month, destroying the
 “greatest part of that vast army.”

This account seems to mix up the three or rather four separate expedi-
 tions which we have given from the native histories. The first against
 Yodayá, where, though Bureng Náung was victorious, it was with immense
 loss; the two expeditions into Leng-dzeng, the last being under Binya Dala
 and both unsuccessful; and that, to put down the insurrection of the north-
 ern Sháns, under the crown-prince, which was also a failure.

Some light is thrown upon this period of the history by the narrative of
 Master Cæsar Fredericke, the Venetian, who, as translated in Purchas, states
 as follows:† “Sion, or Siam, was a great city, but in the year 1567, it was
 “taken by the king of Pegu. The number of his army was a million four
 “hundred thousand men of warre. I was in Pegu six months after his
 “departure, and saw when that his officers that were in Pegu sent five
 “hundred thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were
 “slaine and lost in that assault. Yet for all this, if there had not been
 “treason against the citie, it had not been lost; for on a night there was
 “one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king
 “gate into the city, and became governor of Sion; and when the emperor
 “saw that he was betrayed, and that his enemy was in the city, he poisoned
 “himself; and his wives and children, friends and noblemen that were not
 “slain in the first affront of the entrance into the city, were all carried

* This means Upa Rádzá—the Yuvaraja of the ancient Hindus,—which was the
 title Bureng Náung conferred on his eldest son. It is equivalent to Ein-She Meng of
 the present day.

† Cæsar Fredericke, seems to have been in different parts of Pegu during 1567,
 1568, and 1569.

“captives into Pegu, where I was at the coming home of the king with his triumphs and victory ; which coming home and returning from the wars, was a goodly sight to behold, to see the elephants come home in a square, laden with gold, silver, jewels, and with noblemen and women that were taken prisoners in that city.”

It will be remarked that there is a difference of one year in the date given in the Burmese history, and that by Cæsar Fredericke as to this invasion of Siam. The difference is extended to the date of “the coming home of the king,” which the Venetian traveller apparently places in 1569 ; and the Burmese history in 1570, after the conclusion of the expedition into Leng-dzeng.

Cæsar Fredericke visited Martaban where, as he states, “we found ninety Portugals of merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Rector or governor of the citie. At that time, the city was empty of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres, and in business of the king.”

He then proceeded to Pegu, “which are two cities, the old and new. In the old city are the merchant strangers, and merchants of the country. The merchants have all one house, or Magason, which they call ‘Godon,’ which is made of bricke, and there they put all their goods of any value. In the new city is the palace of the king, and his abiding place with all his Barons and Nobles, and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new city. It is a great city, very plain and flat, and four square, walled round about, and with ditches that compass the walls about with water, in which ditches are many crocodiles. It hath no draw-bridges, yet it hath twenty gates, five for every square, on the walls. There are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood, and covered or gilt with gold. The streets thereof are the fairest that I have seen ; they are as straight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discover the other ; and they are as broad as that ten or twelve men may ride abreast in them. And those streets that be thwart, are fair and large. The houses be made of wood and covered with a kind of tiles in form of cups. The king’s palace is in the middle of the city, made in form of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it. The lodgings within are made of wood, all over gilded, with five pinacles, and very costly work covered with plates of gold.” The whole of this description of the city of Hantháwati, and of the palace, would answer for the present capital Mandalé, except that the streets of the latter are broader than is here indicated, and that the palace wall has no ditch. The traveller gives an intelligent description of the army of the king of Pegu ; of the war elephants ; the “good ordnance made of very good metal ;” he hath “eighty thousand harquebusses, and the

number of them increaseth daily ;” the rest of the soldiers are armed with bows and arrows, pikes and swords, “but their armour and weapons are very naught and weak ;” this was compared with the European armour and heavy pikes of the period. The account given by this observant traveller shows that the native histories do not exaggerate his power and magnificence. Indeed, they state the number of his soldiers much below that given both by the Portuguese historian and the Venetian. The latter concludes this part of his narrative by stating—“The king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, gold, and silver, he far exceeds the power of the great Turk in treasure and strength.”

The traveller also describes how “the king sitteth every day in person to hear the suits of his subjects,” he sitting “up aloft in a great hall on a tribunal seat, with his Barons round about ;” while on the ground “forty paces distant” are the petitioners “with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree,” and a present or gift according to the weightiness of their matter.” If the order be favourable, “he commandeth to take the presents out of their hands ; but if he think their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away, without taking of their gifts or presents.” So the pitiless Bureng Náung had a conscience, when sitting as a king to hear his people’s complaints.

The Taláing history records that the emperor desired another expedition to Leng-dzeng, to retrieve the last disaster there, and “destroy the head and not the mere tail of the cobra.” The levy of an army was commenced, but the people murmured loudly, and many were heard to say that it was better to die at home than to perish of hunger and fatigue in a far country. The Shans were equally discontented, and some of the Tsaubwás, it is said, were supported in their opposition by the emperor’s half brother and son-in-law, the king of Ava. The project was deferred for the present, but in 1574, the emperor determined to place Ubarít on the throne of Leng-dzeng. He marched in October of that year, and arriving at Máing-zán, laid in stores of grain. He did not march into the country, but issued a proclamation that he had come to place the rightful heir upon the throne. He then bestowed, the regalia upon Ubarít with much good advice, and departed, leaving his tributary at Máing-zán with some troops. He reached Hantháwati in May, 1575. But a new expedition against Mogáung and Monyin had now become necessary ; for those restive states had refused to join the last expedition to Leng-dzeng, and were in open revolt. A force directed by the emperor himself proceeded north from Ava. The Tsaubwá of Monyin was killed, but the other fled, and though the troops followed him into regions where there was only snow for water, they could not capture him. In Leng-dzeng, however, the course of events was more fortunate. The usurper was delivered up by his own officers, together with his son, and the

Burmese commanders, apparently glad to leave, returned at once with their prisoners to Zimmé. There a portion of the force remained, and the remainder came on to Hantháwati. These important prisoners were forwarded to the emperor who was still at Mogáung, as the exhibition of them in that quarter would, it was considered, have a good effect. The Tsaubwá of Mogáung, however, could not be caught, and the emperor, recalling his son and other officers from the pursuit, returned to Pegu, and reached his capital in July, 1576.

There a great triumph awaited him. The emperor had long been in communication with ports on the coast of India and with a Buddhist king in Ceylon. He was the most powerful protector of the three treasures in Indo-China, and his support was naturally sought for by the now petty rulers in the holy island of Buddhism. Two years before, a Singalese princess had arrived and had been received with high honour, though the Portuguese historian asserts that the lady sent was only a daughter of the chamberlain of the king of Colombo. Now, at the very time the emperor returned to his capital, news was brought of the arrival of the holy tooth relic of Gautama Budha in a ship at Bassein. As the season was unfavourable for the ship to come to Pegu, a deputation of all the nobles of the highest rank was sent, and they bore a golden vase, adorned with the richest jewels taken from the conquered kings, in which the precious relic was to be deposited. A letter was also received from Dhammápála, the king of Ceylon, announcing that he was the only orthodox king of the four who ruled in the island. Arrangements were made for building a suitable pagoda for the reception of the relic; and with reference to Dhammápála's complaints of his being rather overborne by the three heretical kings, an envoy with a small force selected from all the various races in the emperor's army, was despatched by sea to Ceylon. This, it is intimated, had the effect of causing the Buddhist king to be much respected, and the envoy then returned.

The Portuguese historian places the arrival of the pseudo-princess and the pseudo-relic at the same time, but otherwise his statement appears substantially correct. It is as follows: "Among the treasure lately taken from the king of Jafanatapan, was an idol adored throughout all the coast of Asia, and so highly esteemed by all those princes, particularly the king of Pegu, that he every year sent ambassadors with rich presents to get a print of it." The king of Pegu hearing that the Portuguese Viceroy had this idol—the tooth relic—, offered 300,000 ducats for it. This was refused, and the tooth was beaten to dust in a mortar and burnt at Goa, by order of the Viceroy Don Constantin. "All men," adds de Sousa, "at that time seemed to applaud the act; but not long after, two teeth being set up instead of that one, as shall be related in the government of Don Antony de Noronha, they as much condemned and reviled at it." As to the

Princess, the Portuguese historian relates—"Brama, king of Pegu, being told "by astrologers that he was to marry a daughter of the king of Colombo, sent "to demand her, and he had never a one; but his chamberlain had one the "king esteemed as his own." He agreed also to give the tooth in dowry with the bride. They were received "with the greatest pomp that ever has "yet been heard of. Many gallies were fitted out, but that which was for "the queen, was covered with plates of gold, and rowed by beautiful young "women, richly clad, and brought up to this exercise. The king of Candea "understanding the deceit of this marriage, and envying that great fortune, "acquainted Brama* therewith, offering him a true daughter and tooth, "and affirming both that of Columbo, and the other of Don Constantin "were counterfeit, and the true one was in his hands." Nothing of this is to be found in the Burmese or in the Taláing history; the relic, though received with much pomp, disappears from history, and from the memories of the Buddhist nations, where, if believed in, it would have been enshrined for ever. It was deposited in the relic chamber of a Zedi built to receive it, and in which gold and jewels of such immense value were placed, that the Zedi was probably broken into, and the relic chamber plundered, in the time of the Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, about twenty-five years later.

After the acquisition of this relic and, it is inferred, from its good influence, the Tsaubwá of Mogáung was surrendered by his chiefs to one of the emperor's sons, styled Thá-yá-wati Meng, who had been sent with a detachment into that country. The young chief was brought to Hanthá-wati, and the emperor reproached him with his ingratitude, after the kindness with which he had formerly been treated. His life was spared, but he was exhibited at one of the city gates in fetters for seven days, after which he was released. About one hundred of his followers who had supported him in his gallant resistance, were sold as slaves to Kulá merchants, and being put on boardship were sent beyond sea. The emperor had thus rid himself of his most troublesome enemy, but affairs in Leng-dzeng were not satisfactory. To strengthen his position in that quarter, he now appointed his son, the Thá-yá-wati Meng, who had shown great energy and ability, tributary king of Zimmé. He left for his kingdom in March, 1578, and the emperor enjoined him to remember that he owed allegiance to his elder brother the Upa Rádzá. He received the title of Náurahtá Dzáu. But the emperor, from the anxious care he took to bind the two brothers together, seems to have foreseen the danger of future struggles among the tributary

* Bramá was the usual Taláing pronunciation of the national name for what we now style Burma, or as now written by the Burmese, Mrammá and Bamá, but originally Brahmá. Bureng Náung, as already explained, claimed to represent the ancient Burma race, and is thus correctly designated by the Portuguese historian.

kings of the empire he had founded. It was again necessary to send an army into Leng-dzeng. A pretender had appeared claiming to be the dead king Bya-tsétsít, and Ubarít was unable to meet him in the field. The Upa Rádzá set out in October, 1579, and marched to Máingzán where Ubarít joined him. The expedition was successful, and the crown-prince returned to Pegu in the spring of 1580, bringing some prisoners of importance.

The emperor had now subdued all the enemies with whom he had fought for so many years. Even Leng-dzeng was to a considerable extent subject to his tributary king. Instead, however, of resting or granting his subjects relief, he turned his attention to Arakan. The king of that country, he observed, desired to be independent, contrary to his engagement, and it was necessary to coerce him. A large fleet of vessels and boats of all sizes were collected, in which an army of eighty thousand men was embarked, and the fleet proceeded to a point on the south coast of Arakan, where the men landed and marched to Thán-dwé (Sandoway) in November, 1580. The force was commanded by one of the emperor's sons, who received the title of Thirithu-dham-má Rádzá. He entrenched himself at Thándwé, and awaited further orders as to an advance on the capital of the kingdom. This expedition is noticed by the Portuguese historian, who states that a ship belonging to the king of Pegu was loading at Mazulapatan. The governor sent some ships to seize it, on what account is not stated. They did not encounter it there, but afterwards near the mouth of the river Negraes, and there sunk it. Near this, they met the Prince of Pegu with a fleet of 1,300 sail, designed for the conquest of the kingdom of Arakan. A fight took place, the Portuguese disabled and took some of the enemy, but were obliged to withdraw, on account of the great number opposed to them, and got into the port of Arakan. The Portuguese then considered themselves at war with the emperor of Pegu, which probably resulted from his interference with the petty kings of Ceylon. In the native histories no notice is taken of this attack on the Burmese fleet. The army sent by the emperor seems to have remained inactive at Than-dwé for nearly twelve months. In October 1581, reinforcements were sent, but these did not go by sea. The emperor's days, however, were numbered, and before the whole of the reinforcements reached their destination, he died very suddenly in November, aged sixty-six years, and after a reign of thirty years in Hanthá-wati. There is a studied obscurity in the native histories as to the lineage of Bureng Náung, but as he had in early life married a sister of king Tabeng Shwé htí, it is probable that he belonged to the royal family of Táungu.

No. 3.

List of the Kings of Pegu of Shan race, who reigned after the re-establishment of the kingdom under Ware-ru, A. D. 1287.

Names or titles of Kings.	Commencement of reign.			Length of reign in years.	Relationship of each succeeding king.	REMARKS.
	Year of religion.	A. D.	Burmese era.			
1 Wa-ré-ru,	1287	649	19	...	A Shan chief who established the dynasty, but had his capital at Muttama.
2 Khun-láu, or Tha-ná-ran-bya-keit,.....	668	4	Brother.	
3 Dzáu-áu, or Theng-mháing,	672	13	Nephew.	
4 Dzau-dzip, or Binga-ran-da,	685	7	Brother.	
5 Binya-é-láu,	692	18	Cousin.	Son of No. 2, Khun-láu.
6 Binya-ú, or Tsheng-phyú-sheng,	710	37	Cousin.	Son of No. 4, Dzáu-dzip. This king restored the ancient capital Pegu.
7 Binya-nwé or Rá-dzá-dí-rít,	747	38	Son.	
8 Binya Dham-má Rá-dzá,	785	3	Son.	
9 Binya Rán-kit,	788	20	Brother.	Reigned seven months. Daughter of No. 7, Rá-dzá-dí-rít. Not of royal race. Son-in-law of No. 13, Shengtsán-bu. Conquered and deposed by Tabeng Shwé hti, king of Taungu, A. D. 1540.
10 Binya Wa-rú,	808	4	Nephew.	
11 Binya Keng,	812	3	Cousin.	
12 Mháu-dáu,	815	...	Cousin.	
13 Sheng-tsáu-bu, Binya-dáu (Queen),	815	7	...	
14 Dham-má Dzé-dí,	822	31	...	
15 Binya Ran,	853	35	Son.	
16 Ta-ká-rwut-bi,	1526	888	14	Son.	

Notes on the age of the ruins chiefly situate at Banáras and Jaunpúr.—By the late MR. CHARLES HORNE, B. C. S.

The following notes refer chiefly to the ruins at Bakharyá Kund at Banáras, full accounts of which have appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1866, and those at Jaunpúr, viz., the three great mosques of Aṭálah-Lál Darwázah and the Jámí' Masjid; although a large portion of them will apply to many other buildings in this part of India.

Up to the winter of 1870, I had always believed, and my belief had been strengthened by the opinions of others, but these buildings had in general been built upon Buddhist or ancient Hindú substructures, or had been altered and converted from such buildings for Muhammadan purposes. They had been so treated by the Rev. M. A. Sherring and myself, when describing them, and General Cunningham, Archæological Surveyor of India, appeared to be of the same opinion. Thus these substructures would date very early, even to 300 and 500 A. D., at least.

My attention to the subject of this alteration and conversion had been first aroused by Mr. Fergusson's admirable account of such conversion, and most of these buildings shew traces of such alteration. But happening to refer to Mr. Fergusson's History of Architecture, Vol. II, page 663, for a description of Indian Saracenic Architecture, the edition now used by me being of a later date than that I possessed before the meeting in 1857, I find that the writer, speaking of Bakharyá Kund near Banáras, says, that "there is a singular group of tombs and other buildings by the Moslems which are singularly pleasing specimens of the Jaunpúr style."*

In the upper part of the page, there is a description of the grand old Aṭálah Mosque (آٹالہ مسجد) at Jaunpúr, in which Mr. Fergusson says that he was "almost inclined to agree with Baron Hügel in considering this a Buddhist monastery." I have lived five or six years in the immediate vicinity of all these buildings, and have examined them most carefully and duly weighed all the evidences of antiquity I met with, and I entirely agree with Baron Hügel in holding that much of the substructure as well as the general plan is Buddhist or Ancient Hindú. If so, they are most interesting examples of their class and built examples of an ancient style which Mr. Fergusson holds not to exist in India at the present time. Hence the subject assumes great interest, and is worthy of careful and temperate discussion. Unfortunately, to be properly dealt with, it requires many plates.

In two manuscript copies of the Jaunpurnámah, or 'History of Jaunpúr,' which I have compared, and which was compiled some seventy years

* In a footnote to the same page we find :—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1865 (should be 1866). *There however, they are mistaken for Buddhist remains, which they are not.*"

since by Khairuddín Iláhábádí, a most learned Muslim of the city, from manuscripts and from local oral tradition, the Aṭálah Masjid is spoken as an existing idol temple when Fírúz Sháh founded the city. In this record we are told that Rájah Jay Chand overcame the giant Karabir, who resided at Jaunpúr, and destroyed an idol temple; but this temple would seem rather to have stood on, or below, the site of the Fort of Jaunpúr, and of it but few traces remain. These consist of carved stones built into the mosque, which was afterwards constructed chiefly thereof in the Fort area.

This view is supported by the fact that, in 1858-59, when mines were drawn under the fort for the purpose of destroying the fortification, carved stones and fragments of friezes were dug out, of the same patterns as those used by the Muslims in their erection of the propylus of the mosque of Aṭálah. This fort dates (as a fort) with the bridge, or perhaps a little earlier, *i. e.* the latter part of the 15th century. The temple of Aṭálah Deví, or Dewal Aṭálah, is spoken of throughout the history as having been a place of great sanctity, and it would seem that the Bráhmans on the overthrow of Buddhism had appropriated it, and making Sákhyā Muni the ninth Incarnation of Vishnu, left his figures standing therein. The fact of there being such figures, many remains of which still exist, only proves that the monastery was built after the faith had become much degenerated. Fírúz Sháh granted the people a *sanad* whereby their temples were not touched, but no new temples were to be erected. Subsequently, we are told, that *naturally*, as the Muslims gained power, they converted it into a mosque, and it became the state place of prayer; but subsequently falling into disrepair, it was never restored.

This, remember, was written by Muhammadans who could have no possible object in misrepresentation, and who, if it were so, would certainly claim the mosque as an original erection.

When most carefully examined by me, I found no traces of statues of any other than Buddhist, *i. e.* Sákhyā, at the Aṭálah, although some others were found built into the other mosque. In the basement niches there would appear to have been cut in relief bells supported by chains or twisted rope. This is a well known form of ancient Hindú ornamentation, and the cloisters at the Quṭb near Dihlí, which Cunningham so clearly shews to have been constructed of Hindú temple pillars, are covered with them. Report for 1862-63, page xxxix.

This last named writer in one place speaks of the apparent conversion of these bells most ingeniously into seal and stands with a Muhammadan inscription upon them, and this would appear to have been done at the Aṭálah, notably in the vestry room, converted by them into a room for their women who entered by a private door and staircase, and they then appear to have cut upon the said seals their profession of faith.

Again, the brackets within the courtyard which supported the eaves of the upper cloister have originally been animals. Their forms have been defaced, but it cannot be concealed, and surely no Muslim ever put these up. Throughout the three mosques at Jaunpúr there are built into the restored or altered parts, such as the gateways, and domes, very many defaced Hindú figures, chiefly Buddhist, built face inwards into the masonry, all shewing most plainly whence the materials were obtained.

The Maháwanso tells us that the pulpit in Buddhistical Viháras always faced the East, and that the principal door faced the East also. Hence the direction of Makkah was already arranged for.

The great porch of the Jaunpúr mosques may be entirely of Muhamadan construction; but the principle of the arrangement of the doorway is very ancient Hindú, whereby the light enters from over the high door and falls at a certain hour on the figure of Sákhyá, which was always placed upon a ‘singhásan,’ or throne, facing due East.

The cloisters around appear to be much as they ever were, excepting that they have been constantly repaired, and pillars here and there replaced. I have never heard of such pillars being claimed by Musalmáns; and we find the same at the rock cave temple in Bihár, whilst the cruciform capitals are as ancient as any form of Indian architecture that I know of.

The centre gateways are manifestly inserted, and although ancient materials have been used, the work is Muslim. Here any unprejudiced person can see at a glance how the ancient work has been overlapped and built in. He has only to look at the columns and at the ground basement moulding running under the very steps. This basement moulding appeared to Mr. Sherring and myself to be part of the original building, and here I may remark that the Muhammadans, when preparing a mosque, never cared to disturb the good old foundations or the basement moulding. They built on whatever they found that suited their purpose, and hence we find mere ancient substructures.

In General Cunningham’s Report for 1862-63, para. 261, p. 23, he says, speaking of remains at Kanauj—“On comparing, therefore, this cloistered Masjid (the Sita-ka-Rasui) with those of Jaunpúr, *which are acknowledged rearrangements* of Hindú materials, we see at once that.....are not Muhamadan. *Vide* also para. 264, which applies still closer to Jaunpúr.

As doubtless the masons employed by the Muslims were Hindús, any mason marks made by them during the rearrangements would prove nothing. They are not therefore quoted in this place. Some were published by me in the ‘Builder,’ of June 26th, 1869.

The cloister pillars also shew beneath the new work of the porch, which is scaling off and falling down.

The whole country in this neighbourhood was formerly covered with ancient temples, and we found in the foundation under the front gateway

of the Lál Darwázah a Hindú pillar earved over with chains and bells. The fact that Jaunpúr, under some other name, is not mentioned by the Chinese travellers is not surprising ; for, as I said before, the whole country is covered with the remains of such buildings, and they had enough to see and describe without going out of their way.

Before leaving these interesting buildings, I would wish to remark a curious coincidence. The “Sita-ka-Rasui” at Kanauj is quoted by Mr. Fergusson from Cunningham’s Report as having been *rearranged* from a Jain temple by the very Ibráhím Sháh of Jaunpúr in 1406, A. D., *i. e.* just the same time as that assigned by that gentleman (*viz.*, A. D. 1419) for the *erection* of the Jaunpúr mosque by Ibráhím Shah. The inference is very clear. He says that they were commenced at this time, and finished by Husain, 1451-78.

In all this, I do not deny that the Muslims may have copied ancient patterns in carving, as is notably seen in old cloisters in the Fort at Raj-ghát, Banáras, the adaptation of which has never been disputed, and they certainly used carved stones found on or near the spot for their new work. Mr. Fergusson writes to me that our difference of opinion is not one of degree, it is absolute ; “ I deny in toto that these mosques are built on Bud-
“ dhist sites, or that their details are Buddhist, or even copied from Buddhist
“ buildings.”

The closed cells under the courts are not wanting, and are visible in a marked degree under the Mosque of Aurungzeb in the centre of Banáras, where all may see them.

The very many ancient carved stones found within the precincts of the mosques prove that at the best they were sites of buildings of great antiquity.

I will now say a little relative to the ruins of Bakharyá Kund and the grounds upon which we (Mr. Sherring and I) assigned them the date we did, *viz.*, that of the Gupta dynasty, according to Mr. Fergusson, 300 to 400 B. C.

At Jaunpúr, I am not aware of any inscriptions having been found to fix the conversion of the mosques ; but at Bakharyá Kund we were more fortunate, and the reader will find one of the time of Fírúz Sháh, A. D. 1375, quoted by Mr. E. Thomas in his work on the Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi, to shew how they *appropriated* and built upon temples which came to their hand. In fact, I may in passing remark, that I have only found one temple at Banáras which can claim date before the time of Mahmúd, the destroyer of temples. It is at Khundúa on the Paeh-kosí road, and is well worthy of the visit of any passing archæologist.

The Chinese traveller of the 7th century, Hwen Thsang, mentions many Buddhist monasteries at Banáras in his day, and states that there were thirty, to most of which were probably attached temples, and considering the massive structure of the day, I hold that some remains must exist even now. Hence Mr. Sherring and I examined well the line of country where they were

likely to be, and we reported our success in the pages of this Journal. Chief amongst these was the one at Bakharyá Kund, which Mr. Sherring brought to notice some years ago. Here we found a small mosque, the substructure of which we hold to be original ancient Hindú or Buddhist work. There were also many terraces, girt at their base with massive mouldings, breast works built up of large cut stones, low cloisters constructed of old square columns, and foundations built of huge brick and very many feet in thickness (10 to 30 ft.). Over the ground were scattered carved stones, broken statues, kulsis or top stones, 9 feet in diameter, with many other remains. Below these basement mouldings or blocks of stones, squared on three sides and rough internally, which had been laid bare by the weather, were many incised inscriptions in the Gupta character. A few of these have been collected on the accompanying plate, and these have principally, but not wholly, been copied from stones 'in situ.' This is one of the principal grounds of our opinion, which was not hastily formed. The inscriptions were kindly translated for me by my learned friend Bábu Rájendralála Mitra.

The small mosque is a very curious one of conversion, if it be one. The ground plan is not that of a mosque at all, but of an Indian temple. It is a square with a square projected on each face. On that facing the East, however, the projection has not been carried out, but instead an enormous stone has been let in as a base for the singhásan on which was to stand the figure of Sákhyá. From the base arise pillars, severe in character, square as all the ancient Hindú pillars were in this part of the country, whilst above the Muslims have put on a dome. It has been figured in our account in the J. A. S. for 1866, and even struck J. Prinsep who lithographed it in his views of Banáras. The massiveness of the pillars, which are built up of single stones without mortar, has ensured permanence.

Other remains near are held by us to be of equal antiquity. These have been preserved by being used as tombs for the burial of great men or of saints. With the wealth of material lying about, the Muslims of Banáras appear seldom to have built a tomb, but at Jaunpúr there are most elegant mausoleums in which little or no Hindú materials have been employed.

The strange way in which pillars have been used as architraves at Bakharyá Kund is very singular, but the height of absurdity was at Sayyidpúr Bhitari, a great Buddhist site, where I saw a linga put up for a Muhammadan head stone at a grave, with a little niche for the lamp cut in it, and this linga had been carved out of a Buddhist column. After this, one can wonder at no amount of conversion or alteration by the Muslims.

I trust that in the above notes I have shewn some ground for the views I hold in regard to the buildings, the date of which is under discussion, and I would beg to refer the reader to the ample details in this Journal for 1868.

A few of the incised writings on stones at *Appendix A!*
Bakhariya Khund, Benares, — chiefly in situ.

𑀘 𑀙	Cha ma. Initials of names in the Gupta character.	
𑀓 𑀕𑀲	Ka ra' lla. Gupta type.	
𑀕 𑀖 𑀗	Pa ma' ta. name in Gupta.	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ga? x? Pa'. name in Gupta	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Na pha' — ?	
𑀕 𑀲	Sa' nka for Sa' nku a pale or a column a stake or latch-pin Gupta	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	?? Gupta	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ku ta na? If the last syllable be ra — the word would mean — post to which the churning pin is fixed Gupta	
𑀕 𑀲	Vi ja Base of column Gupta	
𑀕 𑀲	U jja a straight bar do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ha ri da lla Name do	
𑀕 𑀲	Ba la' for Ba lla — a Name meaning spirally fluted do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Va dha ma a Name do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ma ka ra ma dha. In the middle of — ? do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ra oa na. R. of the left do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Va ri ha for Vahir. outer range? or Karnhu of the long enclosure? do	
𑀕 𑀲	Na - bi - Nau - or Ninety do	
𑀕 𑀲	Kicha Middle (4 or 5 times) do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Tha mma a pillar do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Ja hu thu Name do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	U pa ra Of the upper course do	
𑀕 𑀲 𑀕	Pha? ra da Ha? ra da Piece marked so F do	



Studies in the Grammar of Chand Bardāi.—By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S., &c.

As the first fasciculus of the text of this ancient poet has now been published, it may be hoped that scholars in various parts of India will begin to co-operate with those few persons who have hitherto had access to the MSS. in elucidating the mysteries of his crabbed and archaic style. The time seems opportune, therefore, for collecting such observations as I have been able to make from time to time on the grammatical peculiarities which Chand's language exhibits. I have not been able to study the whole of the vast work, indeed such a task would take up all the time of more than one student even if he were not like me much occupied with official duties; but as the style, even in its irregularities, seems to be uniform throughout, notes on those books which have been examined, will probably be found applicable to the rest. The illustrations hereinafter given are taken chiefly from the 1st book as it is now in print. The 19th, 64th and 65th books, have also been cited. There are, moreover, several quotations from various parts of the first eighteen books, and one or two from the 21st, the celebrated Mahoba Khand.

By way of getting at a sound working basis, it is necessary first to clear out of the road certain obstructions partly peculiar to Chand and partly shared by him with all early Indian poets. The first of these is the uncertainty of the spelling; in respect of vowels, we find the same word written at one time with a long vowel, at another with a short one; vowels are inserted or omitted at will, and diphthongs are written in two or three different ways. In respect of consonants, arbitrary insertions or omissions occur, double consonants are written as single, and single as double, aspirates are deprived of their aspiration, and unaspirated letters are aspirated at will. The following examples may be taken:

a. Vowels. नारि and नारी; बात, बत, बत्त and वत, अकास and आकास; बेलि and बेली; रिष, रिषि, रिष्प and रिषी (ऋषि); गिर and गिरि; धुअ, धूअ, and धम; दन्तयं for दांत or दन्त; सैल, सथल, सइल, सेलह(शैल); जौं, जवं, and जवन; गौरि, गौरी, गउरि, and गवरी; नगर, नयर, नर and नेर; मुक्क, मुक्कौ and मुक्कौं; मुक्कियो and मुक्क्यो; मनुष, मानुष्य, मानष and मनष; सैति, सैती, सैति and सैत; जै, जय, जइ and जया; विनस्सया and विनास्या; एक, इक, इकह, इकि and इक्क, दो, दुइ and दोय.

b. Consonants. पडकर, and पोखर; अग्नी, अग्नि, आगि and आग; भयौ, and भौ; सीप and सीस; कारज and काज also कज्जह; विप्र and विप्प; येह and गह; अचरिज्ज and अचरज; गुरु, गुरयं, and गुर; पुत्र and पुत; कम्म, कम्म, क्रम्म काम; हथ्य, हत्य, and हाथ; व्याह वीवाह; and ग्यान गियान, and अस्नान, सनान, and न्हान; मग, मग and मगह; सिव, शिव, and सिभ; सब, सब्ब and सभ; गाढ गाड and गढ्ढ; अदभूत, and अदभूत, and अबधूत; with many others.

Two explanations suggest themselves for this state of things. In the case of alterations which affect the metrical quantity of the syllable, we may suspect that they had been made *metri causá*, as is customary in Hindí poetry; and in those which do not affect the quantity, we can often see various forms of the same word in successive stages of phonetic corruption.

But those two explanations do not account for every change, nor is all yet explained, even if we add the ignorance or carelessness of copyists. Moreover, we are led to be very shy about using the *metri causá* argument from observing the extreme laxity of the poet in this respect. Looking at his metres simply according to the name they bear, we may divide them into three classes:

1st. Those identical with Sanskrit metres.

2nd. Those peculiar to the poet.

3rd. Those identical with modern metres.

Leaving out the second as indeterminable at present, if we take the first and third we find that by no process can we make them scan. We may indulge to the full in the liberty of inserting or omitting the unwritten short *a*, we may pronounce diphthongs as one, two, or three syllables, but not even thus can some of the lines be brought to accord with the scale. Sometimes ten lines will scan quite accurately, and the eleventh be all wrong. The bards of the present day call Chand's style the '*ḍingal bhákhá*,' as contrasted with '*pingal bhákhá*,' or verse constructed according to strict rules of prosody. It must be remembered that many of these poems were *impromptu* productions, and most, if not all, were written to be sung, and any deficiency of syllables could be covered by prolonging one sound over two or three notes, as often happens in English songs, or on the other hand two or more syllables could be sung to one note as in our chanting. Where so much license exists, we cannot use the metrical argument except with great caution.*

We are, therefore, driven back to the conclusion that in Chand's time the form of words and their pronunciation was extremely unfixed. This is probable from historical considerations also; and the use of the conclusion itself to us in our present enquiry is that it removes out of the way the necessity of attempting to establish a fixed set of forms for words and inflexions. We take all Chand's words for the present as they stand, we take each word in four or five different forms if need be, and do not trouble ourselves to find out which is the right form for Chand's period, simply because we do not believe there *was* any right form, any one form, that is, more used and more generally accepted than any other. In fact, we

* Since writing the above, I have been informed by Dr. Hoernle that he does not find Chand's metres so irregular as the bards report, but the learned professor allows himself to alter the spelling of the text to bring the words into agreement with the metres, a practice which seems somewhat premature.

recognize the thoroughly transitional character of the language we have to deal with.

The second obstruction to be removed is that of texts ; so far as I have seen, the MSS. at present available, some five in all, have all been copied from the same original text, and servilely repeat the old mistakes. Where they differ from one another, we can generally detect merely an additional error of the copyist. It is not necessary therefore to enter upon a detailed collation of texts, such a process would not lead to our finding out or establishing one settled and correct reading. Sometimes for thousands of lines together, there is not the divergence of a single letter between the whole five MSS., the same obvious errors being faithfully repeated by all. Historically the Baidla MS. has the best right to be considered the representative of the original text. Tod's and Caulfields' MSS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, were made for the officers whose names they bear in the second decade of the present century, as stated in the colophon to each, though it is not stated from what older MS. they were copied. The Bodleian has no colophon, but agrees, as far as I was able to compare it, with Tod's. The Agra which is the worst, and most carelessly written of all, is also from the same origin, with a great many extra blunders of its own. I do not know from what source the translations lately printed in the 'Indian Antiquary' are derived, but from the absence of proper arrangement and the scanty nature of many of the extracts, it is probable that the MS. was not a perfect one. As to the many imperfect scraps which may be found here and there in the libraries of native princes, they are so fragmentary and so interspersed with matter which Chand never wrote, and their language has often been so obviously modernized, that it will be wiser to disregard them altogether, classing them under the head of "pseudo-Chand fragments," and sticking to the few complete copies which are accessible. For working purposes, Dr. Hoernle and myself are taking Tod's as our basis, occasionally assisted by the Baidla and Agra. Caulfield's and the Bodleian being locked up in English libraries cannot be used.

Taking then the work as it stands, and not troubling ourselves in our present initiatory stage with either spelling or text, the following notes may be found useful to start with, though many of them may have to be modified as we learn more about our subject. For it must be steadily borne in mind that we are only at the beginning of the battle, and have no predecessors in the field, of whose labours we can avail ourselves. Everything hereinafter stated, is therefore tentative, and, *pro hac vice* only, dogmatizing would be premature. Moreover, Chand is the earliest poet in the language, and we can therefore illustrate him only by his successors ; his relations to those who went before him are absolutely indeterminable for the present, and will probably long remain obscure.

The pronoun as the oldest and most characteristic part of the language may be taken first. The forms observable approach very closely to those in use in all the Hindī poets down to a late date, the pronoun being peculiarly tenacious of its ancient forms.

Both in the noun and pronoun, the synthetical process has been to a great extent rejected, while the analytical is as yet in an imperfect state of development. Thus, three states or forms of the singular, and three of the plural, may be detected in the pronoun: first, the direct or simple form, used for the nominative: second, the oblique, used for all cases, sometimes with the addition of post-positions as *कैं, सैं, ते, मझ*, etc., but more often without any distinguishing mark: thirdly, a special form for the genitive.

The pronouns of the first, second, and third persons are exactly parallel, the first being modifications of a theme *mo*, the second of *to*, and the third of *tā* (*yā* and *vā*).

It will perhaps be useful in a little known author like Chand to give rather copious illustrations of each form first, and then to tabulate the results at the end.

The commonest form for the nominative of the first person is *हैं*. This is derived from the Skr. *अहम्* by rejection of the *अ* and resolution of the final *m* into its compound elements, as in *गांव = ग्राम* (see my *Comp. Gram.*, Vol. I, p. 254). One example may suffice for this very frequent form.

तौ हैं कण्ठां देह ॥

Then I quit the body (*i. e.*, kill myself) I. 157. 2.*

Differing only by the omission of one of the top strokes and therefore to be regarded more as a variation in writing than as a separate form is *हैं*, as

सो हैं सबै सुनत हैं मात ॥

I am (constantly) hearing all that, O mother. I. 160. 4.

हैं जानि ग्यान इह कहैं तोहि ॥

I knowing science tell this to thee. III. 27. 50.

The form *मैं* often written *में* and so hardly to be distinguished from the post-position 'in,' occurs in a few passages, as

में सुन्या साहि बिन अंषि कीन
तजि भोग जोग मैं तप्य लीन ॥

I heard the Shah had deprived (him) of eyes.

Abandoning food I practised austerities and penance. LXV. 110, 17-18

In these lines, and wherever else it occurs, *मैं* is used before the past tense of an active verb, showing that it was still regarded as an instrumental, as it is by origin from the instr. of Sanskr. *मया*., Prak. *मए* and *मइ*. Chand I believe wrote simply *मै*, as in Marathi *मै*; the *anunâsikâ* is a modern

* The Roman numeral indicates the Book of Chand's poem, the first Arabic numeral, the canto or poem (*Kavitt*), the second the line. The numbering follows my list in J. A. S. B., Vol. xli, p. 204.

addition, so is the use of मै as a nominative, and the modern fashion of saying मैं ने is founded upon ignorance of the true nature of the word and contains the instrumental twice over.

For मोहि, commonest of the oblique forms, innumerable examples may be found. Two may suffice, as the form is also in use in mediæval Hindi, down to the seventeenth century at least.

कछौ मोहिनि वर मोहि ॥ I, 192. 2.

The lord of Mohini (Durgâ) hath said to me.

नही मोहि काम पिता राजधान ॥ LXIV, 366. 9.

There is no business for me in my father's palace.

(i. e., What have I to do with it ?)

It is apparently Chand's idea of metre, for he has some ideas on the subject, that leads him to shorten this form constantly into मुहि, as :

जो मुहि दुंढा निगलिहै. I, 170. 2.

If Dhundha shall swallow me.

तब लगि कष्ट दरिद्र तन ॥

तब लगि लघु मुहि गात ॥

जब लगि हँ आयौ नही ॥ तो पाइ न सेवात ॥ I. 276. 1-4.

Till then pain and poverty (were in my) body.

Till then my limbs were light ; (i. e., mean, contemptible).

As long as I came not (to thee),

And worshipped at thy feet.

The final short *i* is sometimes omitted, as

मुह सुभ्मौ इह मत ॥ I. 179. 2.

This opinion seems (right) to me.

Commoner than any except *mohi* is the form मो, used for all cases, sometimes with, but oftener without, post-positions, as

किस उधार मो होइ ॥ I. 188. 11.

How shall there be salvation for me.

जिहि हत्यौ अप मो तात गर ॥ I. 49. 9.

He who killed the snake (on) my father's neck.

भट्ट जाति कवियन नृपति ॥ } VI. 18. 1-2.

नाथ नाम मो चन्द ॥

Bhat by caste, king of poets.

Lord ! my name (is) Chand.

ऐसी कहि मो कजं डर पावु ॥ I. 160. 1.

Having thus said for me you find fear.

(i. e., You put fear into mind).

जो मो सां साच न कहौ ॥ I. 157. 1.

If you do not speak the truth to me.

Instances of the form मुह are also frequent.

इह धरनी मुझ पित परपित ॥ I. 279. 1.

This land (was) my father's and my ancestors'.

का किहि वंसहि उपज्या ॥

तूं मुझ जंपहि माई ॥ I. 147. 3, 4.

Who (am I), from what race sprung

Tell thou to me, O mother.

Instances of मेरे are as follows :

मेरे कछूई दाय न आवज्ज ॥ I. 160. 2.

You have no pity on me.

(Lit. Of me any pity not comes.)

सत भ्रात मेरे हते ॥

Seven brothers of mine are slain. V. 61. 3.

इह मेरी अरदासि ॥ (i. e. عرضداشت).

This is my petition. I. 228. 2.

For the nominative plural हम is universal ;

हम तुम कबजं नहि विरुद्ध ॥

We (and) you had never strife, I. 210. 29.

हम तुम काम इहि षेत आज ॥

We and you (have) business (on) this field to-day. Ib. 31.

The oblique form is हमहि and the genitive हमारो ०रे ०री.

आल्हा सुनो हमारी वानीय ॥

Alhá, hear my word. XXI. 145. 2.

The nom. is used when we must translate by a genitive or other oblique case, as in हम मरन दिवस, the day of the death *of me*. I. 210. 27. It is a nom. again in

कहै कन्ह हम मानी सब्बह ॥

Quoth Kanh, honorable (are) we all. VI. 82. 1.

The post-positions are affixed as in the modern language हम सैं, etc.

For the second person the singular nom. तू has been quoted above, as also the plural nom. तुम; the former has an emphatic form as in the hymn to Bhavani—

तुंही गङ्ग गोदावरी गोमतीयं ॥

तुंही नर्बदा जमना सरस्वतीयं ॥

Thou art Gangâ Godâvari, Gomati,

Thou, Narbadâ, Jamunâ, Saraswati. LXV. 16.

And so on through some forty lines. In the following, however, we have the oblique form : the only difference is the absence of the anunâsikâ. The *i* is lengthened metri gratiâ ;

सबै कज्ज अगै ॥ तुंही नाम लगै ॥

Before all affairs. Thy name is affixed.

Hymn to Ganesha, I. 26. 26.

ॐ — | — ॐ | — — || ॐ — | — ॐ | — — ||

Sabai Kajja aggai tuhî náma laggai,

The regular form for the oblique is, as might be expected, तोहि ; तूठ सम्भू तोहि ॥ I. 192. 4.

Sambhû is pleased with thee (तूठे = तुष्ट).

Shortened to तुहि, as in जदि न आप तुहि भयौ ॥ I. 60. 1.

If there were not a curse on thee.

Or to तो, as

सुनिय बात तो तात ॥ I. 250. 1.

Hearing (this) word, thy father.

Parallel to the first person, occurs तुझ, अवन सनाउं तुझ ॥ Let me tell the tale to thee. LXV. 314.

There is also the Prakritic form तुअ in तुअ पुत्रह पौत्र बधू उरनं ॥ Thy sons and grandsons from the wombs of thy wives. I. 280. 3., and तुअ भुज बल अचिरज कह ॥ Say that the strength of thy arm is wonderful.

LXV. 325. 3.

The oblique form of the plural is तुमहि, and of constant occurrence.

पुत्र एक जच्चत्र तुमहि ॥

I ask one son of thee. I. 88. 3.

कै सिर तुमहि समप्पिहैं ॥

कै सिर धरिहैं क्व ॥

Either I will yield my head to thee,

Or I will put the umbrella over my head. I. 279. 3, 4.

(i. e., I will conquer thee, or die.)

The post-positions are used with तुम, as तुम कौं, तुम सौं, etc.

For the third person we have a definite personal pronoun सो, as well as the two demonstratives इह and उह = this, that, with their respective formations.

इह 'this' is found repeatedly मोहि इह आगम बुझ्मै ॥ To me this future appears clear. I. 28. 2.

The oblique form is यांहि, यांहि सम्पूरन को थिर काजं ॥ To complete this (is) a work determined on. I. 87. 6.

I am disposed to see a shortened form in the line

इह य (या) चित मो चित ॥

This was his thought and my thought. I. 251. 4.

Both the nom. plural of उह and an emphatic singular of इह are contrasted in the following :

वे वाहै तरवारि ॥ इहै मुष पकरि सु कहै ॥

They ply their swords, He catching (them) in his mouth breaks (them). I. 254. 5, 6.

In order not to prolong this section too far, I will now merely give the

scheme of the pronouns as far as I have found them, or can construct them from analogy. The latter are in brackets.

1st Person.		2nd Person.
Sing. Nom. हैं, हे		तूं तुंहि
Oblique मेहि, मुहि, मो, मुझ, मुह		तोहि, तुहि, तो, तुझ
Genitive मे, and मेरौ ०री ०रे		तुअ, तो, तेरौ ०री ०रे.
Plur. Nom. हम		तुम occasionally in Gâthâ तुमं
Oblique हमहि		. तुमहि
Genitive हमारौ		[तुम्हारा] तुम्हरै ०री
3rd Person.		
Sing. Nom. सो. he	इह this इहे	उह that उहे. वह
Obl. ताहि, ता	याहि, या	वाहि. वा
Gen. ता कौ etc.	याकौ etc.	वाकौ etc.
Pl. Nom. ते तेउ	ये इहे	वे
Obl. तिनि, तिनै, तिन	इन. इन	[उनि] उन.
Gen. तिन कौ	इन कौ	[उनकौ]

ताहि is shortened into **तिही**, and thus corresponds with **जिहि** (pl. **जिनि** and **जिनै**) from **जौ**.

The interrogative is **कौ** or **को**, oblique **किहि**, pl. **किन**. Of other forms may be cited **कितनौ** and its series, also **कैसौ** and its series shortened at times to **किसो, जिसो** etc. A curious double form occurs in the lines

जाकै देह न होई ॥
ताहि कैसें कें गहिये ॥

He of whom there is no body,

Him in what way can one catch? I. 161. 8.

I suspect **कैं** here to be a relic of the verb *kar*, as in the same passage occurs the phrase

जिहां दिष्ट नह भिद ॥
ताहां कैसें करि सुभै ॥

Where the sight does not penetrate

There in what way can one see? *ib.* 4.

It would mean in full 'how having done? in what manner having acted.' The oblique form of the plural is used adverbially for 'how?,' and takes anuswâra as in the first of the two last quoted instances. In the following it stands alone—

सारङ्ग दे कैसें जुध कीना ॥ I. 154. 4.

How did Sârang De make war?

For **कितना** and its series we have also **कैतौ** and the rest.

केते नर रिष राई ॥

भए सुर दानव अमे ॥ I. 162. 3-4.

How many men, and Rajârshis,

Have there been (and) gods and demons of you.

Chand's noun is rather a formless affair, as might have been expected, not only from the age in which he wrote, but from the style common to all those most obscure and difficult of writers, the Hindi poets. Like them, he loves to string together crude nouns, and leaves the reader to construct sentences out of them by mentally supplying the needful case-signs. This he does not merely in his rhapsodies where perhaps no very definite meaning is to be expected, but even in his narrative portions. Thus in the very first stanza

थिर चर जङ्गम जीव चन्दनमयं

(Literally) Firm. Going Living being. Life. Possessing qualities of sandal-wood.

All which may be put together into a sentence as the reader likes ; or again—

कल वरनि वरनि सु कन्द.

Kali (yuga). Heroes. Heroes. Well. Strife.

नृपराज दुज गल बन्धि

King. Brahmin. Neck. Bind.

Other instances afford a clue by some verbal form, or by the context ; as

सब जन सोच उप्पनौ ॥

To all men anxiety arose. I. 149. 2.

for सब जननि कौं ;

सेव बज्ज द्रव उपावन ॥

By service much wealth is gained. I. 262. 8.

which may be rendered in Mod. Hindi thus सेव से बज्जत द्रव्य का उपायन होता है.

दरवार ताल रुधि भरि वारि ॥

The darbár became like a tank full of blood as water. V. 37. 1.

In full thus—दर्बार ताल जैसा हृद्या रुधिर से भरा हृद्या जैसा पानी से.

The case-signs, however, are fully and freely used when the metre allows, and I shall now give instances of their use, exhibiting the more ancient as well as the transitional forms, and those which are identical in form with the modern post-position.

The objective case, including both dative and accusative, is indicated by the preposition, concerning whose origin I reserve my opinion for the present, कङ्ग.* Variant forms are कहं, कौं, कों, from the last of which by dropping the anuswara comes the modern को.

जच्चै सु सोई तुम एक कङ्ग ॥

He seeks one of you. I. 88. 9.

* Provisionally, Trumpp's theory of the origin of this form from कथं, resulting from कृतं by aspiration of the त owing to elision of the *ri*, may be accepted, but there are difficulties even in this theory. (See his Sindhi Gram. p. 115). Caldwell's connection of this form with the Dravidian *ku* (*kku*) must in any case be regarded as finally exploded and no longer tenable.

प्रात समे बर दुजन कजं ॥

बंदि अप्प कर दीन ॥

At morning time the hero *to* Brahmans

Dividing with his own hand gave (gifts) VII. 5. 3-4.

करि दंडौत सबन कजं ॥

Having made obeisance to all. VI. 38. 2.

Another instance was quoted a while back under *सो*. The *u* is lengthened *metri gratiâ* in

प्रिथीराज सौहैव युद्ध कलं ॥ हम परिमाल बुलाइ इव ॥

For the war with Prithirāj at Mahobā Parimāl has summoned us, XXI. 84. 6.

The other forms are too common to need quotation.

Under the head of ablative, come several post-positions. *सम* is the older form from which come the forms *सैं*, *सैं* and *से*; thus—

कहै दूत प्रिथिराज सम ॥

Says the messenger to Prithirāj. XIII. 16. 1.

In Mod. Hindi, verbs of speaking take *से*; the original meaning of which is shown by its derivation from *सम* to be ‘with,’ though in modern times often used in the sense of ‘from;’ for which latter the proper word is *तें* or *ते* to be noticed presently. Instances of *सैं* occur frequently, one has been given above, another one of *सम* is *कहै कंति सम कंत*, ‘says the wife to her husband,’ I. 7. 1., where *सम* precedes the noun; as it stands we should understand it to mean ‘says the husband to the wife,’ there is, however, no doubt from the context that it is Chand’s wife who speaks to him, not he to her. The use of the particle before the noun, shews that it had not yet thoroughly sunk into a post-position, but is still used as a conjunction, as in Sanskrit.

परि with forms *पर*, *पैं*, and *पै* is used as in ordinary old Hindi.

ते, mostly with abnormal anuswar *तें*, is I take it from *तो*, (just as *से* from *सो* or *सैं*) a regular ablative termination in Prakrit, from the Sanskrit adverbial ablative in *तस्*, as *ग्रामतस्*, from a village, though it has become severed from the noun and is treated as a post-position. Instances are

ता के कुल तें उप्पनौ ॥

From his race sprung. I. 164. 1.

तुम कहै कखं जीव तें वध ॥

Say ye, (and) I make him destroyed from life. I. 178. 21.

(i. e., If you give the order, I will kill him.)

For the locative, we find the many-formed post-position represented in modern times by *में*. In its earliest form it is *मध्ये*, then dropping the *e*, *मध्य*,

अमृत सु सत मध्य वसि ॥

Immortal dwelling among mortal. I. 3. 8.

इह बोलि बानी दल मध्य आयौ ॥

Having spoken this speech, he came amongst the army. XXI.
10. 17.

Next comes the solution of the semivowel into its vowel, giving मधि,

हजार सु तीन परे धर मधि ॥

Thousands three fell on earth. XXI. 7. 59.

Sometimes written मद्धि, when a long syllable is required,

जागिनीय गई रागिनी मद्धि ॥

The witch went among the queens. I. 178. 9.

(रागिनी for राज्ञी like अगियान for अज्ञान and आग्या for आज्ञा)

The natural transition from घ + य into ऋ (see my Comp. Grammar, p. 326.) gives the form मन्नि—

मुक्खेव परिय मन्नि विल अथाव ॥

Fell headlong into the bottomless pit. I. 79. 10.

(मुक्खेव a form of 3 sing. pret. for मुक्ख्यौ from मोक्ष and therefore meaning “was set free,” in combination with परना = पडना ‘to fall,’ it means ‘was set free falling,’ i. e., ‘fell unrestrainedly or headlong.’)

Final short vowels are of very little account in Hindi, and are omitted or inserted at will. Thus forms मंन्नि and मन्नि, with inorganic anuswâra, and in the former with lengthening of the vowel, occur.

उपवाग मंन्नि चलि गये आप ॥

They themselves went into the garden. XXI. 5. 6.

(उपवाग a curious combination of उप with باغ, after the fashion of उपवन).

को राजन कवन धर मन्नि ॥

What king, in what land? XXVI. 18. 4.

The metre is Gatha which accounts for the Sanskritisms. Chand always puts an anuswara to the last syllable of his words when writing Gatha, he seems to be under the impression that by so doing, he is making them into Sanskrit! In the next line we get

परचर उजेन मन्नि ॥

In wealthy Ujjain.

(परचर = प्रचुर abounding in wealth). I have seen also frequently मन्नि and मन्नि, but have lost the references to them in my notes. A lengthened or secondary form मन्निार is also in use with the more definite meaning of “in the midst of.”

नर नारी लज्या गई ॥

फागुन मास मन्निार ॥

Men and women cast aside shame

In the midst of the month of Phagun. XXIII. 1. 4.

Alluding to the Holi festival.

लै पवरि सहर पञ्चमी मन्निार ॥ (सहर = شهر, and पवरि = خبر).

Having received the news she arrived in the midst of the city. I. 178. 4.

अरि भजि गये गिर वन सभार

The enemy fled into the hills and forests. I. 206. 38.

A step further brings to the rejection of the organic portion of the aspirated letter, leaving only ह, we thus account for the form महि, which is extremely common.

कज्जल महि कसूरी ॥

रानी रेहंत नयन शृङ्गारं ॥

Putting musk into lamp black

The queen streaks her eyes for ornament. (Gâtha) I. 20. 1.

(रेहंत from रेखा, line).

दिन सत अवधि अंतर बजत ॥

हरि सु उदरै किनक महि ॥

A period of seven days is ample time,

Hari can save in a single instant. I. 60. 12.

The post-position is here affixed to the genitive as indicated by क, see further on under that case.

भारण्ड महि चरत ॥

Grazing in Jhârkhand. I. 61. 3.

It is lengthened to माही—

देखति नृपति बसि नींदा माही ॥

Seeing the king sitting in sleep. I. 191. 4.

लग्यौ बीर जलहन पर्यौ धर सांही ॥

The hero Jalhan was smitten and fell on the ground. XXI. 264. 20.

And if I am right in my translation, still further to सांही—

पिय रन सांहीं सरै ॥

नारी सती न होय ॥

(If her) husband die in battle,

The wife does not become a *Sati*. XXI. 175. 1.

Lastly, we have the ordinary modern form में, the anuswara of which is, as so often the case in Hindi, a mere inorganic accretion.

पिय हि मरत त्रिया रहै । करै पुत्र को आस ॥

वह नारी निहचें करै । बडे नरक में वास ॥

The wife who survives when her husband dies, and hopes for progeny,

That woman certainly makes her abode in the great hell. XXI. 174.

I suspect the whole of this verse to be a modern interpolation. The style and versification are too regular for Chand, and the sentiment is

repeated from the preceding lines which are more rugged and Chandesque

निहचै वेद नरक ताहि भाषै ॥

पिय कौं सरत त्रिया तन राषै ॥

में is, however, found in many passages where there is no reason for suspicion.

एक मास में नगर बसायौ ॥

In one month he established a city. I. 218. 3.

बली कन्ह कै कंध में षग नायौ ॥

He brought down his sword on the shoulder of strong Kanh.

XXI. 264. 24.

Of the instrumental case indicated by ने as we have it in modern times, I cannot point to any clear instance. When we come to treat of the verb, the construction involving this case will be illustrated.

There remains only the genitive, and this is indicated by the particles कौ, के or कें, and की, as in ordinary Hindi. Sometimes shortened to क as in one instance quoted above. Two passages may be noted in which the older form केरौ, केरी, which has been recently brought to light by Dr. Hoernle, seems to be found. The first is that in the nineteenth (now 20th) book, in which I formerly saw a pret. of a verb केरना. This view must now be given up, and the passage translated differently; it is a very obscure passage, however, and I now only give a tentative rendering. It is the rout of Shihábuddín's army by Prithiráj.

दौरै गज अंधं चाऊवान केरौ ॥

करीयं गिरदंन चिहैं चक फेरौ ॥

Blind (from flowing of blood) ran the elephant of the Chauhán,
Making a circle he surrounded on all four sides. XX. 141. 7-8.

The other passage is at the meeting of the armies before Mahobá.

कियौ नद नीसान फौजें सुफेरी ॥

भिदो दिष्टि सैं दिष्टि चाऊवान केरी ॥ XXI. 29. 9-10.

फौजें in Chand and in other bards, though plural in form, is always treated as a feminine singular.

The kettle drum made a noise, the army turned,

The sight of the Chauhan was separated from view.

That is, the two armies lost sight of each other, probably from the dust they raised. It will be observed that केरा in the first quotation agrees with the masc. गज, and केरी in the second with the fem. दृष्टि, so that we have so far confirmation of Dr. Hoernle's theory. I have traced forms करा and करी, as well as कर, in the cognate languages. From the vast ocean of Chand fresh examples will probably be fished up, as we get to know more about it; at present I have only these two instances in my note book.

With regard to the modification of the base in nouns nothing noticeable is to be found, except that Chand occasionally uses the nom. or direct form of bases in *ā* before the post-position, as

राज आए डेरा मधि॥

The king came into his tent. I. 193. 2.

Where we should expect डेरे; and again

तिहि बेरां आयौ कहै । डेरा माहि पनग ॥

At that time came somehow into the tent a snake. I. 243. 4.

Instances of this practice may be found in Tulsi Das and later poets, and in the tika to the Bhaktamala, and it is universal in Bengali.

There is a curious word in two or three forms, as usual with Chand's words, about which there is some obscurity. It is *जंतो* or *हंत* and must, it appears to me, be translated "from;" though it looks at times like an imperfect of the verb *हो*, in which case I take it to be one step in the process by which we get to *था*, which will be noticed under the verb. I give the examples I have noted. In the first, Bisal De is asking his minister about the shrine of Gokaran which he wishes to visit.

केतीक दूर अजमेर हंत ॥

दिन दोय संभ नोकै पहंत ॥

How far (is it) from Ajmer?

In two days easily one arrives. I. 178, 47.

Here, by the bye, is *संभ* which I wanted a while ago. When Bisal gets to Gokaran he meets a Siddha who asks him where he comes from.

कहत सिध किहि पुर जंतो ॥

कोन गोत किहि नाम ॥

इहि तोरथ आये जते ॥

कै आगै कोई काम. I. 184.

Saith the Sidha *from* what city,

What family, what name?

Had you come here on pilgrimage,

Or (have you) further on any business?

In the first line *जंतो* must be "from," but in the third line *जते* is pl. of *जतो*, = *था*. In the next passage the doubt is still greater, and the whole passage is a peculiarly crabbed one.

इति हनुफालय छंद ॥

कल वरनि वरनि सु कंद ॥

नहि नाल पिंगल जोर ॥

दुज जंतो दुजनिय भोर ॥ I. 48. 1-4.

Here begins the Hanûphál metre.

In the Kali (Yug) heroes (had with) heroes strife,

Not together harmony or union,
Brahmin *was* to Brahmins cruel.

नाल is still used in Panjabi for “with,” भोर is still Marwari भूरा ‘wicked, cruel,’ mod. Hindi बुरा. Now in this passage ऊँतो may either be “was,” or we may render it “from,” as “Brahmin *from* Brahmins (was) averse, or cruel.” The meaning would more strictly be ‘towards,’ but in the mod. language से would be quite admissible. On the whole, though, I am in favour of regarding it as a verb in this passage.

In those places where it is clearly a postposition, it may still be derived from the root हो, and be analogous to the Bengali होइते, ‘from,’ Marathi हून, and comes from the Prakrit ablative plural ऊन्ता.

The plural is formed by अनि, the final इ of which is frequently omitted, and the plural itself is often represented by the singular form. The practice of confounding the two numbers is as old as Chand, and probably, for all we know, older. Plural verbs are used with singular nouns, and feminine verbs with masculine nouns and vice versâ, as in the line

तब सकल भइय एकत्र नारि ॥

Then all the women were assembled together. I. 178. 1.

Where नारि is plural in sense, though singular in form, while the verb is singular.

सब सौति कछो ॥

All the wives said. *ib.*

Here again सौति is fem. pl. and the verb masc. sing., which arises from the instrumental construction.

कन्या कियो अंदोह ॥

The bride made lamentation. I. 171. 2.

III.

The verb is modern in form, exhibiting the birth of the analytical system, as yet weak and uncertain, but already indicating the direction of its future development.

The number of forms in use is few, and Chand seems to regard verbs as a superfluity in many instances, omitting them at will, and often substituting for all forms of the verb what I may call the verbal crude form, produced by adding a short *i* to the root. Though this form is strictly speaking that of the conjunctive participle “having done,” and the like, yet there are countless passages in Chand where it will not bear this meaning, but is a present, past, or future, as the context may require. For instance in

अनल आनि मातह मिल्यो ॥ कहि सब बात सुनाइ ॥

लोग महाजन संग लै ॥ भूमि बसाई जाइ ॥ I. 309.

Anal *having come* met (his) mother, *having* told and recited the whole affair,

People and merchants *having* taken with (him), *having* gone colonized the land.

All the forms in *i* as **आनि, कहि, सुनाइ, जाइ** are true conjunctive participles, and the only finite verb in sense is **बसाई**, and even that is a participle in form agreeing with the fem. noun **भूमि** and postulating the instrumental form of the agent. In modern Hindi we should have **अनल ने भूमि बसाई**. On the other hand, however, we find the form in short **इ** requiring a finite sense in the following :

सिर मंडि क्वर बीसल नरिंद ॥

Bisal the king arrays the umbrella over his head. I. 166. 1.

If we translate **मंडि** “having arrayed,” the sentence will be incomplete as there is no finite verb following. The explanation of this use of the **इ** form is probably that it is a shortening of the **ए** of the 3 pers., and in this place it would stand for **मंडे**. The simple indef. present is the same in all the modern Aryan languages, and in Chand presents no peculiarities.

	Singular.		Plural.
1.	करौं, करूं		करैं
2.	करै		करौ
3.	करे		करैं

It is unnecessary to quote examples for the regular verb ; the irregular verbs (to use a rather unscientific term) will be noticed presently.

For the simple past the forms are participial and the same for all three persons on account of the implied or expressed instrumental construction.

	Singular.		Plural.
1. 2. 3.	{ masc. चल्यौ		चलै
	{ fem. चली		चलीं

In the masc. sing. the final **यौ** is sometimes separated by a short *a* from the root, according to no rule apparently ; for in I. 170. 12 we find **तहां सिंघ वर विनस्सयौ ॥** ‘there a lion destroyed the bridegroom,’ while in the very next line it is written **सिंघ विनास्यौ**. As variants of the form in **यौ** constantly occur those in **०द्व ०एव**, where the **य** has been softened to the palatal vowel and the vowel **ौ** hardened to its semivowel. Thus

अध इषि इषि भ्रमेव गाव ॥

Looking looking down wandered the cow. I. 79. 9.

In the same passage occur **सुक्खेव**, quoted above, and **क्लनेव** ‘she heard’ (root **कर्ण**). Instances of the shorter form are

फिरि आलह बुल्लिव तांम ॥

Again **Alhá** spoke in wrath. XXI. 109. 47.

Also **चढिव, चलिव**, and many others. The form in **एव** is common in **Tulsi Das**.

For the future where no very strong idea of futurity is implied, the indefinite present is used, as in *तौ हैं बंडों देह*, 'then I *will* quit the body.' But the ordinary form of the future is derivable directly from the second or periphrastic future of Sanskrit, as in *भवितास्मि*, *भवितासि*, and in the third person postulates a non-classical form *भवितास्ति*, for which in Sanskrit we have only *भविता* without the substantive verb. The forms are—

Singular.	Plural.
1. चलिहैं	चलिहैं
2. चलिहै	चलिहै
3. चलिह	चलिहैं

To be referred back to a Sanskrit series, Singular *चलितास्मि*, *चलितासि* [*चलितास्ति*]; Plural *चलितास्मः*, *चलितास्य*, [*चलितासन्ति*], but in all cases with elision of the syllable *ता*, so that we should imagine a form *चलि+अस्मि* *चल्यास्मि*. The terminations rest on the excessive corruption of the feeble verb *अस्*; so that *अस्मि* becomes *अस्मि* and then, by rejection of *अ*, *स्मि*. The resolution of *म* into its component parts, the labial and nasal, so frequently noticed in other instances, gives *हैं*, whence *है*, so that we have three words *हैं*, one from *भवामि*, a second from *अस्मि*, and a third from *अहं*. As a good instance of this verb in a transitional state the Marathi forms may be ad-duced.

Singular.	Plural.
1. आहें (अस्मि)	आहों (अस्मः)
2. आहेंस (अस्मि)*	आहां (अस्य)
3. आहे (अस्मि)	आहेत (असन्ति)

In old Hindi also, as for instance in Kabir's *Ramaini*, occur the forms *आहि* 'is' and *आहिं* 'are,' from which we get *है* and *हैं* in mod. Hindi.

It would lead me too far away from my present object, which is merely to illustrate Chand's forms, were I to work out all these processes here. I content myself therefore with merely noticing them, and pass on to give examples. Of the first person we have already had the instances *समर्पिहैं* 'I will yield,' as it were, from (*समर्पितास्मि* fut. of the causal of *च* with *सम*) and *घरिहैं*, 'I will place.' The third person, with which the second is identical in form, was shown in *निगलिहै* 'he shall swallow;' for the first plural

हम सांवत सब जुझिहैं ॥

राज चंदेल न जाय ॥

We nobles all will fight,

That the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish. XXI.

94. 3-4.

* We must take the full ancient forms *assi*, *asmah*, *astha*, and *asanti*, instead of the more modern classical Sanskrit forms, as the letters which have been dropped in the latter are phonetically necessary to produce the Marathi, Hindi, and other words.

The infinitive or verbal noun has two forms, the abstract in *ana*, and the functional in *iba*. Of the former one instance out of many is

पुरुषातन तिन बंधन बिचारि ॥

Having plotted to stop (or the stopping of) his virility
I. 178. 1.

[पुरुषातन = पुरुषात्त], and with nominal inflexion,

कियौ चलन कौं साज ॥

He made preparation for going. XX. 28. 4.

जंग जुरन जालिम जुझार ॥ (जंग = جنگ, जालिम = ظالم)

In joining battle a terrible warrior. XX. 31. 5.

The functional form is of very common use, just as it is still in Gânwâri Hindi, in Bengali, Oriya, and Gujrati.

जो विलंब करि रहै ॥

तो ताहि हनिवे कौं आवै ॥

If any one made delay,

Then he came to strike him. I. 198. 7.

उठि लरिबे कौं धायौ ॥

Rising up, ran to fight. I. 254. 7.

The construction is strange, but not unknown to modern colloquial Hindi in

गारि मात सिष्यबै ॥

पुत्र आनल इह सिष्य ॥

Through learning (it) from his mother Gauri

Her son Anal learnt this. I. 258. 1-2.

In modern Hindi, गौरी मा क सीषने से यह सीषा आनल न.

The imperative exhibits the ordinary forms करऊ sing. and करो plural, as

जगनक भट अबै घर जाऊ ॥

Bard Jagnak, now go thou home. XX. 77. 1.

Owing to the careless way in which *i* and *u* are mixed up, we have a form in हि—

तिन सु गलह अच्छी कहहि ॥

Say a good word about them. I. 9. 12.

In two quotations above we have seen conversely पावऊ and आवऊ used as present indicatives, for पावहि and आवहि.

The present participle ends in *at*, as सुनत, देखत, and in Gatha, as well as occasionally in other metres where a long syllable is wanted, in *ant*, as in रेहत, कहंत. The feminine is in short *i*, as दृषति, also of course *î*, as डरती, करती, etc.

The conjunctive participle in *i* has already been mentioned, its original full form is in *iyai*, from the locative of the part. pret. of Skr. Thus from चलिते we get चलियै. (See Trumpp, on Adi Granth., J. R. A. S., Vol. V, p.

207. I see nothing in the extracts given by Trumpp in that article to justify his assertion that the language of the Granth is not Hindi, but old Gurmukhi. It is a mistake, though common among Sikhs themselves, to apply the term Gurmukhi to the dialect of the Panjáb, instead of the variety of Devanagari in which it is written, *sed hæc obiter.*)

वसि कियै भूमियां धुनि षग ॥

Having subdued the rulers of the land with fire and sword.
I. 206. 26.

This is of course often also written with *e*, as सुनिये, whence we get another of Chand's confusions, as this form is also used for the respectful imperative, as in

दह नष्ट ग्यान सुनिये न कान ॥

This destroyed science do not listen to. I. 173. 9.

One of the principal difficulties in Chand lies in his construction; an abrupt and elliptical style is imposed on him by his rules, and he makes it worse by trying to say too much at once. So that we have often to expand four of his words into twelve English, and his transitions are so rapid from one fact to another, that we are often landed quite in the middle of a fresh set of events before we are well quit of the old ones.

The custom of constructing the past tense of transitive verbs with the instrumental of the agent with the post-position ने, though identical in character with the Sanskrit construction, as in तेन जालं विस्तीर्णं, is yet apparently in its present shape at least of modern origin. It is an obscure question what this ने really is. That it is not derived from the एन of the Sanskr. is pretty clear. नै the older form, sometimes written नाई, is a dative, and is, I believe, connected with the same root as the Marathi लागीं, Naipali and old Bengali लागि, whence also Marathi ला, the ordinary sign of the dative. It is difficult to decide exactly what Chand's usage is in this respect. While in some cases the agent is in an oblique form, in others it is in the direct or nominative.

The modern Aryan languages know of three constructions or *prayogas*. 1. The *Karta*, or subjective, in which the verb agrees with its subject. 2. The *Karma*, or objective, in which it agrees with its object. 3. The *Bháva*, impersonal, in which it agrees with neither. They may be thus illustrated in Latin.

Karta—ille urbem condidit.

Karma—ab illo urbs condita.

Bháva—ab illo urbi conditum.

These three constructions are seen in their full force in that most complicated of all the languages, Marathi, with its irritating three genders and old-world rubbish of that sort. Hindi is more enlightened and simpler.

It has the subjective construction for all tenses of the intransitive verb, and for all tenses of the transitive also, except the preterite in which it admits the objective construction, as राजा ने बात सुनी, also the impersonal as राजा ने लडकी को देखा. In the former the verb agrees with the object, and in the latter is neuter and impersonal, Hindi having amalgamated the neuter with the masc., the verb has attained to the masc. form, though really neuter.

Applying the above principles to Chand, we are struck in the first instance by the absence of ने with the instrumental sense. For instance—

प्रथिराज सुनि कुंअर नें॥

आप बुल्लाए हित ॥

Hearing it, the prince Prithiráj

Himself invited them kindly. V. 13. 3.

Here if we are to see in this नें our modern friend, the object not being noted, but being understood as living beings, we should according to rule expect बुलायो, and the sentence would run in ordinary Hindi कुंअर ने उन्हे को बुलाया, in other words, the construction would be the impersonal one, the verb would be singular (masc.), unless it be that the verb is here put in the plural out of respect. This instance, however, seems at present quite exceptional, more usually the agent is in the oblique crude form, and both the objective and impersonal constructions are used; a good example of the former is

तिन रक्षा कीनी सु दुज ॥

He protected the Bráhmans. I. 136. 1.

Where the verb agrees with the object *rakshá*, and the agent is in the crude oblique which may be any case we like to call it; again

जिहि रचे सुरग भू सत्त पाताल ॥

Who arranged heaven, earth, the seven hells. I. 11. 11.

The various nouns agree with the verb रचे in the neuter pl. and the agent is again singular oblique. On the other hand, we have the direct or subjective construction in

दह बार बुझ्यो राज ॥

दुज न दियो उत्तर काज ॥

Ten times the king asked

The Bráhman gave no answer (in the) matter. I. 48. 23-24.

And as a remarkable instance of Chand's indifference to the subject we have in one line (I. 49. 9.) जिहि हत्यो अय्य 'he who killed the snake,' and the next line जो हत्यो अय्य, with the direct construction. It is perhaps too early to lay down rules for Chand yet, but it may be hinted that in common with many of his successors in Indian poetry, he generally uses the subjective construction when the agent is a noun, and occasionally the objective or impersonal when the agent is a pronoun, and even in that case he is careless

and quite as likely to use one as the other. As far as I have gone, I have met very few instances of the use of the post-position ने, and several of those seem doubtful.

One example is

बालप्यन प्रथिराज ने ॥
निसि सुपबंतर चिह्न ॥
लै जुगिनिपुरह ॥
तिलक मय्य करि दिन्ह ॥

In his youth *to* Prithiráj

In a dream at night (came) a sign :

Having taken Juginipur (Delhi)

He put the *tilak* (of sovereignty) on his brow. III. 3. 1-4.

Here it is clearly a dative.

With regard to the irregular verbs, or to speak more correctly, those which still retain traces of the older synthetical organization, the array of forms is rather varied. Some few well-worked verbs differ from their fellows in this respect that, whereas the latter have taken from the Sanskr. or Prakr. only the root, or some one form on which they have built up their modern verb with all its varied tenses, these verbs of the older creation adhere more closely to the Prakrit and take their preterite from its preterite and some of their other forms from those of the corresponding tense in Prakrit. Thus देना makes its past tense दियौ, from दितो, for दत्त ; also दीनौ from दिखो, and दीधौ from दिद्धो, all three Prakr. forms. Of the three the commonest perhaps is दीनौ ; to which rhyme कीनौ from करना, and लीनौ from लेना. In one or two passages occurs a form भीनौ, which I have rendered “filled,” supposing it to be from भरना on the analogy of करना. In the cases of करना and लेना, Chand has also the preterites कीया and किद्धौ, लीयौ, but not लिद्धौ, the cause of which will be explained below. The three words दीनौ, कीनौ, and लीनौ are often shorn of their last syllable especially at the end of a line, as

कनक तुला तहां कीन ॥

He performed there the ceremony of *kanaktulá*. VIII. 5. 2.

To which rhymes

बंटि अप्प कर दीन ॥

Dividing, with his own hand gave. *ib.* 4.

परिमाल जुध पर डकुम दीन ॥

Parimal gave the order for war. XXI. 5. 32.

दस कोस जाय मुकाम कीन ॥

विच गाम नगर पुर लूट लीन ॥

Having gone ten *kos* he made a halt,

The villages, towns and cities between he plundered. 208. 9-10.

It is one of Chand's favourite rhymes, and in all these cases the subject of verbs is a nom. masc. sing. Of the full forms, the following are examples :

अनंगपाल पुत्री सुरंग ॥
 पुत्र इच्छा फल दिन्नौ ॥
 नालिकेर फल सुफल ॥
 मंत आरंभन किन्नौ ॥

Concerning the translation of this passage there may be some doubt ; literally it is easy enough, as the meaning of each individual word is well known, but how to put them together so as to make consecutive sentences is a difficulty ; “Anangpal—daughter—beautiful (or, taking *su* as an expletive, ‘delight’)

Son—wish—fruit—gave.

Cocoanut—fruit—good fruit.

Spell (mantra)—beginning—made.

It probably means that Anangpál had a daughter whose desire for a son bore fruit (to wit by the birth of Prithiráj), the fruit of the cocoanut is the emblem of marriage, and he or she, commenced some spells, why or wherefore *non liquet*. It is a fair specimen of Chand’s enigmatical style.

सुख चाव चंदेल सु कीनौ ॥

यह परिमाल लिखौ करि दीनौ ॥

Good speed the Chandel made,

(Saying) “Parimál hath written this” gave it into his hand.

XXI. 124. 4.

Of the forms दिइ° and दीध° the following instances have been noted :

बर दीधौ ढुंढा नरिंद ॥

Dhundhá the king gave a blessing. I. 305. 1.

प्रथिराज ताहि दो देस दिइ ॥

Prithiráj gave him two provinces. I. 307. 61.

Here the final syllable is cut off to rhyme with प्रसिद्ध in the next line.

पुत्री पुत्र उक्ताह ॥ दान मान घन दिदिय ॥

धाम धाम गावत धमार ॥ मनऊ अहि बन मनि लदिय ॥

(For) joy (of his) daughter’s (having a) son, gifts and honours many he gave,

House to house singing songs of joy, like a serpent finding a jewel in the forest (?).

The past tense लदिय arises from the fact that the verb *lená* in Hindi is derived from the Skr. लभनं, through forms लहनं and लहिनं, and the pp. in Skr. is लब्ध, whence H. लदिय. Although in Hindi the number of verbs of this class, those namely which form their present from one part of a Sanskr. verb, and their preterite from another, is so small that they have been classed as irregular, yet in the other cognate languages, notably in Sindhi and Gujarati, the number is very large ; for instance Sindhi लभणु to take (H.

लेना) makes its pp. लघो, *i. e.* लब्ध. (See Trumpp's Sindhi Gr. p. 272, and my Comp. Gram. p. 138.)

I have also noted an instance in which the घ under the influence of the adjacent palatal vowel changes into ज (ज्ज)—

सगरी नाव जाय बंध किज्जय ॥

आला उदिल उतरन न दिज्जय ॥

Carts and boats he went and stopped.

Alá and Udil he allowed not to alight. XXI. 86. 1-2.

In Modern Hindi, बध किया and उतर्ने नहि दिया.

Leaving for the present the further discussion of these verbs whose real nature seems not to have hitherto been clearly understood, I now proceed to draw out the manifold variations of the verb 'to be,' whether derived from the root अस् or from भू or (if it be so at all, which I much doubt in Hindi) from स्या.

Illustrations from Chand serve not only for his works, but in many cases also for old Hindi literature in general. Tulsi Das, Sur Das, Kesab Das, Kabir, and others are all writers in virtually the same idiom, though Chand is older and more obscure than most of them, and has occasionally forms which have dropped out of use since his time. It will strike the reader, however, that Chand uses the same word in different stages of development according as it suits his purpose. In the case for instance of सध्य, we have every stage from the pure Sanskrit down to the modern vernacular. In such cases it is generally the modern and later forms which agree with those in use in the general run of Hindi poets. Tulsi Das, though, from his extensive popularity, he is usually taken as the typical poet of mediæval Hindi, is not so really from a linguistic point of view. His language is very rustic, and seems, as Dr. Hoernle has remarked, to contain words and forms taken from all the provinces of Hindustan. Sur Das is much purer and more typical. The forms given below are not then all peculiar to Chand, but many of them he shares with his successors.

The preterite, which for convenience sake I take first, as in a narrative poem like this, it naturally occurs oftener than the other tenses, has three forms.

1st form Sing. m. भयौ, Pl. M. भए

f. भई [भई']

भयौ is very common, as in भयौ ताम तामस राज ॥

Wroth was then the king. I. 48. 26.

यौ भयौ रिषि अवधूत ॥

Thus was the wonderful Rishi. *ib.*

अनंगपाल भयौ राज ॥

Anangpal became king. III. 17. 4.

It is contracted to भौ, in सुनि श्रवन राज मन भौ उदेग ॥

Hearing the news the king was perturbed in spirit. I. 172. 4.

मन भौ हस करन फुनि आइय ॥

Laughter was in her mind, then pity came. III. 10. 4.

Feminine भइ, as in ordinary mediæval Hindi, as

पुब्ब कथा ज्यौं भइ ॥

How the former story was. III. 15. 2.

Plural masc. भए, as भए विकल लोग घाइल उताप ॥

The folk were harassed, wounded, and distressed. XXI. 5. 5.

Of भई, the fem. pl., I have no examples. In तब सकल भइय एकत्र नारि ॥ quoted above, it may perhaps be that a fem. pl. is meant and the anuswara has been omitted by the copyist.

The second form is जंतो and जतो, plural जते, of which I have already given instances. It is from this form (Skr. भूत) that I derive था, and not from स्थित. The *u* of जता goes out in Gujarati हतो, हती, etc., in which language the form यतो, the legitimate descendant of स्थित, stands in its proper place as the preterite of a verb यवु from स्या, parallel to which is Oriya थिला, preterite of थिवा, side by side with हिला from हेवा (भू). From the form हतो, by clision of त and coalition of the vowels (perhaps through a transitional form ह्यो), comes the ordinary Brijbhasha form हो, ही, etc., and by another process the form हतो became थो, *i. e. tho*, for *h'to*. The Hindi appears not to have retained any relics of the verb स्या, as a verb, though it has numerous nominal derivatives of it.

Chand has yet another form of the preterite ऊअ with short final *a*, not very uncommon in occurrence, as

मति करऊ सोच मम मंत्र मानि ॥

ऊअ राज काज बर चाऊवान ॥

Grieve not, but heed my spell

Ruling has (ever) been the business of the doughty Chauhan.

III. 27. 26.

Connected with which is the conjunctive participle ऊअै, in

वीवाह ऊअै बर बन गयौ ॥

The marriage having taken place, the bridegroom went to the forest. I. 170. 11.

The present tense contains no peculiarities. हैं 'I am' has been quoted, but I may mention that I have not yet come across the modern है "is." It seems to come from अस्ति, which is first split up into असति, then the त is dropped leaving असद् from which by change of स into ह and interpolating a second ह, we get Tulsi Das and Kabir's form अहहि, whence the transition is easy to हइ, *i. e.*, है. It does not appear quite certain that all this process had been as yet gone through in Chand's time, the cases where है occurs are

all explainable as futures like करिहै, जुझिहै “he will do,” “he will fight,” and the like. Thus is formed the future होइहै, contracted into कैहै, just as in the imperative होए ‘let there be’ becomes कै.

प्रलै होइहै तिन वंसह ॥

Destruction shall be on their race. III. 29. 6.

सब बोलि कह्यौ कै सिद्धि सिद्धि ॥

All speaking said, ‘May there be success, success.’ I. 178. 12.

Another form is होहि,

होहि जद्वनि सपुतह ॥

The Jadavani shall be with child. I. 249. 6.

and the simpler form of the imperative is हो

जिन सुनत सुध भव हो तन्ननि ॥ (तन्ननि = तन्विनी)

Which bearing be thy nature purified, O lady. I. 14. 4.

In the substantive verb the vague crude form in short *i* occurs constantly, as a present and as future as well as in its more correct sense of a conjunctive participle. It is one of the commonest words and forms in Chand and more than one illustration must therefore be given.

There can be little doubt as to its future sense in the following ;—

दिवस पंच कै अंतरै । होइ सु दिल्ली पति ॥

In five days’ time he shall be lord of Delhi. III. 11. 4.

Again a few lines later on

जोगनगर जोतिग कहै । प्रभु सु होइ प्रथु राव ॥

Of Jognagar (Delhi), saith the astrologer,

Shall be lord indeed Prithi Ráo (Prithiráj). *ib.* 13. 3-4.

And again—तूअर तें चाऊवान ॥ अंत होइ तुरकानौ ॥

After the Tuar the Chahuván, lastly shall be the Turk. *ib.* 26. 8.

All these three are prophecies, and there can be no doubt about the future sense, in which case we may regard this form as shortened from the fuller होइहै. Less distinct, and hovering round to a potential present are—

क्यों उधार हाइ आप बर ॥

How *may* there be release from the curse for the hero. I. 58. 3.

करि सकों यब्व तो होइ हास ॥

If I were to boast, then there might be laughter. I. 11. ult.

In the next quotation it must, I think, be regarded as distinct historical present—

कहै चंद गुन छंद पढि ॥

क्रोध उ दंगल सोइ ॥

चाऊवान चंदेल कुल ॥

कंदल उपजन होइ ॥ XXI. 1. 1-4.

Telleth Chand reciting a virtuous strophe,

That wrath and discord,
(When twixt) Chahuván and Chandel tribes
Strife *is* engendered.

So also in अवन सुनत होइ भंग ॥

The ear hearing it *is* broken. I. 159. 2.

होइ होनहार सीता हरन ॥

The rape of Sítá, (which was) predestined, *takes place.* III. 27. 34.

In this latter case it may also be a preterite. Finally, as instances of its use in its more legitimate sense of a conjunctive participle,

होइ प्रसन्न सुकदेव कहि ॥

Being pleased saith Sukdev. I. 60. 10.

त्रैलोक जीति जिन जार कीन ॥

तेउ गये अंत होइ आउ हीन ॥

They who swayed having conquered the three worlds,

They too have gone at last, being without profit. III. 27. 53, 54.

(आउ = आय)

Of the present participle there are two forms ऊवंत and होत.

तुम बानी बानी प्रसन्न

हसन ऊवंत निवारि ॥

Thy voice is a pleasing voice, laughing being prevented. I. 12. 4.

(i. e., no one can laugh at you.)

पुत्र होत भई मृत्य ॥

The son being born she died. I. 170. 3.

(i. e., she died in giving birth to the son.)

Of the future participle होनहार ‘that which is to be,’ destiny, an illustration has just been given. Others are—

तैं कछू होनहार पहचानिय ॥

Thou knowing somewhat of that which is to be. XXI. 92. 2.

And a few lines further on in a slightly different shape—

होनहार ऐसी लषी ॥

कही जु आरह उपाय ॥

Thus is written (as) about to be

The plan which Álhá has said. XXI. 94. 1, 2.

Want of leisure prevents me at present from continuing these studies. I hope at a future time to supplement these remarks on the leading features of Chand’s style, by some further suggestions as to some of his more exceptional and unusual forms—many of which are puzzles of the most startling description. Perhaps the notes here given may be of use so far

as they go, and the copious quotations will illustrate many more points than those which they are specially intended for. To those who approach Chand fortified by previous reading of the mediæval Hindi poets, the majority of the forms given above will be already to a great extent familiar, but to those who approach him from the direction of Sanskrit and Prakrit studies, his style will be absolutely unintelligible without some such clue as that, the outlines of which I have sketched in these notes.

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*Further note on coins from Kausambhi.*—By THE HONORABLE  
E. C. BAYLEY, C. S. I., C. S.

Since writing on the two coins sent by Bábu Sivaprasád from Kausambhi,\* I have had the advantage of showing the coins themselves to General Cunningham. He at once expressed his preference for reading the third letter of No. 2, as स *sa*, instead of ज *ja*. He said that he thought he had coins in his cabinet which would throw light on the matter.

He has since found two of which he kindly allows me to make use. One of these is the exact duplicate of coin No. 2, but has only the latter half of the inscription perfect. The other coin is in better preservation; its material is brass, and while it differs slightly in type, has the same legend as No. 2, but the third letter is unmistakably स. The whole of the letters on this coin are of a squarer type than those of my coin, so much so that the first letter might almost be read as ब, “*ba*,” if it were not for the clear shape of the letter on my coin.

The total legend must, however, now be read as—

ठह सत मित, “*ṭhaha sata mita*”

“The friend of the virtuous iconoclast”—

A reading which is a clear improvement on those previously suggested.

Both of General Cunningham's coins have the same reverse, a bull with the svastika over its hindquarters and standing in front of a Buddhist chaitya with Buddhist railing very clear, so that now there can hardly be any doubt of the Buddhist character of the legend. General Cunningham's best coin has the symbol on the left of the obverse somewhat different from my coin, but it is not quite distinct enough for satisfactory recognition. General Cunningham says that one of the coins at least was procured at Batesar, which is on the Jamuná, though at some distance above Kausambhi, from which place it may have possibly come.

\* *Vide* above, page 109.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1873.

Authorities for the History of the Portuguese in India.—By
T. W. H. TOLBORT, B. C. S.

The History of the Portuguese in India is a subject of considerable interest, though the attention given to it, of late years, by English orientlists is scant. As a contribution to the subject I submit a list of the authors whose works are most valuable. The list does not profess to be exhaustive, but it will be found to embrace the most important sources of information.

I limit the range of these authorities to the period between 1498, when Vasco da Gama discovered India, and 1663, when the capture of Cochin by the Dutch finally broke the power of the Portuguese, and established the supremacy of others in the East. During that period, the adventures of the Portuguese form a chapter of Universal History. In years subsequent to 1663, the subject, though not devoid of incidents of gallantry and romance, dwindles to one of national rather than universal interest.

As an introduction to the subject must be read Mr. Major's interesting Life of Prince Henry the Navigator. This is founded chiefly on old Portuguese authorities, an account of whom is given in the preface; but Mr. Major's narrative is, to all appearance, so complete and accurate, that we may accept it, coupled with the well written summary by Barros, without consulting other authors.

For our present purpose, research must begin where the main thread of Mr. Major's work ends. Starting then from 1497, we have first—

Gaspard Correa. *Lendas da India*, 4 Vols., 4to. Correa is the oldest historian, and is by many considered the most reliable; but, strange to say, his

history, though written in or about 1561, lay in manuscript till a few years ago, when it was printed by the Lisbon Academy. The publication was commenced in 1858 and concluded in 1864. Correa came to India in or about 1512, and served as Albuquerque's amanuensis. His stay in India was not continuous, but it was at Goa that he ended his days.

His history comprises the period from Vasco da Gama's voyage in 1497 to the Government of Jorge Cabral in 1550. The earlier portion is partly founded on the manuscript (now lost) of Joao Figueira, a priest who accompanied Vasco da Gama. The bulk of the work from 1512 to 1550 has all the advantages of contemporary history by the pen of a truthful and intelligent writer. The work is illustrated with pictures of towns, and portraits of the Viceroy's taken, I believe, from pen and ink sketches by Correa himself. Most of the towns are fairly represented, though without accuracy of detail. For instance Aden, Diu, and Colombo, as they appeared in the sixteenth century, can at once be identified by any one who has seen them as they are now. Correa has been termed the "Polybius" of Portuguese History in India. Selections from his work, comprising the three voyages of Vasco da Gama, have been translated and published in English by the Hon. H. Stanley.

João de Barros, the Livy of Portuguese History. His work, in four Decades, though somewhat later than the histories by Correa and Castanheda was, until the last few years, universally regarded as the standard authority on the subject. The recent publication of Correa's *Lendas* raises the question whether Correa or Barros should be followed where discrepancies exist (and in detail such discrepancies are numerous); upon the whole it seems likely that Barros will always hold his place in the opinion of his own countrymen as well as in that of foreigners as the chief of Portuguese Historians. His style is admired, and he gives an interesting sketch of the Portuguese discoveries prior to Vasco da Gama's voyage, a necessary introduction, which Correa and Castanheda omit. Barros died in 1570. He never visited India, but had special facilities for his study as an official in the India Office at Lisbon.

Diogo de Couto, the continuator of Joao de Barros. De Couto served in India, and though his portion of the History is not considered equal to that written by Barros, it is the best we have for the latter half of the sixteenth century. The fourth Decade by Barros comes down to the death of Nuno da Cunha in 1539, but as this Decade had not appeared when De Couto commenced his continuation, he began twelve years earlier, bringing the continuation down to 1600. The joint History of De Barros and De Couto consists of twenty-four 8vo. Vols., there being for the reason above stated a duplicate account of the twelve years comprised in the governments of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Nuno da Cunha.

C a s t a n h e d a. This historian came to India in 1528, and the eight books of his History were published between 1551 and 1561. They bring the narrative of Portuguese conquest down to the first siege of Diu in 1538, covering nearly the same period as De Barros. Castanheda intended to publish ten books, but the last two seem to have been suppressed, because they reflected on some of the grandees who had influence at Court. I cannot, however, say for certain that the last two books of Castanheda were never published. My own copy omits them, but from a list kindly given to me by Senhor da Cunha Rivara, Secretary to the Portuguese Government at Goa, it would appear that Castanheda's history is brought down to 1550. Castanheda is said to have travelled all over Portuguese India, with the laudable desire of testing and correcting his history.

M a f f e i, *Historia Indicarum*, a Latin history, based I believe on Barros. It is in one volume comprising sixteen books. It ends with the death of King John the Third in 1557, and is dedicated to Philip the Second. The author was a Jesuit; and attached to his principal work are four books of *Epistolæ Indiæ*, selected letters from India, a very valuable appendix.

S a n R o m a n o, a Benedictine monk, wrote a History of the same period in Spanish. I have not seen this work, but believe it is founded on Maffei and is inferior to the original.

F a r i a y S o u s a. His History was published in both Portuguese and Spanish. It embraces a more extended period than any of the others, beginning with the early voyages of discovery, and ending in 1640, at the eve of the Revolution which restored Portuguese independence. An English translation from the Spanish was published in 1695, with a dedication to Catharine, Queen Dowager, Charles the Second's widow.

For the sixteenth century, Faria y Sousa is an inferior authority to the earlier writers, but he is the one generally quoted by English authors, because his account is the most complete as well as the most easily read. I am surprised that the Library of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta does not contain a copy of the translation. The copy of the original in the public library at Goa seems to be imperfect. Faria y Sousa gives a list of the books and manuscripts from which he collected his information.

L a f i t a u, "*Histoire des Découvertes des Portugais*," in French, 2 Vols. There is a copy in the public library at Pondicherry, but not, I think, in our own library at Calcutta. I have not read this work through, but from a cursory examination, it seems like most French Histories to be readable and interesting. Lafitau names the authors he has consulted, and brings his narrative down to the same time as Faria y Sousa.

The above authors are all professed historians, who treat their subject generally. But history is usually more indebted to particular accounts,

memoirs, and personal narratives than to prolonged chronicles which are necessarily themselves compilations. This is especially true of Portuguese History in India. Passing on then to this class of authors we find—

“The *Roteiro*,” the account of Vasco da Gama’s voyage; followed by Mr. Major in his *Life of Prince Henry*. I have not seen this, but it is evidently a work of authority.

• The *Commentaries* of the great Albuquerque, compiled by his son from the official despatches sent by Albuquerque to King Manuel. They appeared in 1557.

The *Chronicle of King Manuel* himself by Damiao de Goes, published during the reign of King Sebastian, and dedicated to the Cardinal Prince Henry.

The *History of the Portuguese* during the reign of Emmanuel, by Osorio, Bishop of Sylves, in Latin. This, though based on the *Chronicle of Damiao de Goes*, is superior to it as a literary work. There is an English translation, published in 1752.

Antonio Galvan, a contemporary of the Governor Nuno da Cunha, is said by Faria y Sousa to have written much concerning India and particularly about the Spice Islands, but Faria y Sousa was unable to find any of his works except “the Book he calls of Discoveries, which is only short hints of things.” I presume this is the “*Tratado dos diversos e desvayrados caminhos, &c.*” If any other works by this author are extant, they will be very valuable. Crawford eulogizes the author in the following terms: “Of all the Portuguese names connected with the Indian Archipelago incomparably the greatest, except of Magellan, is that of the virtuous, the pious, the discreet, and heroic Antonio Galvan.” The failure of Faria y Sousa to find his manuscripts is no proof that they do not exist; for the instance of Correa’s great *History*, to say nothing of numerous other books, shows that in Portugal the most valuable manuscripts may lie hidden for centuries.

I here insert a note by the editors of Correa’s *History*, which details all the printed works prior to the date of that author.

“The printed Portuguese books regarding the *History of India*, of which Gaspar Correa might have had knowledge, although he may not have seen them all, still less possessed them, are,—the *Life of D. Joao II.*, by Garcia de Resende; Castanheda’s *History*; the three first *Decades of Joao de Barros*; the first book of the siege of Diu, by Lopo de Sousa Coutinho; the *Commentaries of Albuquerque*; the *Itinerary of Antonio Tenreiro*; the *Book of Antonio Galvao, Tratado dos diversos e desvayrados caminhos, &c.*; the *Relation of the Embassy of the Patriarch D. Joao Bermudes*; the *Chronicles of the King D. Manuel and of the Prince D. Joao* by Damiao de Goes; the treatise on the affairs of China by Fr. Gaspar da Cruz; the

commentary of the siege of Goa and Chaul, by Antonio de Castilho ; and some other which we have forgotten.”

The Life of D. Joao de Castro, by Jacinto Freire de Andrade. This work has passed through several editions and is considered one of the Portuguese classics. The second siege of Diu by the King of Gujarát occurred during the Viceroyalty of D. Joao de Castro, and the defence and relief of the fortress are deservedly regarded by the Portuguese as among the greatest of their achievements. The edition of the “Life” published in 1835 contains valuable notes with selections from Castro’s correspondence, among these are letters regarding Persian histories of Alexander the Great, probably the “Sikandarnámah,” for which D. Joao de Castro, who was a man of literary as well as military ability, had sent. There is a work by D. Joao de Castro himself, the “Roteiro,” giving an account of his voyage up the Red Sea in 1540.

The Chronicle of King John the Third, by Andrade, is another work thought very highly of by the Portuguese themselves.

There must be frequent references to Indian affairs in the Chronicles and Histories of other Portuguese and Spanish Monarchs, but the reigns of Emmanuel and John the Third were the “golden age” of Portuguese rule in India. Those of Sebastian and Philip the Second may be considered the “silver age,” and subsequent reigns down to the capture of Cochin “the age of brass.”

St. Francis Xavier was a contemporary of Don Joao de Castro ; his life and work are so intimately connected with Portuguese India, that authorities regarding them may well be referred to here. Xavier’s own letters are the best source of information regarding him. There is the old Latin edition of Tursellinus, and a modern French one by Léon Pagès. Of professed biographies, the most authentic is that in Portuguese by Lucena, and the most popular that in French by Bohours. Three recent biographies should also be consulted. First that by Venn, written from the Protestant standpoint. Second, a volume of Xavier’s life and letters, published last year, 1872, by the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, an English Jesuit. (The second volume has not yet appeared.) Third, a Life of the Saint published at Goa in 1861, by Senhor Felipe Neri Xavier, Director of the National Press. This contains much miscellaneous information regarding Xavier and his tomb.

As Xavier is the Saint of Portuguese India, so is Camoens its Poet. The *Lusiad* is an authority in Portuguese History just as Shakespeare is for our own Plantagenets. National pride and patriotism pervade it, and great events which would be smothered in a mere chronicle of facts are brought by it prominently and picturesquely to view. There are many well known lives of Camoens, and many editions of the *Lusiad* in all European languages. The Portuguese (I believe) regard the edition of the

Lusiad by D. José Maria de Souza Botelho with most favour. In English, Adamson's Life of Camoens, and Mickle's translation of the Lusiad are best known.

There is another Portuguese epic "*Malaca conquistada*," of which Albuquerque is the hero, but this has never attained general celebrity.

The Chronicle of Luis de Ataíde, by Antonio Pereira. I have not seen this work, but it is quoted both by Faria y Sousa and by Lafitau. Luis de Ataíde was twice Viceroy of India, in 1567, and again in 1578.

Diogo de Couto, the continuator of Barros, was a voluminous writer, and during his prolonged connection with Indian affairs (from 1556 to 1616) wrote many minor works besides his History. Among these are numerous orations to the incoming Viceroys. Also a Life of D. Paul de Lima, a celebrated Portuguese Captain, who died about 1589, and an interesting treatise called the "*Soldado Pratieo*." I have not seen any of these works, but Mr. Stanley in the introduction to his "*Three voyages of Vasco da Gama*" gives an abstract of the "*Soldado Pratieo*," which is a critique on the numerous defects of the Portuguese administration in India.

The Portuguese Missions to Akbar from 1582 to 1605 constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the History of Portuguese India. The account usually quoted is that by M. Manouchi, who was for many years Aurangzeb's physician. I have not seen his History, but it appears to have been published as a separate work. According to Hough, who devotes a chapter to these Missions, there are valuable manuscript accounts in the British Museum, some it seems in the original handwriting of the Missionaries. There are also narratives of the Mission in Murray's Asiatic Discoveries. There is an Italian account of Akbar and of the Jesuit Mission by Perusehi.

The close of the sixteenth century is remarkable in the annals of Portuguese India for the attempt to reconcile the heretical Syrian Church of Travancor to Rome. The chief authorities for this episode are Gouvea's *Jornada do Areebispo de Goa*, D. Fr. Aleixo de Meneses as Terras do Malabar; Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar*; La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*; Hough's *Christianity in India*; Lee's *History of the Syrian Church*, in one of the Church Missionary Society's Reports; Howard's *Christians of Saint Thomas*; Day's *Cochin*.

There are several other accounts, but the above contain all that is important. Day's *Cochin* is a valuable work generally, as Cochin was the most important Portuguese settlement in continental India next to Goa, and everything connected with it has some bearing on our subject.

While we are on the ground of ecclesiastical history, the following works may be named as in some way connected with Portuguese India, where formerly the predominance of ecclesiastical influence was so marked.

The “*India Orientalis Christiana*” by Paulinus Bartholomaeus, said to be a work of great merit but very rare.

Francisco Sousa’s “*Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da companhia de Jesus.*” This work was published in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It seems to be regarded by later Portuguese writers as an authority for secular as well as ecclesiastical history, and is, I presume, the work referred to in Cottinean’s *Sketch of Goa*, page 21.

Bartoli’s *Asia*. This, I believe, is the standard Jesuit authority, but there are numerous other histories of the Jesuits.

Historia das Inquisicoes, published at Lisbon in 1821.

Historia da origem e estabelecimento da Inquisicao em Portugal, by Herculano.

I have not seen the above works but the following which also have some bearing on the subject are to be found in the Public Library at Goa—

Tellez, *Chronica da companhia de Jesus*.

Luis de Sousa, *History of the Dominicans*.

Damian Cornejo, *Chronica seraphica*, or *History of the Franciscans*.

Pedro Monteiro, *History of the Inquisition*.

It may be observed that the Goa Library is chiefly composed of books which were taken from various convents when the monastic orders were suppressed. No doubt, it contains many other books of historical interest, which a hurried visit did not give me time to discover.

Faria y Sousa refers to a manuscript ecclesiastical History, called “*The Spiritual Conquest in Asia*,” written by F. Paul of the Trinity, a Franciscan, in the year 1630. Probably this has since been printed.

For the seventeenth century printed authorities are rare. Faria y Sousa refers to a manuscript by Antonio Bocarro, apparently a continuation of De Couto, and also to accounts of Nuno Alvarez Botello and the Count de Linhares (1629 to 1635), the former in print, and the latter in manuscript. I suppose, it was the same Antonio Bocarro who wrote the description of the Fortresses of India, extracts from which have been published by Sr. da Cunha Rivara in the “*Tissuary*.”

Mr. Stanley gives a summary of a manuscript found by him in the Library of Lisbon, entitled “*History of the Elevation and Decadence of the Portuguese Empire in Asia*,” which gives some account of the seventeenth century.

Between 1640, the date at which Faria y Sousa closes his *History* (also the year in which Portugal recovered her independence), and 1663, the year in which Cochin was taken by the Dutch, there seems to be almost a blank so far as printed Portuguese authorities are concerned, but the deficiency is made good by an increased number of Dutch and French writers. The

ecclesiastical history of these few years is carried on by a Carmelite missionary, Vincenzo Maria, in his *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali*.

The expeditions, military and ecclesiastical, to Abyssinia; the rise and fall of Christianity in Japan; the rivalry with the Spaniards and Dutch in the Malay Archipelago; and the wars in Ceylon, may fairly be treated as episodes in the History of Portuguese India.

Regarding Abyssinia, the chief authorities are :

Francisco Alvares, *Terras do Preste Joao*.

Tellez, *Historia de Ethiopia*.

João dos Santos, *Ethiopia oriental*.

Geddes, *Church History in Ethiopia*; La Crose, *Christianisme d'Ethiopie*; Ludolf's *Historia Æthiopica*.

Regarding Japan,—Kämpfer's well known book is generally accepted as the best authority.

There is a work in Spanish "*Christiandad del Japon*," by Sicaudo, of which there are copies in the public library at Goa. There are also collections of "*Epistolæ Japonicæ*," as of "*Epistolæ Indicæ*." The Rev. H. J. Coleridge states that M. Léon Pagès is about to publish a work on the subject.

The Chinese mission, though organised from Macao, was not so connected with politics as the Japan mission, and the early missionaries were mostly Italians not Portuguese. There is a description of China by Faria y Sousa, founded on the *Memoirs of Semedo*, and there is a separate account of the commencement of the mission under Ricci. There is also the great work of Du Halde.

Regarding the Malay Archipelago, most English accounts of the islands give a sketch of the early Portuguese rule. Crawford's works, and St. John's *Indian Archipelago* may be cited as the most useful. Raffles' *Java* scarcely refers to the Portuguese, but his *Life and Journal* gives a native account of the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca. I have not yet had an opportunity of referring to Marsden's *Sumatra*. Faria y Sousa, besides his reference to Antonio Galvan, mentions Bartholomew de Argensola as an authority, though an unsafe one, for the *History of the Spice Islands*. I have a French translation of Argensola entitled "*Conquête des Isles Moluques par les Espagnols, par les Portugais, et par les Hollandais*." The third volume containing the conquest by the Dutch is a continuation of the original work. There is also an English translation of Argensola. There is another account of the Moluccas, by Gabriel Rebello, in the sixth volume of the "*Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das nacoes ultramarinas*."

Regarding Ceylon, our information may be considered abundant and satisfactory. Sir Emerson Tennent devotes the first two chapters of his second volume to the Portuguese and Dutch rule, and refers to two Portu-

guese authorities who treat specially of Ceylon,—*Ribeiro*, and *Rodrigues de Saa*. The latter wrote an account of the expedition of 1630, in which his father was killed. There is also a Portuguese account of the siege of Colombo, translated and attached to *Baldaeus'* narrative in Churchill's voyages. *Baldaeus* himself, a Dutch writer, is the best authority for the final struggle between the Dutch and Portuguese, giving a sketch of the negotiations and military movements, with details of the sieges of Colombo and Cochin and engravings of the different forts and towns. *Ribeiro's* History is contained in the fifth volume of the "*Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das nacoes ultramarinas.*" There is a French translation by *LeGrand* and an English translation, now rare, by *Lee*. Sir *Emerson Tennent* mentions *Johann Jacob Saars*, as giving in German an account of the campaign in which Colombo was captured. *Wouter Schouten's* "*Oostindische Voyagie*" is another narrative of the same period.

The above list does not include many "*Travels,*" although the most vivid and faithful pictures of Portuguese India in the 16th and 17th centuries are to be found in the narratives of European travellers. The number of these is so great, that we can only specify a few, referring enquirers to the standard collections of voyages for further details. These collections are well known,—*Ramusio*, *Purchas*, *Hakluyt*, *De Bry*, *Le Brun*, *Hulsius*, *Recueil des Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pays-bas*, *La Harpe*, *Dampier*, *Harris*, *Pinkerton*, *Thevenot*, *Churchill*, *Astley*, *Lockman*, *Kerr*, *Murray*, and others. There are two or three Italian collections of value besides *Ramusio*, and there are some Indian voyages in the Portuguese "*Noticias.*"

Among individual Travels the most noteworthy, either for their intrinsic value, or for their bearing on our present subject, are—

Odoardo Barbosa. The earliest description of India after Portuguese discovery.

The voyage of *Magellan*, which first took the Spaniards to the East.

The voyage of *Sir Francis Drake*, the first appearance of the "*Heretics*" in those seas.

The "*Peregrinações*" of *Mendez Pinto*.

Linschoten's Itinerarium.

Travels of Pyrard de Laval (1601 to 1611). The original is in French, but there is a Portuguese translation, published at Goa by *Senhor Rivara*. *Pyrard de Laval's* book is of special value as he resided at Goa when the prosperity of that city was at its height; for although the glory of Portuguese India had begun to diminish some years earlier, the splendour of Goa as a city, was greatest during the first few years of the seventeenth century. *Pyrard's* description is detailed and interesting.

Dellon's narrative of the Inquisition of Goa. The original was pub-

lished in French in 1687, but there is a Portuguese translation, published at Goa in 1866 under the auspices of Sr. Rivara. This translation contains some valuable notes, and adds as an appendix the account of the Inquisition given by Dr. Claudius Buchanan in 1808 in the *Christian Researches*.

A narrative of the expedition against Ormus, when the Persians and English united to expel the Portuguese in 1622. This is contained in the collections by Purchas and Kerr.

Baldæus, the Dutch historian of the final struggle between Hollanders and Portuguese. The translation of his *Travels* is in Churchill's Collection.

Tavernier gives a description of Goa, a narrative of the persecution in Japan, a sketch of Dutch history in the East, and an account of the capture of Cochin. Altogether, Tavernier is a very valuable writer for our present purpose, as his information refers precisely to the period when Portuguese supremacy in India was disappearing.

There are numerous travellers a little later than Tavernier, whose narratives contain frequent references to the Portuguese. Among these may be named Bernier, Nieuhoff, Carreri, Fryer, and Hamilton.

Lastly, there is a modern account of Goa, written in English by the Rev. Cottenean de Kloguen and published at Madras in 1831. This contains a complete historical sketch of Goa from 1509 down to 1812, and gives a description of all the churches, convents, and other public buildings, accompanied by a map. It is, in fact, a modern guide to Goa. There is a Portuguese translation, which I have not seen. Probably the notes of the translation are of value, as it was published in Goa itself at a comparatively recent date (1858).

There is another modern account of the Portuguese possessions in Asia, by Gonçalo de Magalhaes Teixeira Pinto, also published at Goa with notes by Sr. Rivara. It is a mere pamphlet, but it contains some official documents regarding the transfer of Bombay to the English.

As the Dutch were for sixty years the rivals of the Portuguese in Asia, it is reasonable to suppose that voluminous information may be collected from Dutch authorities. Besides the early Dutch voyages, and the travels of Baldæus already referred to, there is the great work of Valentyn, '*Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien.*' Tennent refers frequently to this work. There is one copy in our own library at Calcutta, and there is another, wanting the first volume, at Madras. No doubt, a student acquainted with Dutch would find the works of numerous other authors at Batavia and Amsterdam.

It remains to notice official records and periodicals. I believe there are now few records of value at Goa. All that survived have been transferred to Lisbon, and are to be found there in the Torre do Tombo and other collections of Archives. But a very valuable work has been published at Goa

by Sr. da Cunha Rivara from the records of the 16th century. This work the “*Arquivo Portuguez oriental*” is in five fasciculi, comprising altogether eight volumes. Of these, fasciculus No. 1 is out of print, the remaining seven volumes may be obtained from the *Imprensa Nacional* at Goa. The contents of the eight vols. are as follows :

Fasciculus 1, letters from the Kings of Portugal to the City of Goa.

Do. 2. Book of the privileges of the City of Goa.

Do. 3 (2 parts or vols). Letters and instructions from the Kings of Portugal to the Viceroy and Governors of India, and also charters and ordinances of the Kings and Viceroy.

Do. 4. The Ecclesiastical Councils held at Goa and the Synod of Diampar.

Do. 5. (3 parts). Various documents of the 16th century. Among these are important regulations regarding the administration of justice, the management of the Goa hospital, military and commercial matters. The references to the contemporary history of Muhammadan India are not very many. There are, however, some diplomatic documents referring to Bījápúr.

In the preface to his third fasciculus, Sr. da Cunha Rivara discusses an interesting question regarding some of the 16th century records. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the intercourse between India and Portugal was chiefly carried on by annual fleets to and fro, and the annual letters that they carried. As the arrival and despatch of the fleets were regulated by the monsoons, the registers containing copies of official letters were known as the ‘*Livros das Monções*,’ ‘*Books of the Monsoons*.’ At the time Sr. Rivara wrote his preface, the record rooms at Goa appear to have contained fragments of the “*Livros*” for the years 1568 and 1583, then a series from 1584 to about the end of the century, and then (after a gap of fifty years) a continuous series from 1651 to modern times. It was long believed that the absence of the “*Livros*” earlier than 1568 had been caused by the Marquis de Pombal, under whose orders sixty volumes of the series were despatched to Portugal in 1777. Sr. Rivara, however, proves that the sixty volumes so despatched, were those between 1606 and 1651, and that *they* at least are safely housed in the *Torre do Tombo* at Lisbon. About the same time, and in obedience to the same order all the ecclesiastical records of an early date were also sent to Lisbon, but these, it seems, have been lost sight of.

I believe I am right in adding that the remaining “*Livros das Monções*” have been recently transmitted to Lisbon, since the publication of Sr. Rivara’s *Arquivo*. Possibly some of the missing records are to be found in our own British Museum; for Sir Emerson Tennent in the introduction to his “*Ceylon*” writes—“Within the last few years, the Trustees of the British

Museum purchased from the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothesay the diplomatic correspondence and papers of Sebastiao Jozé Carvalho e Mello (Portuguese Ambassador at London and Vienna, and subsequently known as the Marquis de Pombal) from 1738 to 1747, including sixty volumes relating to the history of the Portuguese possessions in India and Brazil during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Amongst the latter are forty volumes of despatches relative to India entitled *Collecção Authentica de todas as Leys, Regimentos, Alvarás e mais ordens que se expediram para a India, desde o estabelecimento destas conquistas. Ordenada por proviram de 28 de Marco de 1754.* Mss. Brit. Mus., Nos. 20,861 to 20,900."

The "Arquivo" is so far defective that it only gives the outward despatches and letters from Lisbon to Goa together with other documents issued in India. It does not give despatches from Goa to Lisbon, which would be of yet greater value to the student of Indian History. I cannot gather from Sr. Rivara's preface to the third fasciculus where these are, nor does he expressly state that the early "Livros das Monções" are lost beyond recovery. Perhaps the introduction to his first fasciculus, which I have not been able to obtain, throws some light on these points. This much is certain. The Torre do Tombo and other libraries at Lisbon contain a number of valuable records of both the 16th and the 17th century, though it would seem from the preface to "Gaspar Correa" that they are not valued as they deserve to be. I must add that Sr. Rivara's "Arquivo," though *richer* towards the end, contains a great many documents belonging to the early part of the 16th century. The early "Livros das Monções" have been lost, but there were other early records which Sr. Rivara by publication has saved from a similar fate.

Many articles of historical and antiquarian value have been published in the "Boletim do Governo," the "Government Gazette" of Portuguese India. Among those of recent numbers may be enumerated the "Capitulos de um livro inedito," containing information as to ecclesiastical matters in the 17th century, and a series of Treaties of the same period. Many similar articles are scattered through back numbers of the Boletim, including, I believe, an account of the records by Sr. Felipe Neri Xavier. I hope Sr. Rivara, under whose auspices the majority have been published, will collect and republish these papers in a separate form. It is much to have saved ancient records from destruction, but the service to History will be enhanced by republication. Papers are not readily accessible when scattered through the old files of a Gazette.

I may mention here that Sr. Rivara in addition to the numerous publications above referred to, is the author or editor of several other important works more or less connected with our present subject; among these an historical essay on the Concan, or dialect, of Goa; a dictionary and grammar of the same;

a publication regarding village communities; and several regarding the ecclesiastical rights of the Crown of Portugal and the Archbishop of Goa—vexed questions among the Roman Catholics of India.

Two facts regarding other records may be added from Day's Cochin.

1. The Dutch Government records of Cochin are, it seems, still there, and apparently the early volumes refer to the capture, or to the period immediately following the capture, from the Portuguese (page 121).

2. The records of the Verapoly Monastery were lost in the river, as the priests were endeavouring to carry them away from Tippu's troops in 1790 (Chronology at end of book).

So far I have only referred to European accounts of Portuguese India, but what Indian authors are there on the subject? Hindús, who care so little for history, are not likely to give us much help, but it is different with Muhammadans. They are given to chronicle writing, and we may fairly expect some account of the Portuguese from them. As yet, however, I have not found any special Muhammadan history on the subject, except the "*Tuhfat ul Mujáhidín*." This is a valuable work, as it describes the wars of the Portuguese and Muhammadans between 1498 and 1583, from a Muhammadan point of view. There is an English translation, No. 30, in the series of the Oriental Translation Committee.

Firishtah must be consulted, because his histories of the Dakhin States are so full, and refer specially to the period when the Portuguese power was at its height. The eleventh chapter, on the Muhammadans in Malabar, is founded on the *Tuhfat ul Mujáhidín*. Besides this, Briggs gives in an appendix an epitome of the wars of the Portuguese in India. But Firishtah's allusions to the Portuguese, except in the eleventh chapter, are very meagre. He gives a brief account of the death of King Bahádur, and of the siege of Chaul by Burhán Nizám Sháh in 1592, but he does not even mention the great siege of Díú. Still the constant references to the Muhammadan kings by Portuguese historians, and the constant intercourse that must have gone on between the Orientals and the European invaders, render it necessary to consult Firishtah.

Next to Firishtah may be mentioned the *Mir-át i Ahmadí*, with its translation by Bird, and the *Mir-át i Sikandarí*, on which the *Mir-át i Ahmadí* was founded.

Firishtah's History of Bijápúr was prematurely closed in 1596, while we seek for information down to 1663. The following supplementary histories of the Dakhin states and particularly of Bijápúr, the one that had most dealings with Goa, are described in Mr. Morley's list of the historical manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Tazkirah i Ahwál i Saláṭín i Bijápúr, composed in 1806 from two earlier histories of the 'Adil Sháhí dynasty. Morley describes this work as concise, but valuable.

Basátín us Salátín. This is also a modern manuscript (1824), but the preface enumerates the authorities from which it was compiled.

Muntakhab i Tawáríkh i Bahrí, containing a history of the Nizámsháhí dynasty.

Táríkh i Sultán Muhammad Quṭbsháhí, a history of the Quṭbsháhí dynasty of Golkonda; an abridgement of this is also given in Brigg's *Firishtah*. Mr. Bird in his account of Bijápúr refers to another history the "*Táríkh i Haft kursí*" and also to the "*Táríkh i Asad Khání*," which he appears to consider as the same work under a different name. He says that the "*Tá-ríkh i Haft kursí*" was written in the reign of 'Alí 'Ádil Sháh II. (1656 to 1672).

I have not seen any of these manuscript histories of the Dakhin states, but mention them as to some extent bearing on the subject. The names given by Portuguese authors are frequently unintelligible until compared with Persian accounts. But it is not likely that any of these histories give more than casual allusions to the Portuguese.

Passing from the Dakhin to the Mughul histories—

The *Ṭabaqat i Akbarí* contains a few references to the Portuguese, including an account of King Bahádur's death. It refers also to the construction of the Súrat fort against the depredations of the Portuguese.

The *Akbarnámah* refers to King Bahádur's death, and gives some account of the Jesuit missions at Akbar's court. Probably it contains other references to the Portuguese, but I have not yet examined the *Akbarnámah*. I hope Mr. Blochmann, who is so well acquainted with the Persian histories of this period, will add some further account of these references. The *Inshá i Abulfazl* contains a letter from Akbar, a translation of which is given by Hough in his second volume, page 261. This is said to have been intended for the King of Portugal, but the address in my copy of the *Inshá* is "*Dá-náyán i Farang*," as though intended for the Jesuits.

The *Muntakhab ul-tawáríkh* of Badáoní also refers to Díú and to the Jesuit missions at Akbar's court. Mr. Blochmann's extracts, attached in a note to the 77th *Aín*, read with the Jesuit account, give a vivid picture of Akbar and his court.

The *Dabistán* contains an account of the Christian religion derived from the Portuguese priests, and gives a sample of the discussions before Akbar.

The *Tuzuk i Jahángirí* alludes in several places to Muqarrab Khán and to Súrat affairs. One passage appears to refer to the attack by Azevedo on Downton's ships in 1614. Elsewhere the *Tuzuk* refers to presents from the Portuguese and to some Portuguese in Jahángír's employ.

The *Pádisháhnámah*, page 433, Vol. I, gives a detailed account of the siege and capture of Húglí. Farther on, this is again referred to in letters to Nazr Muhammad Khán, the ruler of Balkh, and to the Sháh of Persia. At

page 534, the fate of the captives is described. In the second volume, there is an account of the Portuguese at Chittagong.

Kháfí Khán, the most useful of the Muhammadan historians after Firishtah, also gives an account of the siege of Húglí, prefixing to it an interesting description of the Portuguese from his point of view. A fuller description is found in the second volume, page 400, reign of 'Álamgír.

Mr. Blochmann, to whom I am indebted for several of the above references, tells me that the Portuguese are frequently mentioned in the Maásir ul Umará, a work containing biographies of the great men of the Mughul empire, and that there are occasional bigoted allusions to them in the Farhang i Rashídí, a Persian dictionary written in 1653.

A certain amount of information is scattered through different periodicals. No. 3 of the Calcutta Review contains an article on the Jesuit missions ; No. 10, the Portuguese in North India ; No. 51, the Shiry Family ; No. 57, the Inquisition at Goa ; No. 77, the Life of Xavier ; Nos. 102 and 103, Topography of the Mogul Empire ; No. 105, the Feringhees of Chittagong.

The Asiatic Researches contain articles on Malabar ; The Syrian Christians ; Nobili's imitation of the Veda ; and Bījápúr.

The Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is singularly deficient in articles bearing on our subject. The volume for 1841 mentions the Portuguese in connection with Arakan. That for 1843 contains an interesting account of Abyssinia, and the Portuguese missions there, and the volume for 1844 contains an article called "Political events in the Carnatic from 1564 to 1687," which may be considered to have a distant connection with the contemporary history of Portuguese India. There is also a modern account of Socotra, but so far as I have seen, there is not a single article devoted specially to Portuguese Asia.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society is as deficient as our own in this respect. I cannot find a single article specially devoted to Portuguese India, but the following appear to have a distant bearing on the subject ; Vol. II, Transactions, Diplomatic relations between the courts of Delhi and Constantinople, in the 16 and 17 centuries. Vols. I and II, Journal, Memoir on the Syrian Christians ; Vol. II, Sea ports on the coast of Malabar ; Vol. V, (or VI,?) account of the Sherley family ; Vol. VII, Tribes of the Northern Concan ; Vol. V (new series), on Malabar, &c.

The last series of the "Journal Asiatique" gives no help. I have not seen the earlier series. We might expect more assistance from Bombay, as that Presidency has been always intimately connected with Portuguese India. But so far as I have ascertained, there is not much. Vol. II of the Bombay Literary Transactions contains a Turkish account of a naval expedition in the sixteenth century with references to the Portuguese. I have not seen Vol. III., but I believe it contains a description of Bījápúr, and

possibly some other articles connected with the subject. I believe there are some articles in the Journal of the Bombay Geographical Society. The Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society contains (1841) Translations from De Couto; (1844) Bird's description of Bījápúr; (1849) Maráthí works composed by the Portuguese; (1868) Translations of Portuguese Inscriptions found at Bombay.

The Bombay Quarterly Review, vol. 4, contains an interesting article by the late Mr. Anderson regarding the capture of Bassein and other Portuguese forts between Bombay and Daman by the Maráthas. This, however, was in the eighteenth century, and our present review does not extend to a later date than 1663.

Doubtless there are numerous articles scattered through the Journals and Proceedings of the various Societies at Madras, Singapore, Batavia, Amsterdam, and Lisbon, but these I have not yet examined.

More valuable than most of the above, for our present purpose, is the "Chronista de Tissuary," a periodical which appeared at Goa under the editorship of Sr. Rivara, between 1866 and 1869. Every article in this is of value, though many refer to a period in the history of Portuguese India later than that under review. It contains among other papers an account of transactions with 'Adil Sháh, treaties of peace with Jahángír and Sháh Jahán, descriptions of the Portuguese fortresses as they were in 1634, and notes of the inscriptions existing at the present day. Copies of the inscriptions with which the fortress of Díú is covered, have been published by Sr. Rivara in a separate pamphlet.

The "Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas" appears to have been a similar periodical of earlier date. This statement, however, is subject to correction, as I have not seen the "Gabinete Litterario."

The above summary of authorities regarding Portuguese India has been prepared, partly from a list given me by Sr. Rivara, partly from Faria y Sousa, and partly from other books in my possession. Sr. Rivara who is a member of the Bombay Asiatic Society, will be able to enlarge the list and to correct any details that may be faulty where Portuguese authors are referred to. I hope he will do me this favour, and if Mr. Blochmann will kindly render the same service where Muhammadan authors are quoted, or where other information may be available in the Society's Library, it will be a great assistance to students interested in the subject.



Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period).—PART I., *Geographical*.—PART II., *Historical, based on Inscriptions received from* GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., DR. J. WISE, E. V. WESTMACOTT, ESQ., W. L. HEELEY, ESQ., WALTER M. BOURKE, ESQ., &C., *and on unpublished coins, with notes by* E. V. WESTMACOTT, ESQ., *and* DR. J. WISE.—By H. BLOCHMANN, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

In the end of last year, General Cunningham, Director of the Archæological Survey of India, forwarded to the Asiatic Society, for publication in the Journal, a unique collection of rubbings of Muhammadan inscriptions from Bengal and various places up-country, and in the Proceedings of our Society for January last, I gave an account of the importance of these rubbings with reference to the history of Bengal. Dr. J. Wise of Dacca, Mr. Walter Bourke, Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and Mr. W. L. Heeley, C. S., have also favoured the Society with valuable rubbings and notes on the localities where they were obtained, and I shall delay no longer to carry out the wishes of the donors and publish my readings with a few notes suggested by the subject. I have also examined our coin cabinet, which I found to contain some unpublished Bengal coins of great value.

The importance of mural and medallie evidence for Bengal History arises from the paucity and meagreness of written sources. Whilst for the history of the Dihlí Empire we possess general and special histories, often the work of contemporaneous writers, we have only secondary sources and incidental remarks for the early Muhammadan period of Bengal, *i. e.*, from A. D., 1203 to 1538. Nizámuddín Ahmad, who served Akbar as Bakhshí, the friend and protector of the historian Badáoní, is the first writer that gives in his *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, which were completed in 1590, a short connected account of the independent kings of Bengal from 1338 to 1538. For the time between 1203 and 1338, we depend on incidental remarks made by Dihlí writers, as *Minháj i Siráj*, *Baraní*, and 'Aḥf. *Firishtah*, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, has a chapter on the same period as Nizám; but though he gives a little more, it seems that he used the same, at present unknown, source as the author of the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. But there can be no doubt that this source was a work defective in chronology and meagre in details. *Firishtah* also cites a historical compilation by one Háji Muhammad of Qandahár, of which no copy is at present known to exist.

The latest writer on Bengal History is Ghulám Husain of Zaidpúr, poetically styled 'Salím,' who composed his *Riyázussaláṭín*, or 'the Gardens of Kings,' at the request of Mr. George Udney of Máldah. This work, the

title of which contains in the numerical value of the letters the date of its completion (A. H. 1202, or A. D. 1787-88), is rare, but is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time. From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point.* His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salím has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Stewart, who used the Riyáz as the basis of his History of Bengal, has given a translation of the greater part of the work; but from a leaning to Firishtah he has left out useful passages, which will be found below.

A commentary on Inscriptions necessarily contains references to the history and the geography of the country; but in order not to overload the subject with unconnected remarks, I have, in the following, separated the geographical from the historical portion, and have thus found means to collect, in a convenient way, numerous stray notes which for several years have been accumulating in the course of my historical studies.

* When quoting this unknown source, Salím uses phrases as '*dar risálah e dídah-am,*' 'I have seen in some pamphlet,' or '*ba-qaule,*' 'according to another statement,' &c.

The Asiatic Society Library has one MS. of the Riyázussaláṭín (No. 526), written in bold *shikastah*, 277 pages, 8vo., 15 lines per page, copied in 1851 at Hajípúr by one Sadrúddín Ahmad. Beginning—*Jahán jahán hamd sazawár i bárgáh i jahán-áfaríne ast, kih ín mazáhir i kauní-rá ba-yad i qudrat i kámilah i khwésh ba-hilyah i wujúd muhalla sákhtah*, &c. The work consists of a Preface in four parts, and four Chapters, of which the last contains two parts. The end contains the following description of the character of the "new rulers"—

"The English among the Christians are adorned with the head-dress of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war, and in festivities, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are unrivalled; and their truthfulness is so great, that they would not break a promise, should they even lose their lives. They admit no liar to their society, are pious, faithful, pitiful, and honorable. They have neither learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the page of vice; and though their religion is opposed to ours, they do not interfere with the religion, rites, and propagation of the Muhammadan faith.

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر بیکیا میکشد خواب یک خواب است باشد مختلف تعبیرها

All wrangling about faith and heresy leads to the same place: the dream is one and the same dream, though the interpretations may differ."

PART I.—GEOGRAPHICAL.

Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtyár Khiljí in A. D. 1203, Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts—(1) Ráḍha, the country west of the Húglí and south of the Ganges; (2) Bagḍi, the delta of the Ganges; (3) Banga, the country to the east of, and beyond, the delta; (4) Barendra, the country to the north of the Padma (Podda) and between the Karatayá and the Mahánandá rivers; and (5) Mithilá, the country west of the Mahánandá. We do not know whether these names refer to revenue districts, or merely indicate (as they now do) popular divisions based upon the course of principal rivers; but as the different orders of Bráhmans and Káyasths take their distinctive names from these divisions, it may be assumed that they existed or were recognized at the time of Ballála Sen, who classified the two castes.

The ease with which Bakhtyár Khiljí took possession of Bengal by his surprise of Nadiyá,* the then capital, stands unparalleled in history, unless we compare it with the almost peaceful transfer of the same country, five hundred and fifty-five years later, from the Muhammadans to the East India Company. But it would be wrong to believe that Bakhtyár Khiljí conquered the whole of Bengal: he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilá, Barendra, the northern portions of Ráḍha, and the north-western tracts of Bagḍi. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of Lak'hnautí, and its extent is described by the author of the *Ṭabaqát i Náṣirí*, who says that the country of Lak'hnautí lies to both sides of the Ganges and consists of two wings: the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokoṭ belongs; and the western has the name of Rál [*i. e.*, Ráḍha], to which Lak'hnúr belongs. Hence the same writer also distinguishes† Lak'hnautí-Deokoṭ from Lak'hnautí-Lak'hnúr. From the town of Lak'hnautí to Deokoṭ on the one side, and from Lak'hnautí to the door of Lak'hnúr, on the other side, an embanked road (*pul*) passes, ten days' march. Distinct from the country of Lak'hnautí is Banga (*diyár i Bang*, Bangadesh, *Ṭabaqát*, p. 267), and in this part of Bengal the descendants of the Lak'hmaniyah kings of Nadiyá still reigned in A. H. 658, or 1260, A. D., when Minháj i Siráj, the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, wrote his history.‡ Deokoṭ, which still gives name to a large parganah, was correctly identified by Buchanan with the old fort near Damdamá, on the left bank of the Púrná-

* Lak'hman Sen, the last king of Bengal, though called king, cannot have been much more than the principal zamíndár of his time. "He was a liberal man," says the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, "and never gave less than a lak'h of cowries, when he made a present—may God lessen his punishment in hell!"

† *Ṭabaqát*, pp. 162, 242.

‡ *Ṭabaqát Náṣirí*, p. 151. Thus an expedition against Banga by the governor of Lak'hnautí is mentioned in 657. *Ṭabaqát Náṣirí*, p. 267.

bhaba, south of Dínájpúr. Close to it lies Gangarámpúr with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription known in Bengal.* Lak'hnúr,† the town or 'thanah' of the other "wing," has not yet been identified. The name occurs in no Muhammadan history after the time of the Ṭabaqát i Náçirí, and the only hint given is, that it lay west of the Húglí, on the road, at about the same distance from Lak'hnautí city as Deokot lay from the capital—which would be the northern portion of District Bírghúm.

Minháç's remark that Banga was, in 1260, still in the hands of Lak'h-man Sen's descendants, is confirmed by the fact that Sunnárgáon is not mentioned in the Ṭabaqát; nor does it occur on the coins of the first century of Muhammadan rule. It is first mentioned in the *Tárikh i Baraní* as the residence, during Balban's reign, of an independent Rái; but under Tughluq Sháh (A. D. 1323), Sunnárgáon and Sátgáon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muhammadan governors, the term 'Bangálah' being now applied to the united provinces of Lak'hnautí, Sátgáon, and Sunnárgáon.‡

The *Tárikh i Baraní*, the *Tárikh i Fírúzsháhí* by 'Afíf, and the *Travels of Ibn Baṭúṭah* yield but little additional information. Fírúzábád, or Paṇḍuah (north of Máldahá, or Máldah) which General Cunningham significantly calls 'Hazrat Paṇḍuah,' or 'Paṇḍuah, the Residence,' appears as the new capital, and in connexion with it Fort Ekdálah, said to be 'near Paṇḍuah.' The actual site of this fort is still a matter of doubt; even the

* Of Kai Káuś Sháh, A. D. 1297. *Journal*, A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I., p. 102.

† Major Raverty, of whose translation of the Ṭabaqát two fasciculi have just appeared, informs me that all his best MSS. have لکھنور, Lak'hnúr. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition has لکھنور, and often also لکور; and it was, no doubt, the last spelling that led Stewart to substitute Nágor (in western Bírghúm), which certainly lies in the direction indicated. Outside of the Marátha wall of Nágor, we have a Lak'hí-púr and a Lak'hínáráyanpúr.

‡ Baraní, p. 452. He spells Satgáon, not Sátgáon. It is almost useless to remark on the geography of Bengal as given in the Ṭabaqát before the appearance of Major Raverty's translation, who has collated nearly all existing MSS. of the work. The *Bibliotheca Indica* edition is untrustworthy. Taking it, however, as it is, we find the following places mentioned—Núdiyah, in this spelling, for Nadiyá; Lak'hnautí; Banga; Rál (Rádha); Barendra; Lak'hnúr; Deokot; Nárkotí (?), دیار کونی, ناركوتی, pp. 156 to 158; کتکتوری, کتکوری, p. 158; مکیدہ (?), and منطوس (perhaps سنقوس), p. 158; Bangáon, p. 153; Fort Bishnkoṭ, founded by Husámuddín 'Iwaz near Lak'hnautí, pp. 180, 243. Besides these, a few places are mentioned on the frontiers of Bengal, as Kámruḍ (always with this spelling) for Kámruṭ; دیار سکناٹ, Jagannáth (Púrí)?; and a few places in Ásám or Tibbat; ارمردن, p. 263; and Jájnapar, regarding which *vide* below.

The *Tárikh i Firishtah* furnishes the isolated fact of the foundation of Rangpúr by Bakhtyár Khiljí on the frontier of Bengal (Lucknow Edition, p. 293).

author of the *Riyázussaláṭin*, who lived in the neighbourhood of Máldah and Paṇḍuah, says nothing about it.*

About 850 A. H. (A. D. 1446), during the reign of Náṣiruddín Mahmúd Sháh, the capital was transferred to Gaur. Thus Lak'hnautí is henceforth again called in history. The transfer, though it may have been connected with the restoration of an old dynasty, was unfortunate. Gaur lies in the middle between the Ganges and the Mahánandá, thus occupying, as is the case in all Deltaic lands, the lowest site; and east of it lies the Kallak Sajá marsh, called in the *Áin Chuttiá-pattiá*, into which the drainage of the town opened. Every increase in the waters of the Ganges caused the marsh, which is connected with it, to rise, and "if the [earthen] embankment broke, the town was under water,"† and the drainage was driven back into the town. Hence the removal of the capital, a short time afterwards, to Tánḍah,‡ and the ultimate desertion of the town as a fever centre for Ráj-mahall.

The meagre information supplied by the *Ṭabaqát i Nizámí* and *Firish-tah* throws no further light on the geography of Bengal, but leaves the impression that during the reigns of the independent kings (A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D., 1338 to 1538) the extent of Muhammadan Bengal was the same as what we find it in A. D. 1582, the year in which Todar Mall prepared his rent-roll of Bengal, a copy of which Abul Fazl has given in the *Áin*.

The coins and inscriptions of the above period yield a few particulars. We have the seven Bengal mint towns given by Thomas,§ to which I can

* Mr. Thomas compares with Ekdálah the name of 'Jugdula,' a village east of Hazrat Paṇḍuah, towards the Púrnábhaba. The Indian Atlas Sheet No. 119 also mentions a village Jagdal due north of Máldahá, near the Mahánandá, in Lat. $25^{\circ} 17' 30''$, and a 'Jugdul' and a 'Jugdál' will be found south-east of Gaur, Long. $88^{\circ} 28'$, Lat. $24^{\circ} 42'$. Even in other parts the name is common; for Jagdal is the Bangálí 'Jogoddul,' 'a leaf of the world,' the world being the lotus, and each town a petal of it. Another Ekdálah will be found on the same sheet, south-east of Bogra (Bagurá), Long. $89^{\circ} 40' 30''$, Lat. $24^{\circ} 35' 45''$, and a third is in Rájsháhí, a little south-west of Nátor. The name seems to be the Bangálí একদল, 'having one wing;' and Dodalá 'having two wings,' occurs likewise as a name of villages.

† *Áin i Akbarí*.

‡ Rennell marks 'Taral' near the Paglá River (a branch of the Ganges and perhaps the old bed of the river), south-west of the fort of Gaur. "Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes, in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganges was wont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water." Ralph Fitch.

The losses of Akbar's Bengal army in Gaur will be found in my *Áin* translation, p. 376.

§ Lak'hnautí, Fírúzábád (Paṇḍuah), Sátgáon, Shahr i Nau (?), Ghiyáspúr, Sunnárágáon, and Mu'azzamábád. *Chronicles*, p. 151.

now add three more, *viz.* Fathábád, Khalífatábád, and Husainábád, which will be discussed below. The inscriptions reveal the important fact, that Bengal was divided into revenue divisions called Mahalls, over which, as in the Dihlí empire, Shiqdárs* were placed, and into larger circles under ‘Sarlashkars,’ or military commanders, who have often also the title of Vazír (Díwán). Of places mentioned on inscriptions I may cite—Iqlím Mu’az-zamábád (Eastern Maimansingh); Thánah Láúr (north-western Silhat,—both occur also united under the same Sarlashkar); Sarhat, in western Bírghúm, now in the Santal Parganahs; Láopallah, east of the Island in the Húglí opposite Tribení Ghát, evidently in olden times an important place as lying at the point where the Jabuná leaves the Húglí and commences her tortuous course, first easterly, then southerly, into the Sundarban;† and also several places which have not yet been identified, as Simlábád, Hádigarh, and Sájla-Mankhbád.‡

From the middle of the 16th century we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical ‘Da Asia’ by Joao de Barros (died 1570); and the graphic descriptions of Cæsar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583 to 1591). Nor must I forget the Persian traveller Amín Rází, an uncle of Núr Jahán, who composed his ‘Haft Iqlím’ in A. H. 1002 (A. D. 1594); but it is doubtful whether he visited Bengal, or merely wrote down what he heard at Ágrah. I shall occasionally refer to the works of these travellers below.§

But by far the most interesting contribution to the geography of Bengal, in spite of the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., is Todar Mall’s rent-roll. Though of 1582, it may be assumed that Todar Mall merely gave in it what he found to exist with regard to both divisions and revenue; for Bengal was only subjugated during Jahángír’s reign, and properly assessed

* How extensively the Hindús were employed as revenue officers may be seen from the fact that the Arabic-Persian *Shiqdár* and *Majmu’ahdár* have become Bangálí family names, generally spelt ‘Sikdar’ and ‘Mozoomdar.’

† The island opposite Tribení has a conspicuous place on De Barros’ Map of Bengal and on that by Blaeu (*vide* Pl. IV.). The maps also agree with Abul Fazl’s statement in the Aín, that at Tribení there are three branches, one the Saraswatí, on which Sât-gáon lies; the other, the Ganga, now called the Húglí; and the third, the Joní or Jabuná (Jamuná). De Barros and Blaeu’s Maps shew the three branches of almost equal thickness, the Saraswatí passing Satigam (Sât-gáon), and Chouma (Chaumuhá in Húglí District, north), and the Jabuná flowing westwards to Buram (Boṛhan, in the 24-Parganahs).

‡ Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 284.

§ I have not mentioned Nicolò de Conti’s Travels (1419 to 1444, A. D.), because he only mentions one town in Bengal, *Cernove* on the Ganges, which Col. Yule has identified with the ‘Shahr i Nau,’ or ‘New Town’ on Sikandar Sháh’s coin of 1379 (Thomas, In. Coinage of Bengal, Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, p. 65); but the position of this town is still a matter of doubt.

by Prince Shujá' a short time before 1658. In the *Aín* we find that Bengal proper was divided into 19 Sirkárs, and 682 Mahalls. Eight of the 19 Sirkárs, and 204 of the 682 Mahalls, have Muhammadan names. The rent-roll included both the *khálichah* ('genuine,' *vulgo* khalsa) or crownlands, and the *aqtá* or *jágír* lands, *i. e.* lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or maintenance of troops. The distribution of the Sirkárs depended, as in the old Hindú division, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathí, and Megna, or, as the *Aín* expresses it, on the courses of the Padmáwatí, Ganga, and Brahmaputra, as will be seen from the following list of the Sirkárs.

A. Sirkárs North and East of the Ganges.

1. Sirkár Lak'hnautí, or Jannatábád, extending from Taliágarhí (K'halgáon, Colgong) along the northern banks of the Ganges, and including a few mahalls now belonging to district Bhágalpúr and Púrniah, and nearly the whole of Máldah district. Besides Gaur, this Sirkár contained the ancient town of Rángamáti.* 66 mahalls; khalsa revenue, Rs. 471,174.†

2. Sirkár Púrniah, or Púranniah, the greater and chiefly westerly portion of the present district of Púrniah, as far as the Mahánanda.‡ 9 mahalls; revenue Rs. 160,219.

3. Sirkár Tájpúr, extending over Eastern Púrniah east of the Mahánandá, and Western Dínájpúr. 29 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 162,096.

4. Sirkár Panjrah, so called from the Hawelí mahall Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dínájpúr, on the Atrai River, comprising the greater part of Dínájpúr district. 21 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 145,081.

5. Sirkár G'horág'hát, so called from the town of G'horág'hát or Chauk'handí on the right bank of the Karatayá, comprising portions of Dínájpúr, Rangpúr, and Bagurá (Bograh) districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Being a frontier district towards Koeh Bihár and Koch Hájo, it contained numerous jágír lands of Afghán chiefs and their descendants. The Sirkár produced a great deal of raw silk. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 202,077.§

6. Sirkár Bárbakábád, so called from Bárbak Sháh, king of Bengal (*vide* below), and extending from Sirkár Lak'hnautí along the Podda to Bagurá. It comprises portions of Máldah and Dínájpúr, and a large part of Rájsháhí, and Bagurá. Its cloths were well known, especially the stuffs

* Máldah is once mentioned in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángírí* (p. 178)—“When I [Jahángír] was prince, I had made a promise to Mír Ziyáuddín of Qazwín, a Saifí Sayyid, who has since received the title of Muṭafá Khán, to give him and his children Parganah Máldah, a well known Parganah in Bengal. This promise was now performed (A. D. 1617).”

† Akbarsháhí Rupees (1 Rupee = 40 dáms). Grant substitutes ‘Sicca Rupees,’ at 2s. 3d.

‡ It seems as if the Mahánandá, in its upper course, is often called Mahánadí. Van den Broucke calls it on his map ‘Martnade.’

§ Some MSS. have 209,577 Rs.

called *kháçah* (the “koses” of old writers) as the *kháçah* of Shahbázpúr, the *çahan* (سحان, the ‘sanés,’ or ‘sahnes’ of Dutch writers), and the *múminí*. 38 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 436,288.

7. *Sirkár Bá z ú h á*, extending from the preceding across the Brahmaputra into Silhat, comprising portions of Rájsháhí, Bagurá, Pabná, Maiman Singh, and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of Dháká (Dacca).* The name ‘Bázúhá’ is the plural of the Persian word *bázú*, ‘an arm, a wing;’ and all mahalls in this Sirkár have the word *bázú* after their name, which on our survey maps appears under the Bangálí form ‘Bajoo.’† 32 mahalls; revenue, the largest of all Sirkárs, Rs. 987,921. To this Sirkár belonged Dháká, and Sherpúr Murcha, or Mihmánsháhí, south of Bagurá on the Karataya, which is several times mentioned in the Akbarnámah as a military station.

8. *Sirkár Silhat*, adjacent to the preceding, chiefly east of the Surmá River. As will be seen below, the country was only conquered by the Muhammadans in the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continual invasions from Tiparah and Ásám. According to Marco Polo, the Áín, and the Tuzuk, Silhat supplied India with eunuchs. Jahángír issued an edict forbidding the people of Silhat to castrate boys. Like Kámrúp, Silhat is also often mentioned as the land of wizards and witches, and the fame of its *jádú*, or witchcraft, is still remembered at the present day. 8 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 167,032.

9. *Sirkár Sunn á r g á o n*, to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, containing portions of western Tiparah, Bhaluá, and Noák’hálí, subject to repeated attacks by the Rájahs of Tiparah and Arakan. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 258,283. The *Haft Iqlím* gives Rs. 330,000.

* Stewart says that Dháká is a modern town, “because the name does not occur in the Áín.” But it does; *vide* my text edition, p. 407, where the Mahall to which it belongs, is called Dhakká Bázú. In Gladwin’s spelling ‘Dukha Bazoo’ it is, however, scarcely recognizable. Dháká occurs in the Akbarnámah as an Imperial thánah in 1584; and Sir A. Phayre (*vide* above, p. 53) mentions it in 1400.

† Thus the country west of Pabna is called ‘Bajooras’ and east of it ‘Bajoochup’—corruptions of *Bázú i rást*, ‘the right wing,’ and *Bázú i chap* ‘the left wing.’ Other corruptions are—Esub, or Eshub, or Esop, or Isaf, for ‘Yúsuf;’ thus ‘Esubshye,’ for ‘Yúsuf-sháhí;’ Nasipore, for Nasíbpúr, (from Naçíb Sháh); Nujeepore, for Najíbpúr; Haleeshur (opposite Tribení) for Hálíshahr, = Hawelí i Shahr [Sátgáon]; Mahomedshye for Mahmúdsháhí, (Jessore); Bajitpore, for Bá y az í dpúr (in Dínájpúr); Juffurshye, for Zafarsháhí, (not Ja’farsháhí); Kali Modunpúr (which sounds like a Hindú name), Kalím-uddín púr; Puladassy, north of Bagurá, for Fúládsháhí; Masidpore and Majidpore, for Masjidpúr (*vide* Beames, Comp. Grammar, p. 209).

In the spelling of Bengal names care should be taken with the frequent ending *daha*, ‘eddy,’ as Máldahá, spelt in Persian Máldah; but the final *h* is radical, and the name should not be spelt Máldá, as Málwah, Rájah, &c., = Málwá, Rájá, &c.

Aurangzíb forbade by edict spellings like Málwah, Rájah, &c.; he wanted people to spell Málwá, Rájá.

10. *Sirkár Chátgáon* (Chittagong), never properly annexed before the reign of Aurangzib. 7 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 285,607.

B. Sirkárs in the Delta of the Ganges.

11. *Sirkár Sátgáon*. A small portion only, the land between the Húglí and the Saraswatí, lay west of the Húglí, whilst the bulk of the Sirkár comprised the modern district of the 24-Parganahs to the Kabadak, western Nadiyá, south-western Murshidábád, and extended in the south to Hatiágarh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sirkár belonged Mahall Kalkattá (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauza's, paid, in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. 53 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 418,118.

12. *Sirkár Mahmúdábád*, so called after one of the three Mahmúd Sháhs of Bengal, and comprising northern Nadiyá, northern Jessore, and western Farídpúr. 88 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 290,256.

13. *Sirkár Khalífatábád*, or southern Jessore and western Báqirganj. The Sirkár is called after Khalífatábád, which was the name of the small Hawelí-parganah near Bágherhát (*vide* below). The largest mahall of this Sirkár was Jesar (Jessore), or Rasúlpúr ; and among others, we find here the Mahalls Múndagáchha and Malikpúr, which the Khán i A'zam, when governor of Bengal under Akbar (*Aín* translation, p. 326), is said to have given to Bhabeshwar Rái, the ancestor of the present Rájahs of Jesar. The name of Jesar, therefore, occurs as early in 1582 ; hence Van den Broucke's map (1660) also gives it conspicuously as 'Jessore.*' 35 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 135,053.

14. *Sirkár Fathábád*, so called after Fath Sháh, king of Bengal, comprising a small portion of Jessore, the whole of Farídpúr, southern Báqirganj, portions of Dháká district, and the Islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr, Sondíp, and Sidhú, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Farídpúr lies in the Hawelí Parganah of Fathábád. 3 mahalls, revenue, Rs. 199,239.

15. *Sirkár Baklá*,† or Ismá'ílápúr, north-east of the preceding, comprising portions of Báqirganj and Dháká districts. It is the *Bacala* of old maps. 4 mahalls ; revenue, Rs. 178,756.

C. Sirkárs South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathí (Húglí).

16. *Sirkár Audambar*, or Tándah, comprising the greater portion of Murshidábád district, with portions of Bírghúm. The name Audambar occurs also in other parts of India, *e. g.* in Kachh.‡ Tándah did not long enjoy the position of capital : Sher Sháh already had made plans to remove it

* *Vide*, however, Westland, Jessore Report, p. 29.

† The author of the *Siyarul Mutaakhkharín* calls it Hoglá (هوگلا), from the Bangálí word *hoglá*, which signifies marsh reed—a name which no doubt explains the name of Húglí ; but he strangely confounds Sirkár Baklá with Sirkár Sátgáon (Húglí).

‡ *Vide* Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, p. 248.

to Āg Mahall on the opposite bank. But this was only carried out by Rājāh Mān Singh, who changed the name of Āg Mahall to Rāj Mahall, and subsequently to Akbarnagar. The same Sirkār became again in later times under Prince Shujā' the seat of government, and later still under Nawāb Ja'far Murshīd Qulī Khān, who changed the name of the old town of Makhṣūcābād,* the *Muxabad* or *Muxadabad* of old maps, to Murshidābād. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 601,985. The Haft Iqlīm gives its revenue at Rs. 597,570.

17. Sirkār Sharífābād, south of the preceding, comprising the remaining portions of Bīrbhūm, and a large portion of Bardwān district, together with the town of Bardwān† itself. Mahalls Bārbak Singh and Fath Singh, so called after the Bengal kings Bārbak Shāh and Fath Shāh, and Sherpūr 'Atāī, where Mān Singh defeated the Afghāns (Aín translation, p. 341) also belonged to this Sirkār. 26 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 562,218.

18. Sirkār Sulaimānābād, a straggling Sirkār, which comprised a few southern parganahs in the modern districts of Nadiyā, Bardwān, and the whole north of Húglī district. This Sirkār was so called after Sulaimān Shāh of Bengal, who also called several parganahs after himself in Murshidābād, Jessore, and Bāqirganj districts; but whether the name was too long, or was purposely changed after Akbar's conquest of Bengal in honor of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), it only occurs now-a-days in the form 'Salīmābād.' The chief town of the Sirkār was Salīmābād [Sulaimānābād], on the left bank of the Damúdar, south-east of the town of Bardwān. It is marked as 'Silimath' on Van den Broucke's map. Olá (the old name of Bīrnagar) in Nadiyā, known from the Srīmanta legend, and Paṇḍuah, on the E. I. Railway, with its Buddhist ruins and ancient mosques, also belong to this Sirkār. 31 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 440,749.

19. Sirkār Madāran, extending in a semicircle from Nāgor in Western Bīrbhūm over Rānīganj along the Damúdar to above Bardwān, and from there over K'hand Ghosh, Jahānābād, Chandrakonā (Western Húglī District) to Mandalg'hāt, at the mouth of the Rúpnaráyan River. 16 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 235,085.

Thus the above nineteen Sirkārs, which made up Bengal in 1582, paid a revenue on khalsa lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, *hāts*, and

* The Akbarnāmah mentions a Makhṣūc Khān, brother of Sa'id Khān; *vide* my Aín translation, p. 388. Makhṣūc Khān served in Bengal and Bihār, and his brother Sa'id Khān was for some time governor of Bengal.

† The Muhammadan pronunciation of the Bangálí *Bordomán*. The Haft Iqlīm mentions an extraordinary custom that obtained in this Sirkār. "Feminae hujus provinciae instrumentum quoddam fictile penis instar in vulvam et in anum inferunt, ut sordes removeant. The old kings have in vain tried to break them off this habit."

Regarding the Muhammadan antiquities of Bardwān, *vide* Journal, As. Bengal, for 1871, Pt. I, p. 254.

fisheries, of 253,482,106 dáms, or Rs. 6,337,052.* According to Grant, the value of the *jágír* lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that we have, in 1582, A. D., as total revenue of Bengal, in its then circumscribed limits, the sum of Rs. 10,685,944. This was levied from the ryots in specie† as the equivalent of the *rub*, or fourth share, of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as despotic proprietary lord of the soil.

This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahángír. The remittances from Bengal to Dihlí were, it is true, not very regular, nor up to the sums levied, so much so that Jahángír appointed, in the end of his reign, Fidái Khán, governor of Bengal, merely because he promised to send regularly one million of rupees to court. Under Sháhjahán, the boundaries of Bengal were extended in the South-West, Medinípúr and Hijlí having been attached to Bengal, and in the East and North-East by conquests in Tiparah and Koch Hájo; and when Prince Shujá' was made governor, he made, shortly before 1658, a new rent-roll, which shewed 34 Sirkárs and 1350 Mahalls, and a total of revenue, on khalsa and *jágír* lands, of Rs. 13,115,907. Shujá's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the conquest of Chátgáon. In that year, Nawáb Ja'far Khán (Murshid Qulí Khán) issued his *Kámil Jama' Tûmári*, or 'Perfect Rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sirkárs, forming 13 Chaklahs, and sub-divided into 1660 Parganahs, with a revenue of Rs. 14,288,186.

It was, however, only after the rule of Nawáb Ja'far Khán that the *Abwáb* revenue‡ gradually appeared in the books. Though vast sums had been levied on this head, they had been looked upon as private emoluments of office. As early as in the tenure of Shujá' Khán, Nawáb Ja'far's successor, we find the Abwábs entered as yielding Rs. 2,172,952, and they rapidly increased under 'Alí Virdí Khán and Qásim Khán, so that, when the E. I. Company in 1765 acquired the Díwání, the *net* amount of all revenue collected by authority in Bengal was Rs. 25,624,223.

It is not my intention to enter here further in the historical portion of the revenue question of Bengal, nor shall I minutely describe the Sirkárs and the Mahalls or detail the historical and geographical

* Grant's total is Rs. 6,344,260, or Rs. 7,208 more, chiefly on account of the higher sum given by him for Sirkár G'horág'hát. Vth Report, p. 258.

† "The ryots (*ra'iyyat*) of Bengal are obedient and ready to pay taxes. During eight months of the year they pay the required sums by instalments. They personally bring the money in rupees and goldmuhurs to the appointed place. Payment in kind is not usual. Grain is always cheap. The people do not object to a survey of the lands, and the amount of the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot (*nasag*). His Majesty, from kindness, has not altered this system." *Aín i Akbarí*.

‡ Imposts as fees on the renewal of annual leases of zamíndárs (*khácnawísí*); *nazránahs*; fees for remission of imperial revenue; *zar i mahaut*, or impost levied for the maintenance of the Nawáb's elephants; and many more.

changes that took place; these I must necessarily reserve for the second volume of my *Aín* translation. But I shall now attempt to trace the frontiers of Bengal under the Muhammadan rule as far as existing historical sources allow us to do.

The Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal.

Abulfazl estimates the breadth of Bengal from Garhí to Chátgáon at four hundred *kos*. From north to south, the longest line was from Koch Bihár to Chittúá in Sirkár Medinípúr. "The zamíndárs are mostly Káyasths." Not a word is said on the strength of the Muhammadan population, or the progress of Islám—comparative statistics were not thought of in his age. The remark made by old English travellers that the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of south-eastern Bengal were chiefly Muhammadans, and the uncertain legend regarding the introduction, in the beginning of the 16th century, of Islamitic rites into Chátgáon by Nuçrat Sháh are the only allusions that I have seen on the subject. Neither history nor legends allude to the conversions among the semi-aboriginal rural population, that must on a large scale have taken place during the reigns of the independent kings of Bengal, chiefly, no doubt, through the exertions of the numerous Afghán Jágírdárs.

The military and naval power of the country is fixed at 23,330 horse, 4,260 guns, 1,170 elephants, and 4,400 boats. In Nawáb Ja'far's rent-roll, however, the strength of the naval establishment (*nawárá*) consisted of 768 armed cruisers and boats, which were principally stationed at Dháká, to guard the coast against the Mags and foreign pirates; and the number of sailors included 923 Firingís, chiefly employed as gunners. The annual charges of the navy, including construction and repairs, was fixed at Rs. 843,452, which was levied under the name of '*amalah i nawárá*' from parganahs in South-Eastern Bengal. The same rent-roll mentions that the garrisons along the whole eastern frontier from Chátgáon to Rángamáti on the Brahmaputra consisted of 8,112 men (*ahshám*), who cost 359,180, Rs. per annum.

Of the roads in Bengal we have no information prior to Van den Broucke's map (1660) in Valentyn's work. He marks (1) a principal road passing over Patna, Munger, and Rájmahall to Sútí, where the Bhagirathí leaves the Ganges. From here a branch went to Moxudabath (Murshidábád), Plassi (Palásí), and Hagdia,* crossed the Bhagirathí for Gasiapore,

* Hagdia is Agardíp. Van den Broucke's map gives here an interesting particular. He marks Hagdia on the *left* bank of the river, and Gasiapoor (Gházípúr) on the *right* bank. Both places lie now far from the right bank, with only a small k'hál between them, and a large semi-circular lake round both. The lake, as else-

and passed on to Bardwán, Medinípúr, Bhadrak (wrongly marked on the right bank of the Baitaraní), and Kaṭak. The other branch went from Sútí along the right bank of the Podda to Fathábád, from where it passed on to Dháká. These two branches are marked as principal roads (*sháhí rastah*). (2) A road from Bardwán to Bacearesoor (Baklesar in Bír bhúm, famous for its hot springs, within the Marátha Intrenchment of Nágór), and from there to Qásimbázár and the banks of the Ganges, and across the river to 'Hasiaarhati.' This is Hajrahattí, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Burul River, below Rámpúr Boáliá, and seems to be the Qázíhattí (Beng. Kájíerhattí), which Abulfazl mentions in the *Aín*. From Hasiaarhati the road passed to a place called Harwa, and from there to Ceerpoor Mirts, *i. e.* Sherpúr Murchah, on the Karataya, and passing over Tessiadin (Chandíján, north of Sherpúr, ?) to Gorregaut (G'horág'hát) and Bareithela (Barítalá) on the Brahmaputra, which will be mentioned below as a frontier town. (3) A road from Bardwán over Salímábád, Húglí, Jessore, Bosnah, Fathábád, across the river to Sjatterapoer,* Casisella, and Idrákpúr, opposite the confluence of the Lak'hiá and the Dalásarí, near Ballál Sen's palace. (4) A road from Dháká, across the Dalásarí to Piaarpoer and Bedlia, which latter place is marked at the point where the Dalásarí leaves the Jamuná, and from there to Sasiadpoor (Sháhzádpúr, in Pabnah), and Handiael (Hariál).

The Western Frontier.

In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosí River; but under some of the early Muhammadan governors and the independent kings, the Bengal empire included all upper Bihár north of the Ganges as far as Sáran. Of Ilyás Sháh, for example, it is asserted that he was the founder of Hájípúr, opposite Patna, on the Ghandak, although Fírúz Sháh, on his return from Bengal, appointed for the first time Imperial collectors in Tirhut. Sikandar Sháh's coins, again, have been found far west of the Kúsí.

Southern Bihár only belonged to Bengal from the time of the conquest by Bakhtyár Khiljí to about 730 A. H. (A. D. 1330), when Muhammad Tughluq annexed it to Dihlí. From 800 again (A. D. 1397), the whole of Bihár belonged to the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Under Buhlúl again, Daryá Khán Lohání was governor of Bihár; and under Ibráhím, Daryá's son Bahádur Khán assumed independence in Bihár under the title of Sháh Muham-

where in Bengal, is the old bed of the river, which now follows the shorter route along the chord of the loop. This change, therefore, took place after 1660.

Thus also Nadiyá lies now on the right bank of the river; but west of the town, there is still the old channel, which goes by the name of Ganga Bhárat.

* Rennel gives Satrapur; but modern maps give no such name.

mad.* It is not clear how far these Afghán chiefs depended on Husain Sháh of Bengal, whom inscriptions represent firmly established in 903 at Munger, while other inscriptions from Bonhárá and Cheran (near Sáran) would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihár and the western portions of Southern Bihár belonged to him in A. H. 908 and 909 (A. D. 1502, 1503). On the other hand, we hear in history of the cession by Husain Sháh of Bihár, Sáran, and Tirhut, and of the reconquest of these lands by Nuçrat Sháh, who, if he could not hold them, assisted the Afgháns against Bábar. Nuçrat Sháh seems even to have passed beyond the Ghandak; for a mosque near Sikandarpúr, on the right bank of the river, in District A'zamgarh, was built during his reign.

South of the Ganges, the western frontier is better defined. Fort Taliágarh, or Garhí,† near K'halgáon (Colgong) on the Ganges, was looked upon as the entrance, or key, to Bengal—a position which Muhammadan historians compare with that of Fort Sahwán on the Indus, the key of Sindh. From Garhí the frontier passed along the Ganges to the south of Ág-Mahall (Ráj Mahall), when it again turned westward to north-western Bír bhúm, passing along the boundary of the modern Santál Parganahs to the confluence of the Barákar and the Damúdar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damúdar to the neighbourhood of the town of Bardwán. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction, and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Húglí and Habrah (Howrah) Districts down to Mandalg'hát, where the Rúpnaráyan flows into the Húglí River.

This boundary, it will be seen, excludes the whole of the Santál Parganahs from the south of K'halgáon to the Barákar, Pachet,‡ and the territory of the Rájahs of Bishnpúr (Bankurá). In vain do we look in Santalia for Muhammadan names of villages and towns; and though there can be no doubt that the Muhammadan kings of Bengal tried to hold parts of the hills by establishing thánahs and appointing jágírholders, no permanent settlements were formed. One of the most westerly thánahs in southern Santalia was Sarhat, N. W. of Shiúrí (Soory) in Bír bhúm, which is mentioned in Tribení inscriptions;§ whilst the settlement of Pathán

* Called in many MSS. Mahmúd.

† It is not known which king built the fort; but it may be accidental that the name does not occur in the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí* and in *Baraní*. At K'halgáon, Mahmúd Sháh III., the last independent king of Bengal, died in 945 (1538 A. D.).

‡ Regarding the invasion of Chutiá Nágpúr by the Muhammadans, *vide* J. A. S. B., 1871, Part I, p. 111.

§ Sarhat, spelt on inscriptions Sirhat, lies on the left bank of the Ajai River. Its name on modern maps is corrupted to Saruth. Rennell has Sarhaut. Outside the place, the survey maps mark two old forts. A little to the south of it, a village of the name of Lukrakhonda is marked. Rennell on his map of Bír bhúm (Bengal Atlas,

jágírdárs, before and after the time of Sher Sháh, as a standing militia against the inroads of the tribes of Jhárk'hand (Chutiá Nágpúr), led to the formation of the great Muhammadan zamíndarí of Bír bhúm, which gave the E. I. Company some trouble.

In Todar Mall's rent-roll the following Mahalls are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ág Mahall (Rájmahall), Kánkjol, Kunwar Partáb, Molesar,* in Sirkár Audambar or Tándah; Bharkúndah, Akbarsháhi, Katangah, in Sharífábád (Bír bhúm); Nágor, Sainbhúm, Shergarh (Rániganj), Champánagarí (N. W. of the town of Bardwán), Madáran (Jahánábád and Chandrakoná, west of Húglí), Chittúá (District Medinípúr), and Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnáráyan, all belonging to Sirkár Madáran.

The name of the frontier mahall of B h a r k ú n d a h in Bír bhúm, mentioned above, seems to have been formerly extended to the whole of Bír bhúm and the Santál Parganahs. In this extended sense, it is used in the *Tárikh i Dáúdí*,† on De Barros' map of Bengal, and on Blaeu's map of India (*vide* Pl. IV). In the latter, it is only given as 'Barcunda,' but in the former as 'Reino de Barcunda,' extending from Ferrandus (a corruption of Bardwán) to Gorij, in which we recognize Garhí, the 'key of Bengal.' West of Barcunda, De Blaeu and De Barros give 'Patanes,' *i. e.* the Patháns, the military and semi-independent landholders of the western Bengal frontier. On the Ganges, both maps shew Gouro (Gaur), and opposite to it, 'Para', for which De Barros gives 'Rara.'‡ Both spellings may be mistakes for Tara, *i. e.* Tándah, which should of course be on the other side of the river; or 'Rara' stands for the old Hindú division of Rádha, which there commences. South of 'Ferrandus,' the old maps give 'Mandaram' and 'Cospetir,' which latter name is wrongly placed on Blaeu's map north of Mandaram, whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Mandaram we recognize Madáran, the chief town of Sirkár Madáran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants Mandáran.§ 'Cospetir,' or De

No. II.) places a 'Lacaracoond,' in conspicuous letters, south of Nágor; but modern maps give no such locality. Could this be the Lak'hnúr of the Tabaqát?

* *Sábiq* (*i. e.* former) Molesar and Darín Molesar. The former name is wrong spelt in the Indian Atlas (Sheet 113) Sarik Molisser.

† Dowson, Elliot's History of India, IV., pp. 360, 364.

‡ South of Para or Rara, Blaeu and De Barros give a place of the name of Moulauadangur; and below Gouro, Patana or Patona, and Meneitipur, which I have not identified.

§ I have identified Madáran with Bhítargarh in Jahánábád, in the north-western corner of Húglí District. *Vide* Proceedings, As. Socy. Bengal, for April, 1870, where the legends of the place are given.

As the name of Jahánábád occurs in the Akbarnámah, it has no connexion with Sháhjahán's name, but refers more likely to one of the numerous Khán Jaháns of the Pathán rule.

Barros' 'Reino Cospetir,' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly 'the kingdom of the Gajpatí,' or Lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orísá, the final *r* being nothing but the ending of the Bangálí genitive. Sirkár Madáran was indeed the frontier of Orísá ; but if the legends of the Húglí District speak of the Gajpatís having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Húglí River), it must have been prior to the time when Sâtgaon became the seat of Muhammadan governors.

It is remarkable that among the names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we find so many ending in *bhúm*. Thus we have Bír**bhúm** ;* Sain**bhúm**, along the left bank of the Ajai, in Bír**bhúm** district ; Sik'har**bhúm** or Shergarh, the mahall to which Rániganj belongs ; Gopí**bhúm**, along the right bank of the Ajai ; Báman**bhúm** or Bráhma**bhúm**, in northern Medinípúr District ; Mán**bhúm**, Bará**hbhúm**, Dhal**bhúm**, Sing**bhúm**, in Chutiá Nágpúr ; Túnb**húm**, in southern Parúliá ; Mal**bhúm**, the frontier of Bardwán and Medinípúr Districts ; Bhanjib**húm**, with the town of Medinípúr,† &c. Similarly, the frontier district between Rangpúr and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahalls Bhitarband and Báhirband, is called in Shujá's rent-roll 'Bangál**bhúm**.'

I mentioned Mahall Mandalg'hát at the confluence of the Rúpnaráyan and the Húglí as the south-western frontier of Bengal. The Districts of Medinípúr and Hijlí (south-east of Medinípúr) were therefore excluded. They belonged to the kingdom of Orísá till A. H. 975, or A. D. 1567,‡ when Sulaimán, king of Bengal, and his general Kálá Pahár defeated Mukund Deb, the last Gajpatí. Even after the Afghán conquest, Medinípúr and Hijlí continued to belong to the province of Orísá, when Khán Jahán Afghán was appointed by Dáúd Sháh governor of Orísá, Qutlú Khán Lohání being made governor of Púrí. On the 20th Zí Qa'dah, 982, (3rd March, 1575) Mun'im KhánKhánán, Akbar's general, defeated Dáúd Sháh at Tukaroí or Mughulmárí, north of Jalesar, and in the peace of Katak, in the beginning of 983, Bihár and Bengal were ceded. In 984, Dáúd again invaded Lower Bengal, but was defeated and killed on the 15th Rabí' II, 984, near Ág Mahall by Husain Qulí Khán Jahán, when Bengal was again annexed to Dihlí, and the Afgháns withdrew to Orísá. Then the Bengal Military Revolt broke out, and Orísá was invaded, in A. H. 1000, (A. D. 1592) by Mán Singh, when the country was finally annexed to the Dihlí empire. Hence Medinípúr and Hijlí appear

* The name occurs in the Aín as a Mahall ; but as name for a large division it does not seem to have been used before the 18th century.

† The Aín also mentions a mahall Bhowá**bhúm** under Sirkár Madáran ; modern maps do not give this name.

‡ So according to the Akbarnámah. Stirling fixes an earlier date ; but Sulaimán reigned from A. H. 975 to 980. Besides, Akbar sent in 972-973 ambassadors to Mukund Deb.

together in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 5 Sirkárs of the province of Orísá. Subsequently, Orísá had separate governors; but under Prince Shujá' their power was lessened, and the portion from Mandalg'hát to Baleswar (Balasore) was separated from Orísá and permanently attached to Bengal.*

Hijlí (*Hidgelee*, *Hedjelee*, Grant; *Hingeli*, Van den Broucke; *Ingellee*, Rennell; *Injelee*, Stewart, Marshman; *Angeli*, Purchas, De Laët, &c.) appears in the Aín under the name of Máljhattá. According to the legends preserved in the District, the Muhammadans first attempted a settlement during the reign of Husain Sháh of Bengal, about A. D. 1505, when one Táj Khán Masnad i 'Alí and his brother Sikandar Pahlawán established themselves at the mouth of the Rasúlpúr River,† opposite Ságar Island. They conquered the whole of Hijlí, which is said to have remained in the family for nearly eighty years, when it passed into the possession of a Hindú. As late as 1630 we hear of the conquest of Hijlí. "Hingeli, which had for many years a chief of its own, was conquered about 1630 by the Great Mogul; but in 1660, the lawful chief of Hingeli, who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means to escape, and with the help of his own to re-conquer his country. But he did not long enjoy it: he was in 1661 brought into Aurangzeb's power with the help of the E. I. Company [the Dutch Company], and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first."‡

The Southern Frontier.

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal was the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, which extended, generally speaking, in the same manner almost as it now does, from Hatiágarh, south of Diamond Harbour on the Húglí,

* "Sjah Sousa had already during his time divided Hingeli from Orisa, and had put there a separate governor, and it is for this reason alone that Hingeli, which by position belongs to Orisa, has been attached to Bengal. So it is also with the governors of Ballasour and Pipeli [Piplí or Sháhbandar, now deserted, on the Subarnarekhá River], which the Great Mogul ordered once to be under the governor of Orisa and then again under the governor of Bengal, because the two places are close to the sea." F. Valentyn, Vol. V.

Van den Broucke's map of Bengal in 1660, given by Valentyn, still shews north-west of the town of Medinípúr the "Gedenkteeken," or memorial stone, (corresponding to the 'Old Tower' of modern maps) that marked the frontier between Bengal and Orísá. Grant says that the coast of Hijlí and Medinípúr as far as Balasore (Baleswar) was attached to Bengal on account of the Mags and the Portuguese privateers, who were to some extent controlled by the Imperial fleet stationed at Dháká.

† Few rivers in India have Muhammadan names. Due south of Contai the maps give a village of the name of Masnad 'Alípúr. Táj Khán's tomb is on the Rasúlpúr River.

‡ From Valentyn's work, Vol. V. The 'Alamgírnamah says nothing about it.

to Bágherhát in southern Jessore and to the Haring'hátá (Horingotta), or 'Deer-shore River;' *i. e.* along the southern mahalls of Sirkárs Sátgáon and Khalífatábád. Beyond the Haring'hátá and its northern portion, called the Madhúmatí or 'honey-flowing,' the frontier comprised Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, the modern districts of Farídpúr and Bāqirganj (north). Sirkár Fathábád included the islands of Dak'hin Shahbāzpúr and Sondíp, at the mouth of the Megna. Tiparah, Bhaluah, Noak'hálí, and District Chátgáon, were contested ground, of which the Rájahs of Tiparah and Arakan were, at least before the 17th century, oftener masters than the Muhammadans. It was only after the transfer of the capital from Rájmahall to Dháká, that the south-east frontier of Bengal was extended to the Phaní River, which was the imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign, when Chátgáon was permanently conquered, assessed, and annexed to 'Çúbah Bangálah.'

Various etymologies have been proposed in explanation of the word 'Sundarban.' It has been derived from *sundar* and *ban*, 'the beautiful forest;' or from *sundarí*, a small timber tree (*Heretiera litoralis*), which is exported as fuel in vast quantities from the coast and is supposed to have been so called from its red wood. Others again have derived the word from Chandradíp-ban, or Chandradíp forest, from the large zamíndarí of Chandradíp, which occupies the south and south-east of Bāqirganj District. Or, the name has been connected with the Chandabhandas,* an old Sundarban tribe. Grant derives it from Chandraband, 'the embankment of the moon,' which seems to have been the etymology that obtained at his time, and which has led to the spelling 'Soonderbund' adopted by Europeans.

The application of the name to the whole seacoast of southern Bengal is modern. Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megna 'Bhátí,' or 'low land subject to the influx of the tide,' and even now-a-days this name is very generally used. The sovereignty of this district, according to the Akbarnámah and the Rájah Pratápaditya legend, was divided among twelve chiefs; and Col. Wilford, whatever may have been the source of his information, says that "the kings of Arakan and Comillá were constantly striving for the mastery, and assumed the title of lords of the twelve Bhúniyás."†

The sea coast itself is marked on Van den Broucke's map in Valentyn's work as 'onbekent,' or 'unknown,' consisting of numerous islands and

* A copper plate grant in the possession of the Society, found at 'Adilpúr (Edilpore), mentions that the villages of Baguli, Bittogádá, and Udayamuna, were given, in the third year of the reign of Keshab Sen, *i. e.* in 1136 A. D., to one Jovaradeb Sarma. The grant mentions the tribe of the Chandabhandas. The reading Chandabhanda, as Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh informs me, is an improved reading for Chattabhatta, as the name was read by Gobind Ram; *vide* Journal, 1838, Vol. VII, p. 40.

† As. Researches, XIV, p. 451.

rivers, 'perycleuous' for ships, being the place where the "Jagt ter Shelling"* founded in 1661.

In order to trace the direction of the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, as it existed some time before 1582 A. D., we have again recourse to Todar Mall's rent-roll in the *Áin*. There we find that Mahall Hatiágarh (below Diamond Harbour) was, in 1582, the most southerly assessed mahall of Sirkár Sâtgaon. The jungle boundary then passed north-east to Barídhattí and Medinímall, north-west of Port Canning, to Bálinḍá and Máhihattí (Myehattee), then south again to Dhuliápúr,† and Bhaluká to the Kabadak River. These mahalls belong to what is now called the 24-Parganahs; and Sheet 121 of the Indian Atlas of the Survey Department will shew that they lie even now-a-days very little north of the present northern limit of the Sunderban in the 24-Parganahs. Going up the Kabadak, in Jessore, we come to Ámadí,‡ to the north of which, in the immediate neighbourhood, we have Masidkoor, a corruption of Masjidkur, one of the clearances of Khán Jahán (died A. D. 1459),§ the warrior saint of Khalífatábád or Southern Jessore, to whom the traditions of the present day point as an indefatigable establisher of Sundarban-ábádís (clearances.) The *Áin* then gives Mahall Tálá, with Tálá on the left bank of the Kabadak as chief town and Kopilmuni|| near it, and then mahalls Sáhas, Kháliḥpúr, Charúliá, Rangdiyá (wrongly called in the Indian Atlas *Sangdia*) and Salímábád,¶ north of the modern Morrellganj at the beginning of the Haring'hátá. North-west of Morrellganj, on the Bhairab (the 'dreadful'), we have the small station of Bágherhát, which gives name to a Sub-Division, and in its immediate neighbourhood we come to another clearance by the patron-saint of Jessore, where his mosque and tomb stand. It is the country round about Bágherhát which up to the end of last century bore the name given it in the *Áin*, 'Hawelí Khalífatábád,' the 'Vicegerent's clearance.' Here, amidst the creeks and the jungles, which no horseman can approach, Nuḥrat Sháh, as will be seen below, erected a mint, apparently in opposition to his father 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh.**

* *Vide* Mr. Foster's article, Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 36.

† North of Ishwarípúr (Issuripore), the residence of Pratápaditya.

‡ Marked wrongly on the Survey map Armadi. Rennell has correctly Amadi.

§ Westland, Jessore Report, p. 20; Gaur Dás Baisákh, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 130, 131; also, Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

|| Rash Bihári Bose, J. A. S. Bengal, 1870, Part I, p. 235; Westland, Jessore Report, Chapt. VI, and p. 286.

¶ Here also the *Áin* has the form Sulaimánábád.

** It is curious that a little higher up on the Bhairab, east of Khulná, where the Athárabanka (the 'eighteen windings') joins the Bhairab, there is an 'Aláípúr, *i. e.* 'Aláuddín's town. Were it not for the distinct statement of the *Riyázussaláṭín* that 'Aláuddín, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a Chandpúr (a very

Thus we see that in southern Jessore also the northern limit of the Sundarban has not considerably changed since 1450 A. D.

Passing from the Haring'hátá eastward, we come to Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád. Sirkár Baklá only contained four mahalls, *viz.* Ismá'ílápúr or Baklá; Srírámpúr; Sháhzádpúr; and 'Ádilápúr, (from '*ádil*' just, corrupted on the maps to Edilpore), which all belong to Báqirganj District. Abulfazl, in speaking of the great cyclone that swept in 1583 over Baklá, says that the then zamindár of Baklá had a son of the name of Pramánand Rái. Sirkár Fathábád derives its name from the Hawelí mahall Fathábád, in which the modern station of Farídpúr lies. Yúsufpúr and Belphúli, in Jessore District; Hawelí Fathábád and Sirdiá (Sherdia), in Farídpúr; Balaur, Telhattí, Saráil or Jalálpúr,* Khargapúr, in both Farídpúr and Dháká; Hazratpúr, in Dháká; Rasúlpúr, in Dháká and Báqirganj; the Islands of Sondíp and Shahbázpúr; and a few other mahalls which I have not yet identified, belong to this Sirkár. Thus we see that the greater portion of both Sirkárs lies between the Haring'hátá (Madhúmatí) and the Títuliá River, which flows between Báqirganj District and the island of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr. At the mouth of the Títuliá we find the Don Manik Islands, one of the few still surviving geographical names of the Portuguese.† Opposite to these islands we have mahall Názirpúr, which we find on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu, placed rather far to the north. Near it, we also have 'Fatiabas',‡ the chief town of Sirkár Fathábád. The whole south and south-east of Báqirganj District is occupied by the old Chandradíp zamíndarí, which according to some, as we saw above, gives name to the Sundarban. On Rennell's map it is marked 'depopulated by the Mugs.'

Abulfazl says that there were in Sirkár Fathábád three classes of zamíndárs, which perhaps refers to the independent Afghán, Hindú, and Portuguese chiefs. When Akbar's army, in 1574, under Mun'im Khán-Khánán invaded Bengal and Orísá, Murád Khán, one of the officers, was despatched to South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the

common name) in Rádha District, *i. e.* west of the Húglí, I would be inclined to identify the Chandpúr near this 'Aláipúr as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal kings had its home, especially because Husain first obtained power in the adjacent district of Farídpúr (Fathábád), where his earliest coins are struck.

The Indian atlas (sheet No. 121) spells 'Aláipúr 'Alypore,' which blots out every historical recollection, and places it moreover wrongly on the right bank, instead of on the left, of the Athárabanká. 'Aláipúr is a flourishing place and has numerous potteries.

* Which, like the name of the Sirkár, reminds us of *Jaláluddín Fath Sháh.*

† Their names for Húglí (Porto Piqueno) and for Chátgáon (Porto Grande) are no longer known; but Sherpúr Firingí, Firingíbázár, Point Palmyras, still remind us of their former importance in this part of India.

‡ Van den Broucke's map has wrongly Fathpúr.

Akbarnámah, Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, and settled there; but after some time, he came into collision with Mukund, the powerful Hindú zamíndár of Fathábád and Bosnah, who, in order to get rid of him, invited him to a feast and murdered him together with his sons.* This notice helps us to explain a remark made by Grant that in Sháh Shujá's rent-roll (1658) a portion of Sundarban land had for the first time been assessed at Rs. 8,454, the ábádís being called Murádkhánah.† The name of Mukund still lives in the name of the large island 'Char Mukundia' in the Ganges opposite Farídpúr. This Mukund is the same zamíndár whom the Pádisháhnámah wrongly calls 'Mukindra of Bosnah.' His son Satrjít gave Jahángír's governors of Bengal no end of trouble, and refused to send in the customary *peskash* or do homage at the court of Dháká. He was in secret understanding with the Rájahs of Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, and was at last, in the reign of Sháhjahán, captured and executed at Dháká (about 1636, A. D.) One of his descendants, or successors in the zamíndarí, is the notorious Sítáram Rái of Mahmúdpúr.‡

Another Zamíndár of Fathábád is mentioned in the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign, Majlis Báyzíd,—by his very name an Afghán.

The Parganahs to the south of Báqirganj are called on the maps 'Boozoorgoomedpore' and 'Arungpore,' which names are connected with Buzurg Umed Khán, son of Sháistah Khán (Aurangzíb's governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1677) and with Aurangzíb, 'Arang' being a corruption of Aurang. East of these two Parganahs we have Sháistah-nagar.§ These names, though they do not perhaps shew when the mahalls were reclaimed, point to the time when they came for the first time on the Imperial rent-roll.

Sirkár Fathábád, as stated above, comprised the islands of Dak'hin-Shahbázpúr, S o n d í p, &c. Of the latter island we have a short notice by Cæsar Frederick, the Venetian merchant, who travelled in Asia, as he himself says, from 1563 to 1581. He left Pegú for Chatigan (Chátgáon), "between

* Aín translation, p. 374.

† Grant derives the name from *murád* and *khánah*, the 'house of desire;' but there is little doubt that we should derive it from Murád Khán, 'Murád Khán's clearance.' I do not know to what part of Báqirganj or Farídpúr the name was applied. Grant also says that Murád Khánah was sometimes called Jerádkhanah.

‡ Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, for 1872, Part I, pp. 58, 59. Satrjít's name occurs in the name of the town of Satrjítpúr on the Noboganga, in north-eastern Jessore, not far from Mahmúdpúr (wrongly called Mahomedpore on all modern maps) on the Madhúmatí and from the old town of Bosnah, on the Alangk'hálí [Ellenkallí] Branch. *Vide* Westland's Jessore Report, p. 32.

§ Sháistah Khán's real name is Mírzá Abú Tálíb; hence we find in Dháká District a Tálíbábád. Núr Jahán was Sháistah Khán's aunt; *vide* Aín translation, p. 512.

which two places there was much commerce in silver,”* but “encountered a ‘Touffon’ (*túfán*, cyclone), which take place in the East Indies every ten or twelve years; they are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible but to those that have seen it,” and was driven to Sondíp. “And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a-land: presently they made a place of *bazar*, or a market, with shops right over against the ship, with all manner of provision to eate, which they brought down in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapness thereof. I bought many salted kine there for the provision of the ship for half a *Larine* apiece, which *Larine*† may be 12 shillings 6 pence, being very good and fat; and 4 wilde hogges ready dressed for a *Larine*; great fat hennes for a *Bizze* [pice] a piece, which is at the most a penny: and the people told us that we were deceived the half of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sack of rice for a thing of nothing; and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seen it. This Island is called *Sondiva*, belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had been a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all.”

Ralph Fitch also was about the same time in south-eastern Bengal. He says, “From Chatigan in Bengala I came to *Bacola* [*Sirkár Baklá*]; the king whereof is a Gentile [*Hindú*], a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked except a little cloth about their waste. The women wear great store of silver hoopess about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

“From *Bacola* I went to *Serrepore*,‡ which standeth upon the river Ganges, the king is called Choudery. They be all here abouts rebels against their king Zebaldim Echebar:§ for here are so many rivers and islands,

* The export of silver from Pegú to Bengal may have supplied the Bengal mints with silver. Sir A. Phayre and Dr. T. Oldham speak of the export of gold from Burma to the Coromandel coast. Considerable quantities of silver may also have come from Ásám, where silverpieces even for small fractions of a rupee were current.

† *Lárí* (لاری). Aín translation, pp. 23, 37. It is so called from *Láristán* in Persia.

‡ *Sherpúr Firingí*, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of *Idrákpúr*, on the *Dalásarí*, in *Parganah Bikrampúr*, where *Rájá Ballál Sen*’s residence was. It is not given on modern maps.

§ The first *b* is a constant misprint for *l*: *Jaláluddín Akbar*.

that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

“*Sinnergan* [*Sunnárgaon*] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called Isacan,* and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. *** I went from Serrepore the 28th November 1582 for Pegu.”

Sondíp was only conquered in the end of 1666 (middle of *Jumáda II.*, 1076), when *Diláwar Khán Zamíndár* submitted, though not without fighting, to *Aurangzib's* army that invaded *Chátgáon*.

I have a few words to say on the hypothesis which has often been started, that the whole of the Sundarban was once in a flourishing condition. No convincing proof† has hitherto been adduced; and I believe, on physical grounds, that the supposition is impossible. The sporadic remains of tanks, gháts, and short roads, point to mere attempts at colonization. The old Portuguese and Dutch maps have also been frequently mentioned as affording testimony that the Sundarban, even up to the 16th century, was well cultivated; and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five Sundarban towns *Pacaculi*, *Cuipitavaz*, *Noldy*, *Dipuria* (or *Dapara*), and *Tiparia*, which are placed on the maps of *De Barros*, *Blaev*, and *Van den Broucke* close to the coast-line, has inclined people to believe that they represent “lost towns.” Now the first of these five towns, from its position, belongs to the Sundarban of the 24-Parganahs, and the second (*Cuipitavaz*) to that of *Jessore District*, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. But *Pacaculi* is either, as *Col. Gastrell* once suggested to me, a mistake for *Pacacuti*, *i. e.* *pakká kot'hí*,‡ a factory or warehouse, erected by some trading company, as we find several along the *Húgli*; or it stands for *Penchakuli*, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the *Damúdar*, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. *Cuipitavaz* I have no hesitation to identify with *Khalífatábád*.§ *Van den Broucke* also places it correctly south-east of *Jessore*. *Noldy* is the town and mahall of *Noldi* (*Naldí*) on the *Noboganga*, east of *Jessore*, near the *Madhúmatí*. *Dipuria* is *Dapara*, or *Daspara*, south-east of *Báqirganj* station, near the right bank of the *Títuliá*, still prominently marked on *Rennell's* map; and *Tiparia* cannot stand for anything else but the district of *Tiparah*, which is correctly placed north-east of *Daspara*.

* *'Isá Khán*. *Abul Fazl* calls him ‘king of *Bhátí*,’ and says that twelve *zamíndárs* were under him. He was powerful enough to make war with *Koch Bihár*. *Vide Aín translation*, p. 342, note.

† *Westland*, *Jessore Report*, p. 231.

‡ Houses are either *kachchá* [mud-houses], or *pakká*, brick or stone-built.

§ The letter *f* often turns in *Bangálí* to *p*; hence *Khalífatábád* becomes *Kolípít-ábád*. Thus *Firúzpúr* becomes *Perojepore*.

The old Portuguese and Dutch maps, therefore, prove nothing. They support the conclusion which I drew from Todar Mall's rent-roll, that in the 24-Parganahs and Jessore the northern limit of the Sundarban, omitting recent clearances, was in the fifteenth century much the same as it is now. But considerable progress must have been made in Báqirganj District, as we see from the numerous accessions, during that period, to the Imperial rent-roll.

Of other names given on old maps along the southern boundary of Bengal, we have (above Noldy) Nao Muluco (?), Buram (Borhun, in the 24-Parganahs); Maluco (Bhaluká, on the Kabadak, ?); west of them, Agrapara and Xore, (Arapará and Dak'hineshor, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Húglí, Abegaca, which seems to be some Ámgáchha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambiká (Kalnah); Bernagar, which should be Barnagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; Betor (?) as on Blaev's map, and Belor, (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Húglí District, Sjanabath (Jahánábád); Sjandercona (Chandrakoná); Cannacoel (Kánákul); Deniachali (Dhonek'hálí); Caatgam (Sátgáon); Tripeni (Trípaní, the Muhammadan form of Tribení); Pandua (Paṇduah); Sjanegger; Basanderi (the old mahall Basandharí), where Van den Broucke makes the remark, '*t Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexandre M. gestuyt werd*, 'the bush Sanderie where Alexander the Great was stopped!'

Again, along the lower Ganges the old maps have Bicararam (Bikrampúr, south of Dháká); Belhaldy; Angara (Angaria, at the confluence of the Kirtinásá and the Megna); Sornagam (Sunnárgáon); Dacca; Mularangue;* Bunder (Bandar, 'harbour'); Nazirpur, mentioned above; Bulnei or Bulnee, ?; Guacala or Gucala, perhaps a mistake for Bacala; Noorkuly or Noricoel, as Van den Broucke gives it, (Noríkol, due south of Dháká, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinásá); Sundiva (Sondíp Island); Jugadia (Jogdiah in Noák'hálí near the Little Phaní, mentioned in the '*Álamgírnámah* as an Imperial thánah, and often quoted as the seat of English and French factories in the eighteenth century); Traquetea, ?; Maua, or Moua, and Alvia, for which Van den Broucke gives Mava and Alvia, ?; Jefferi, on Van den Broucke's map, the same as Rennell's Jeffri, at the mouth of the Phaní, right bank.

The coast of Arakan on the maps of De Barros and Blaev is broken up into numerous islands as the Sundarban coast: it looks as if some of them belonged to Bengal. Thus we find Bulua and Bacala, which must refer to Bhaluah in south Tiparah and Baklá. Chokuria may be identified with Chukuria, marked on modern maps opposite Maskal Island, on the Mamorí

* As this place is marked on an island south-west of Dháká, it seems to be Múlnadángí in the south of Char Mukundiá.

River, as thánah and saltgolah; but the names Irabu, Maoa (perhaps a mere repetition of the Maua given above), Santatoly, Orieton, are unknown to me.

Blaev's map (Pl. IV) and the Chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul by N. Sausson (A. D. 1652) give opposite Chatigam (Chittagong) a town, called Bengala or Bengola. Purchas (a compiler who never came to India) says in his 'Pilgrims,' "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala are faire Cities. Of this, the Gulfe, sometimes called *Gangeticus*, now beareth name *Golfo di Bengala*." Rennell, in his 'Memoir,' mentions the town as being given "in some ancient maps and books of travels; but no traces of such a place exist." But he says that it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganges, and that it may have been carried away by the river (Ganges?). Lately also, a writer in Mookerjea's Journal (Dec. 1872), Mr. H. J. Rainey, published an imaginative account of the submersion of this now lost city, which in his opinion had given name to the kingdom of Bengal. But the town is nowhere mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor by Ibn Batútah, Cæsar Frederiek, and Ralph Fitch who were in Chátgáon, nor by De Barros and Van den Broucke. The probability, therefore, is that no such town ever existed, and that the name was put on Blaev's map from Purchas's statement; or else the name 'Bengola' is a mere corruption of what we call a 'Bungalow' (بنگلاه, *bangalah*), or a 'Flagstaff Bungalow,' of which we find several marked on District maps of Chittagong along the Karanphúlí River, as early as on Rennell's chart. However, this mysterious town is not to be identified with the place 'Dianga' given by Van den Broucke half way between Chittagong and Rammoe (Rámú, or Rambú*), because Dianga is the Dak'hindángá or the Bráhmándángá, both on the Sangú River, south of Chátgáon, where saltgolahs still exist.†

Regarding the State of Codavascam, which the old maps place east and north-east of Chátgáon, *vide* Wilford's Essay, As. Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 450.

The province of Chátgáon was no secure possession, and seems to have been alternately in the hands of the kings of Bengal, the Rájahs of Tiparah, and the kings of Arakan. In 750 A. H. (A. D. 1350), about which year Ibn Batútah was in Chátgáon,‡ it belonged to king Fakhruddín of Sunnárgáon. That year falls within the reign of the Arakanese king Meng-di, who is said to have reigned from A. D. 1279 to 1385, or 106 years,§ when the king of Thu-ra-tan (Bengal), called Nga-pu-kheng, courted

* The most south-easterly point to which the Mughuls advanced.

† The word 'dángá,' which occurs so often in geographical names in Bengal, signifies 'high land'.

‡ Called in Lee's translation سدكوان. Regarding Fakhruddín *vide* below.

§ *Vide* Sir A. P. Phayre's History of Arakan, Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1844, p. 45. Thu-ra-tan Sir Arthur Phayre identifies with Sunnárgáon.

his alliance. About 1407, again, the king Meng-tsau-mwun fled to Bengal, and witnessed the war between Rájah Káns and Jaunpúr. He was ultimately restored to his throne with the help of Bengal troops; but he became "tributary to the king of Thu-ra-tan, and from this time the coins of the Arakan kings bore on the reverse their names and titles in the Persian character. This custom was probably first made obligatory upon them as vassals; but they afterwards continued it *when they had recovered their independence, and ruled the country as far as the Brahmaputra River*. Meng-tsau-mwun, *having got rid of his allies*, meditated a change of capital."

In 1512, Chátgáon was conquered, according to the Ráj Málá,* by the Rájah of Tiparah, who drove away Husain Sháh's garrison. Whether the Rájah of Tiparah kept it for any time is doubtful; for in 1517, "John de Sylvera was invited by the king of Arakan, and he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king's dominions.†" Anyhow, we can now understand why Nuçrat Sháh, Husain Sháh's son, should have invaded Chátgáon;‡ but although popular belief ascribes to his invasion the first Muhammadan settlements in the District, it is clear from the preceding that his invasion cannot have been the first.

It is not known how the District was again lost; but during the troubles of Sher Sháh's revolution, the Mughul invasion, the aggressions of the Portuguese, and the Bengal Military Revolt, Chátgáon did not belong to Bengal. If, therefore, Todar Mall in 1582 included it in his rent-roll, he did so on the principle on which he included Kalinga Dandpát and Sirkár Rájahmandrí in the rent-roll of Orísá.§

The Eastern Frontier.

The eastern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal extended from Sunnár-gáon and the Megna (but in Sháhjahán's reign, from the Phaní River over southern and western Tiparah) northward, and then passed to the east including the District of Silhat. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills to Mahall Sherpúr in northern

* Journal, A. S. Bengal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, pp. 545, 546.

† *Vide* Sir A. Phayre's History of Pegu, J. A. S. B., 1873, pt. I, 127.

‡ For particulars *vide* my extract from the *Tárikh i Hamídí* in Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 336.

§ "From Satagam [Sátgáon-Húglí] I travelled by the country of the king of Tipara, with whom the Mogen [Mags] have almost continual warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon [Rakhaing, Arakan] and Rame [Rámú], be stronger than the king of Tipara, so that Chatigan, or Porto Grando, is often times under the king of Recon." *Ralph Fitch*.

Muhammadan historians spell the word 'Rakhaing' رځنگ, *Rakhang*, or give the still shorter form رځ *Rukh*, whence De Laët's "Roch, on the borders of Bengala."

Maimansingh to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmáí, and from here along the river to Mahall Bhítarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The sirkárs that lay along the boundary were Sunnár-gáon, Bázúhá, Silhat, and G'horág'hát; and the neighbouring countries to the east were Tiparah, Kachhár (the old Hirumba), the territories of the independent Rájahs of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills, and, on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, the Karíbáí Hills, the zamíndárs of which were the Rájahs of Sosang. They depended in reality on the powerful kingdom of Koch Hájo,* the 'Azo' or 'Asoe' of old maps, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kámrúp. In the Karíbáí Hills, the Muhammadans possessed, opposite to Chilmáí, the old frontier thánah Hatsilah, which Rennell still marks as 'Hautchella.' The north-eastern frontier was never absolutely fixed. Barítalah, on Van den Broucke's map *Bareithella*, was looked upon as a frontier town till the beginning of Aurang-zíb's reign.

The invasions on the part of the Asamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Ásám, which had commenced under the successors of Bakhtyár Khiljí. During the reigns of Rájah Káns and his son, the Asamese under Chudangpha (A. D. 1414 to 1425) conquered north-eastern Bengal as far as the Karataya;† and as about the same time Jaunpúr was at the height of its power, successfully encroaching on the western frontier, and the Rájahs of Tiparah made likewise invasions,‡ we may assume that Bengal under the kings of the Káns dynasty was most circumscribed. With the restoration of the Ilyás Sháhí dynasty (about A. D. 1440) and the gradual downfall of Jaunpúr, Bengal recovered her ancient limits, and entered upon her most flourishing period. The invasion of Husain Sháh into Kámrúp is well known;§ but Kámrúp was only permanently annexed in 1637, when Gauhattí became the north-eastern frontier of Bengal.

Silhat, as we shall see below, was conquered in A. D. 1384, and the earliest inscription hitherto found there, belongs to the reign of Yúsuf Sháh (A. D. 1480). North-western Silhat had the name of Láúd, or Láúr, and the thánah which the Muhammadans established there, was under the commander of the 'Iqlím Mu'azzamábád,' 'the territory of Mu'azzamábád,' also called 'Mahmúdábád.' The exact extent of Mu'azzamábád is still unknown; but the name occurs on coins and on Sunnár-gáon inscriptions, once in conjunction with Láúr, and once with Tiparah, and it seems, therefore, as if the "iqlím" extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and

* *Vide* Journal, A. S. Bengal, Part I, 1872, p. 53.

† So according to the Ásám Búranjí; *vide* Useful Tables, p. 273.

‡ Rájmálá, J. A. S. B., XIX, 1850, p. 542.

§ J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, pp. 79, 335.

the right bank of the Surmá. In the *Aín*, we find, indeed, under Sirkár Sunnargáon, a Mahall Mu'azzampúr, the chief town of which lies between the Brahmaputra and the Lak'hia and bears the same name. The present inhabitants, as Dr. Wise tells me, know nothing of its ancient renown; and the only old building is a ruinous dargáh, called after a saint Sháh Langar, the impression of whose foot draws crowds of pilgrims about the time of the I'd ulfiṭ festival. The saint is said to have come from Egypt.

The thánah Láúr is also mentioned in the *Aín* as a Mahall of Sirkár Silhaṭ, which consisted of Partábgarh; Panchkhand; Banyáchang; Bájúá Bayájú (?); Jaintiá; Hawelí Silhaṭ; Satrk'handal; Láúd;* and Harinagar. The author of the *Haft Iqlím* calls Silhaṭ repeatedly سريهت *Sríhaṭ*, and this form explains perhaps the 'Reino Sirote,' which De Barros and Blaeu give instead of 'Silhaṭ' (*vide* Pl. IV). The town of Sirote is correctly placed on the right bank of the Surmá, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of both names.

Kámrúp, which also appears under the names of Kámrúd, Kámrú, and Kánwrú, is often mentioned together with Kámatá.† The Brahmaputra which Ibn Baṭúṭah calls the 'Blue River', is correctly described by the old traveller as coming from the mountains of Kámrúp. De Barros, however, and Blaeu give the river the name of Caor, and show it as flowing from the Reino de Caor, north of Comota and Sirote. Wilford identifies Caor with "Goḍa or Gaur, *i. e.* Gorgánw," meaning G'hargáon, the capital of A'sám. But G'hargáon (which is the correct spelling) was only built by Chu-klunpha, between A. D. 1549 and 1563, *i. e.* at a time when the materials had long been sent to Europe from which De Barros in Lisbon wrote his book. It seems, therefore, more natural to compare 'Caor' either with 'Gaur,' the old name of northern Silhaṭ, and which under the form of Gor is placed by Blaeu north of Bengal, or with the name of the Gáros who inhabit the hills near the bend of the Brahmaputra.‡

The south-east frontier was Tiparah, or Tripura, spelt on old Muhammadan inscriptions *Tipúrah*, whence perhaps the form Tipora given by De Barros and Blaeu. Abulfazl, in the *Aín i Akbarí*, says—"Tiparah is independent; its king is Bijai Mánik. The kings all bear the name of Mánik,§

* So at least according to some MSS. *Vide* my text edition, p. 406, where سرکهذدل is a misprint for سترکهذدل. Láúr lies at the foot of the hills.

† For Kámatá *vide* below. Husain Sháh is said to have invaded Kámrúp and Kámatá; and the *Aín* says, Kámrúp and Kámatá are in the possession of the Rájah Koch Bihár.

‡ Regarding Wilford's identification of Sirote, *vide* Asiatic Researches, XIV, pp. 387, 436. The places which Blaeu gives between Gor and Caor, as Kandwana, Mewat, &c., are mentioned below.

§ According to the Rájmálá, the kings of Gaur had conferred this title on the Tiparah Rájahs. It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancy between the Rájmálá and the *Aín* as regards the time when Bijai Mánik reigned. According to the *Aín*

and the nobles that of Náráyan." The military power was estimated at 200,000 foot and 1,000 elephants; and numerous invasions of Silhaṭ and Sunnárgaon by the Rájahs of Tiparah are mentioned in the Rájmálá. The old capital was Udaipúr, or Rángamáṭí, on the left bank of the Gúmtí. Hence Van den Broucke speaks of 'Oedapoer and Tipera;'* but on his map he places between Tipera and the Brahmaputra, above Bolua, the "Ryk van Udesse," which is not marked on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. As he does not mention Udesse in his text, the name is either a mistake for Udaipúr, or he has been misled by his countryman De Laët, who says, "Udessa, or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jokanat or Jekanat, the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Mag kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians," and who thus places Orísá (Oḍesá) and Jagarnáth near Arakan.

The western and southern portions of Tiparah are included in Todar Mall's rent-roll in Sirkár Sunnárgaon; but they were only conquered, according to Grant, in Sháhjahán's reign; and in A. D. 1728, we hear of a re-conquest, when the district was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Raushanábád.

Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jájna gar, which Stewart, Stirling, Dowson, and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson, however, also apply the name to a portion of Orísá, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jájpúr, north-east of Katak, on the Baitaraní. Jájnapur is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants (*مرغزار فيل*) in the Ṭabaqát i Náḡirí, and the two Tárikh i Fírúz Sháhís, *i. e.* up to about A. D. 1440, after which the name disappears. It also occurs in the Áin; but the passage refers to the reign of Hoshang of Málwah (A. D., 1405 to 1434).†

It is first mentioned as lying, together with Bang, Kámrúd, and Tirhut, near the kingdom of Lak'hnautí;‡ and when Ṭughán Khán ('Izzuddín Abul Fath Ṭughril) invaded Jájnapur, he left Lak'hnautí city in Shawwál, 641, and arrived after about a month, on the 6th Zí Qa'dah, at Katásan, the frontier of Jájnapur.§ In the following year, 642 [A. D., 1244], the Rái of Jájnapur invades the kingdom of Lak'hnautí, and first seizes on Lak'hnor, which above was identified with Ráṛha (west of the Húglí), where he kills the jágírdár Fakhruddín Lágharí, and then marches on Lak'hnautí.

he would have reigned towards the end of the 16th century; but the Rájmálá places his reign much earlier. Journal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, p. 546.

* "The countries of Oedapoer and Tiparah are sometimes independent, sometimes under the great Mogul, and sometimes even under the king of Arakan."

† It may be that Da k'hin historians use the term to a later period.

‡ Tab. Náḡirí, p. 163.

§ *Loc. cit.*, p. 244. Katásan has not been identified. The MSS. have also Katás, and Katásín.

This remark would seem to shew that, in the opinion of the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, Jájnapar lay somewhere west or south-west of the Bardwán and Húglí Districts, *i. e.* in Jhárkhand, or Chutiá Nágpúr.

The next invasion, on a large scale, was undertaken by the Emperor Balban, who in his pursuit of Sultán Mughís, about A. D. 1280, marched from Lak'hnautí to Sunnárgáon, the independent Rái of which makes himself responsible not to let Mughís escape either by land or by water. From Sunnárgáon,* Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 *kos*, at the confines of Jájnapar, where Mughís is surprised and killed.

From this remark by Baraní, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas, and Dowson† conclude that Jájnapar corresponds to Tiparah; and the eastern parts of Hill Tiparah certainly lie about 70 *kos* from Sunnárgáon. The *Rájmálá*, however, does not state that Tiparah had the name of Jájnapar.

Jájnapar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyásuddín Tughluq, when Ulugh Khán, in 1323 A. D., invades Talinga, Jájnapar, and Bedar;‡ and lastly, when Fírúz Sháh, after his second unsuccessful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns, in 1360, from Hazrat Paṇḍuah to Zafarábád and Jaunpúr,§ where he stays during the rainy season. He then marches over Bihár to Jájnapar; arrives at Satgarh (?), the Rái of which retreats; then comes to Báranasí, the residence of a great Rái; crosses the Mahindrí, and goes for some distance into Talinga, to which country the Rái had fled. Fírúz Sháh then retreats, passes through the country of Rái Paríhán [Bir Bhán Deo, *Lucknow Edition*], and arrives in Padmáwatí and Baramtalá, great fields for elephants, and returns quickly to Karah.||

Lastly, in the *Áin* (my text edition, p. 472, l. 6), Hoshang of Málwah goes in disguise to Jájnapar, in order to obtain elephants.

In these passages it is clear that Jájnapar represents a country between Talinga and Bihár, or, as expressed in the *Ṭabaqát*, west of Ráṛha, *i. e.*, the

* Baraní, p. 87. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition has Hájínagar, Jájínagar, and (once) Jájnapar.

† *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 112, 113. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition of Badáoní, I, p. 129, calls Mughís wrongly Mu'izz, and says that he had gone towards Jájnapar and Tárkílah (or Nárkílah, as the *Lucknow* edition of Badáoní has).

‡ Badáoní, I, 223. Dowson, III, 234. Baraní, 450.

§ Zafarábád, which is so often mentioned by Muhammadan historians, lies on the right bank of the Gúmtí, a little below Jaunpúr, which lies on the left bank. The maps give, of course, Jaffurabad.

|| Badáoní, I, 247. Dowson, III, 312 to 316. Dowson has Banárasí, for Báranasí; and Firishtah (*Lucknow* edition, p. 147) has 'Banáras, which is the residence of the Rái of Jájnapar.'

Kaṭak is called in the *Áin* 'Kaṭak Banáras;' and from the account translated by Dowson from 'Afif it is clear that south-western Orísá is meant, although the comparison of Jájnapar and Jájpúr may be redundant. Rennell in his *Bengal Atlas* (Map VII) gives a Baramtalá in Singhbhúm, near northern Mayurbhanj.

wild districts of western Orísá, Chutiá Nágpúr, and the eastern portions of the Central Provinces, of which Ratanpúr, Bastar, and Sirguja are also mentioned in the Aín as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Baraní, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jájnapar 70 *kos* beyond Sunnárgáon, whilst in his account of Tughluq Sháh's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talinga; and we are forced either to believe that there were two Jájnapars, one famous for elephants near south-western Bengal (Ṭabaqát i Náçirí, Baraní, Fírúزشáhí, Aín), and another in Tiparah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Baraní); *or* to assume that there was in reality only one Jájnapar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Baraní in the above single passage wrote Sunnárgáon by mistake for Sátgáon,* which would remove all difficulties.

The Northern Frontier.

From Bhítarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, and in later times from Gauhattí in Kámráp over K'hontag'hát, the frontier passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihár to Mahall Pátgáon, or Pátgrám (west of Koch Bihár), which is mentioned by Mughul historians as the frontier-town in the extreme north, and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepál to the northern portions of Púrniah District. Thus by far the greater portion of what is now-a-days called the Koch Bihár Division, did not belong to Bengal.

The Sirkárs along the northern frontier were G'horág'hát, Panjrah, Tájpúr, and Púrniah.

The inhabitants of northern Bengal according to the Ṭabaqát i Náçirí were the Koch, Mech, and Thárú tribes, whose Mongolian features struck the first invaders as peculiar.†

The Rájahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve a semi-independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtyár Khiljí, when Debkot, near Dínájpúr, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north.

During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rangpúr was in the hands of the Rájahs of K á m a t á (কামত্যা), to which country passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comotah,' or Comotay, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (Pl. IV). The town of

* Baraní's statement of the distance of 70 *kos* would admirably suit Sátgáon; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western Chutiá Nágpúr.

† For 'Thárú' Stewart has *Neharu*, but there can be no doubt that the author of the Ṭabaqát means the Thárús of Mithila. *Vide* Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 126; J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, p. 66.

The *Pádisháhnámah* says of the Asamese also that they resemble in features the Qaráqalpáks of southern Siberia.

Kámatá, or Kámatápúr, lay on the eastern bank of the Darlá river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch Bihár, and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. The river near its confluence with the Brahmaputra, separates mahall Bhítarband from Báhirband. The town itself and the Darlá river are correctly marked on the old maps. Buchanan estimated the circumference of Kámatápúr at nineteen miles; the palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stands in the centre. History informs us that Kámatá was invaded, about 1498 A. D., by Husain Sháh, and legends state that the town was destroyed and Nilamba, the last Kámatá Rájah, was taken prisoner. He escaped, however, and disappeared; but people believe that at some time in future he will be restored.

The Kámatá family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty, to which the present Mahárájá of Koch Bihár belongs. The new Rájás secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation.

The prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihár is known from the *Aín*. The *Haft Iqlím* has the following: "There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is *Áí*, and the people are zealous in their worship. Once a year they have a feast, when they kill all sorts of animals found in the country, believing that the meritoriousness of the slaughter comes from *Áí*. They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogís, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to *Áí*, saying that *Áí* has called them. From the time they become Bhogís, they may do what they like; every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed."

The first European traveller that visited Koch Bihár was Ralph Fitch. He says: "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche or Quieheu, which lies 25 days' journey northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile; his name is Suckel Counse;* his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called C a c c h e g a t e.† All the country is set with bamboos or eanes made sharp at both endes and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, so that men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk and eloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvelous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be young. There they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have

* Shukl Gosáin; *vide* my essay on Koch Bihár and Asám, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 53.

† *I. e.* the place where the merchants from China meet. Cacchegate is Chichákoṭá, north of the town of Koch Bihár and south of Baksa Fort, Long. 89° 35', in the Bengal Dúárs. It is now British.

hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their small money is almonds, which often times they use to eat."

As Ralph Fitch mentions Chichákoṭá, and the 'Ālamgírnámah Kanthalbárí,* as belonging to the Koch Bihár, it follows that portions of the Dúárs must have once belonged to Koch Bihár.

Aurangzib's army under Mír Jumlah took Koch Bihár on the 19th December, 1661, when the town was called 'Ālamgírnagar,† a name which has not come into use; and the imperial collectors expected to raise a revenue of eight lák'hs of rupees, whilst in Prince Shujá's rentroll of 1658 Koch Bihár is put down as yielding Rs. 3,27,794.

On Van den Broucke's map, the whole Himálaya tract, from northern Bihár to Āsám, is called 'T Ryk van Ragiawarra,' or the realm of Rájáwará and in the text he says, that "Ragiawara consists of several separate countries, which sometimes fight the Great Mogul, and at other times are forced to submit." Of these several countries he mentions on the map 'T Ryk van Morang and 'T Ryk van Jesval, which latter name is also given on Blaeu's map and will be remarked on below.

The Morang was entered by Mughul troops in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. We first hear of an expedition led by Mírzá Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, and Iláh Virdí Khán, Faujdár of Gorák'hpúr, against the refractory zamíndár of Morang (beginning of 1075, or end of A. D. 1664). Mírzá Khán died during the expedition; but Iláh Virdí Khán returned with fourteen wild elephants and nine presentation elephants.‡ In the end of 1079 (beginning of 1669), Ma'ǧúm Khán reported that a false Shujá' had appeared in Morang and had caused disturbances there, and Ibráhím Khán and Fidái Khán received orders to capture him wherever he shewed himself, and to send his head to Court. Lastly, in 1087 (beginning of 1676), we hear of a conquest of Morang, but no particulars are given.

* West of Kanthalbárí, the maps give a place called Mogulmurri [Mughulmárí], evidently the scene of a fight with Mughul troops. Another Mughulmárí lies between Bardwán and Jahánábád; a third between Medinípúr and Jalesar, where Akbar's troops defeated Dáúd Sháh (Aín translation, p. 376); and a fourth, eight miles north of Medinípúr.

† Thánah Sangrámgarh, one of Aurangzib's frontier thánahs near Noák'hálí, had received the same name in allusion to the title of the emperor.

‡ 'Ālamgírnámah, pp. 850, 875. *Maásir i 'Ālamgírí*, pp. 64, 150.

Blaev's Map of Bengal and of the Mughul Empire.

The map of Upper India by William and John Blaev (Pl. IV) is taken from their "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," Amsterdam, 1645 to 1650, Vol. II,* and is based upon the Portuguese and Dutch charts that existed at the time, and upon the descriptions of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of De Barros' map, and represents, therefore, the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy it is much inferior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660,† given in Valentyn's work. But the map is of great interest, as it helps us to unravel the difficulties in Terry's enumeration of the provinces of Bengal and other portions of the Dihlí empire,‡ which has also been followed by the Dutch traveller De Laët in his "India Vera" (Amsterdam, 1631), and of which traces may still be found on Van den Broucke's map. It is with a view to explain the extraordinary configuration of Bengal on the old maps that I have given the present chapter a place in this essay.

From a glance at the map, it will be seen that our early geographers had no information of the extent and situation of the countries which we now-a-days call the Central Provinces and Chutiá Nágpúr. Hence Gwáliár, Narwar, and (on Van den Broucke's map) Málwá, bound Bengal on the west; the Santál mountains are continued eastwards to meet the Ásám mountain-chains, and places belonging to the Central Provinces have been put north of Bengal.

Terry enumerates the following provinces as belonging to the Mughul empire—1. *Candahore*, Qandahár; 2. *Cabul*; 3. *Multan*; 4. *Haiacan*, Hájikán, a sirkár of Sindh; 5. *Buckor*, Bhakkar; 6. *Tatta*; 7. *Soret with Jonagar*, Sorat'h with Júnágarh; 8. *Jesselmeere*; 9. *Attok*; 10. *Peniab*, Panjáb; 11. *Chishmeere*, Kashmír; 12. *Banchish*, "the chief city is called *Bishur*; it lyeth east, somewhat southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus." Here we have the first misplacement. Terry means Bangash and Bajor (Sawád, Swat); but for *East*, he should have said *West*.

* Capt. J. Waterhouse drew my attention to a copy of this work in the Library of the As. Society.

† Mattheus Van den Broucke was Land-Voogd, or governor, of Choromandel, which included Bengal, from 1658 to 1664, during which time he compiled the map in the Vth Volume of the 'Beschryving van Choromandel' in François Valentyn's 'Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien', Amsterdam, 1728. (Library, As. Soc. Bengal, No. 2266.)

‡ Edward Terry was chaplain to Sir Thomas Row, the Ambassador to Jahángír's Court, and was later Rector of the Church at Greenford, Middlesex. He presented his 'Voyage to East India,' in 1622, shortly after his return to England, to the then Prince of Wales; but he only published it in 1655, when he was sixty-four years old.

13. *Jangapore*, “the chief city so called; it lieth upon the River *Kaul*, one of those five rivers which water *Peniab*.” (?) De Laët has ‘Jengapor or Jenupar,’ between Lahore and Agra. 14. *Jenba*, east of *Peniab*, Chamba. 15. *Dellee*,* *Dihlí*. 16. *Bando*; ‘it confineth Agra to the west.’ This is *Bándhú*, or *Bándhúgarh*, south-east of *Agrah*. 17. *Malwa*; 18. *Chitor*; 19. *Gujarat*; 20. *Chandis*, *Khándesh*; 21. *Berar*, with the chief city *Shapore*;† 22. *Narwar*; 23. *Gwalíar*; 24. *Agra*; 25. *Sambal*, *Sambhal*, or *Murádábád* District. 26. “*Bakar*, the chief city called *Bikaneer*, it lyeth on the west side of the River *Ganges*.” The whole remark seems to be erroneous. 27. *Nagracot*, *Nagarkot* or *Kángrah*. 28. *Siba*, “the chief city is called *Hardware*.‡” 29. *Kakares*, the principal cities are called *Dekalee* and *Púrhola*.” Terry means the *Gakk’har* District, the chief cities of which were *Dángalí* and *Pharwálah*; *vide* *Aín* translation, p. 621. Terry also remarks that the *Caucasus* (*Himálaya*) divides *Kakares* from *Tartaria*, which accounts for its northern position on *Blaev’s* map. 30. *Gor*, “the chief city so called; it is full of mountains; the River *Sersily*, a tributary unto *Ganges*, has its beginning in it.” *Vide* 32.

31. *Pitan*, “the chief city so called; the River *Canda* waters it, and falls into the *Ganges* in the confines thereof.” This is *Paṭhán*, the form used by *Abulfazl* for *Paṭhán*, or *Paṭhánkot*. Terry evidently means the whole hill tract of the *Sirmúr* range, as far as the *Alaknandá*. It is, however, possible that he meant the *Markandá*; but this river does not flow into the *Ganges*. The error in the position of *Pitan* is remarkable, as Terry, *DeLaët*, and *Blaev* give *Temmerý* (a Dutch spelling for *Dhamerí*, the old name of *Núrpúr*, near *Paṭhánkot*) between the *Ráví* and *Nagarkot* (*Kángrah*).

32. *Kanduana*, “the chief city is called *Karhakaténka*; the River *Sersily* parts it from *Pitan*. This and *Gor* are the north-east bounds of this *Monarchy*.” There can be no doubt that *Kanduana* is *Gondwánah* (Central Provinces), of which the capital is *Garha-Katanga* (*Jabalpúr*); *vide* *Aín* translation, p. 367. If *Gor* is the north-east boundary of the empire, it is the *Gaur* of *Silhat*, mentioned above, or the *Gáro Hills*. *Sersily* is a misprint for *Sersity*, the *Saraswatí*, which after the *Jamuná* is the principal (legendary)

* “Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul’s territories.” *Terry*. This unfortunate etymology shews however that Terry knew some Persian, because he cleverly disposes of the final *yá*. Similarly, he derives ‘*Khusrau*,’ from خوش and رو; and ‘*Sultán Khurram*’ from كرم *karam*, liberality!

† *Sháhpúr*, built by *Sultán Murád*, *Akbar’s* son, six *kos* south of *Bálápúr*, now in ruins.

‡ I do not know whether the country near *Haridwár* was ever called *Síbá*. In the *Aín*, a *parganah* of the *Bísat Jálándhar Dúáb* is called *Síbah*.

tributary of the Ganges. The map follows the legend and makes the Saraswatí flow into the Ganges near Helobass (Iláhbás, the old name of Iláhábád).* De Laët increases the confusion by calling the Sersily 'Perselis.' But the passage need no longer exercise commentators. Blaeu's map clearly shows how erroneously the early geographers arranged the provinces.

33. *Patna*, "the chief city so called; the River Ganges bounds it on the west; Sersily on the east; it is a very fertile Province."

34. *Jesual*, "the chief city is called Raiapore; it lieth east of *Patna*." Van den Broucke puts Jesual east of Morang; and Blaeu's map marks it as a country for elephants. It seems, therefore, that Ráipúr in the Central Provinces is meant, the elephant country *par excellence*, though the name 'Jesual' is not clear to me.

35. *Mevat*, "the chief city is called *Narnol*; it is very mountainous." This is Mewát, south-west of Dihlí, with Nárnol. I am at a loss to understand how Mewát could have been placed so far away from Dihlí; but Blaeu's map shows why Terry and De Laët mention it here. The error was not even detected by Van den Broucke, who places 'T Ryk van Mewat east of the Brahmaputra, south of 'Cos Assam.'†

36. *Udessa*, "the chief city called *Jekanat*; it is the most remote part east of this empire." De Laët says: It is the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Maug kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians." DeBarros and Blaeu have avoided this mistake; Van den Broucke, however, places 'T Ryk van Udesse north of Bollua (Bhaluah), between Tiparah and the Brahmaputra. But Orísá and Jagannát'h are meant. The spelling Udessa is clearly a transliteration of اوديسه, Uḍesá, and DeLaët has overlooked the identity of 'Orisa' and 'Udessa.'

37. *Bengala*.

It would take me too far from my subject, were I to enter on the identification of the places in western India on Blaeu's map. I hope to do so at a future period, or would rather leave the task to Mr. E. Lethbridge, who has lately published valuable extracts from De Laët's work in the Calcutta Review.

* According to the legend, the Saraswati, which is lost in the sand east of Bhatinda District, joins the Ganges *below the ground* at Iláhábád. Hence at Tribení and other places in Bengal, wherever two rivers leave the Ganges, we find the names Saraswati and Jamuná repeated.

† The London edition of 1655 has 'Jesuat.' De Laët has "Jesual, whose metropolis is Raiapore or Ragapore, lies to the east of Patna, and north-west of Bengala."

‡ Ásám is often called Koch Ásám.

PART II.—HISTORICAL.

The Muhammadan period of the history of Bengal may be conveniently divided into five parts—

I. The ‘Initial period,’ or the reigns of the governors of Lak’hnautí appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí, A. D. 1203 to 1338 A. D.

II. The period of the independent kings of Bengal, from 1338 to 1538.

III. The period of the kings of Sher Sháh’s family and their Afghán successors, from 1538 to 1576.

IV. The Mughul period, from 1576 to 1740.

V. The Nawábí period, from the accession of ‘Alí Virdí Khán, in 1740, to the transfer of Bengal to the E. I. Company.

In the following pages, I shall principally treat of the first and second periods.

I.

THE INITIAL PERIOD (1203 TO 1338, A. D.)

The first period has been almost exhaustively described by Mr. E. Thomas in his ‘Initial Coinage of Bengal,’ published in the Journal for 1867, in which he details the results of his examination of selections made from 13,500 pieces of silver, accidentally found in Koch Bihár in August, 1863. I can, therefore, with regard to this period, merely give a few interesting inscriptions which have since turned up, and note a few coins—second gleanings from the Koch Bihár *trouvaille*—which are in the Society’s cabinet.

Of the following inscriptions belonging to the Initial Period, one was received from General Cunningham, and the others from Mr. Broadley, who handed over to the Society in all twenty-two rubbings, which I have deciphered and translated. The original stones are either attached to old public buildings in the town of Bihár, or are preserved in the Museum of that place.*

No. 1. *The Tughril Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

امر ببذاء هذه العمارة في أيام مملكة المجلس العالي خان الاعظم
خاقان المعظم عز الحق والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين مغيث الملوك
والسلطين ابي الفتح طغرل السلطاني خلد الله ملكه العبد مبارك خان
الخازن تقبل الله منه في المحرم سنة اربعين و ستمائة //

* Together with the rubbings, Mr. Broadley made over to the Society readings of several early Muhammadan coins of importance, and also a few notes on the Muhammadan buildings of the town of Bihár. The coins have since passed into the collection of Col. Guthrie, and have been published by Mr. E. Thomas in his ‘Second Part of the Initial Coinage of Bengal’ (about to be reproduced in this Journal). The “notes”

This building was ordered to be erected during the days of the reign of the Majlis i 'Alí, the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, 'Izzul haq waddín, the help of Islám and the Muslims, the helper of princes and kings, A b u l F a t h Ṭ u g h r i l, the Royal, may God perpetuate his reign! The slave, Mubárah Khán, the Treasurer,—may God grant acceptance!

In the month of Muharram, 640, [July, 1242, A.D.]

The inscription is a large slab of basalt, and is at present in the Bihár Museum. It was found let into brick work on the north side of the great Dargáh, to protect the doorway from rain. A photozincograph of it was published by me in this Journal for 1871, Pt. I, Pl. vii.

It is of interest to remark that South Bihár was under the Lak'hnautí governors from Bakhtiyár Khiljí's time.

Ṭughril in 631 (A. D. 1233-34) succeeded Saifuddín Aibak as governor of Lak'hnautí, in which office he continued till the 5th Zí Qa'dah 642 (or 4th April, 1245), on which day he was forced to cede his office to Qamaruddín Timur Khán. Ṭughril was appointed to Audh; and Timur Khán remained in Lak'hnautí till 29th Shawwál, 644, (or 9th March, 1247) on which day both he and Ṭughril died.*

The following are the governors of Bengal from Saifuddín Aibak to Bughrá Khán. The dates differ slightly from Mr. Thomas's list on p. 8 of his 'Chronicles.'

Saifuddín Aibak. Dies at Lak'hnautí in 631. *Tabq.*, p. 239.

'Izzuddín Abul Fath Ṭughril Ṭughán Khán, governor from 631 to 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642. *Tabq.*, p. 245. He withdraws to Audh, and dies on the 29th Shawwál, 644.

Qamaruddín Timur Khán, governor from 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642, to 29th Shawwál, 644, when he, too, dies. *Tabq.*, p. 246.

Ikhtiyáruddín Yúzbak Ṭughril Khán, proclaims himself king under the title of Sultán Mughíşuddín. Perishes in Kámrúp. *Tabq.*, p. 263. No dates are given.

Jaláluddín Mas'úd, Malik Jání Khiljí Khán, becomes governor on the 18th Zí Qa'dah, 656 (or 17th Nov., 1258). *Tabq.*, pp. 206, 225.

'Izzuddín Balban, was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tájuddín Arsalán Khán Sanjar i Khwárazmí, who, however, was captured or killed by 'Izzuddín. *Tabq.*, p. 267.†

are of little value, and are moreover incomplete, so that I can only give my readings and translations of the Bihár inscriptions. They are marked 'B. C.' (Bihár Collection.)

* *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, pp. 245, 246, where Ṭughril is called Ṭughril Ṭughán Khán. Hence the *táríkh* on p. 246 is wrong, and for *sín* we have to read *mím*. 'Ṭughril' signifies a kind of falcon or hawk, and *ṭughril shudan*, like *shunqár shudan*, means 'to die.' 'Shunqár' also is a kind of falcon.

† Hence Tájuddín Arsalán Khán should not be put among the governors of Bengal.

Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, son of Arsalán Khán Sanjar. He had been for some time governor, when the emperor Balban ascended the throne (664). *Baraní*, p. 66. After a few years he was succeeded by

Tughril, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sultán Mughíşuddín. His fate has been mentioned above. No dates are given.

Bughrá Khán, Náçiruddín Mahmúd, second son of emperor Balban.

No. 2. *The Bárahdarí Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

This inscription also belongs to the time of the early governors of Bengal; but unfortunately the first half with the name of the governor is wanting. Its date however, A. H. 663, shews that it belongs to the time of Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, governor of Bengal in the end of the reign of Náçiruddín Mahmúd of Dihlí. The inscription was found in the yard facing the shrine of Sháh Fazlullah, Bárahdarí Mahallah, Bihár.

* * * * * الله و امراته و ابقي في ديار الممالك عمارته ببناء هذه المقبرة المتبركة شهر سنة
* * * * * العدل الرافة المخصوص بعناية الرحمن * * * سلطان شاه نور اللهم توبته و
بيض غرته و اجعل قبره روضة من رياض الجنان و لا تجعل حفرة من حفر النيران
في ليلة الاحد الثامن عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاث و ستين و ستمائة و المعمار
عبدھما الممنون بانعامھما مسجد الكابلي ||

* * may God (perpetuate) his rule and governorship, and may He cause his edifice to remain in the realm * * by the erection of this blessed tomb in the months of the year * * Sultán Sháh, (O God, illuminate his grave, and whiten his forehead, and make his grave a garden of the gardens of Paradise, but do not make it a pit of the pits of fire!). On Saturday evening, the 18th Jumáda I, 663. The architect is their slave, who is obliged by their rewards, Majd of Kábul. [8th March, 1265.]

No. 3. *The Kai Káús Inscription of Kagol.* Pl. V, Nos. 1 and 2.

A rubbing of this inscription was received from General Cunningham. Its date is, curious to say, the same as that of the Kai Káús inscription of Gangarámpúr, published by me in the *Journal*, for 1872, p. 103. Mr. Thomas has published coins of this king, bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 (*Chronicles*, p. 149), and the cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal contains two clear specimens of 691, and 696 (Lak'hnautí mint).

The inscription is—

وقو (؟) لبناء هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد الدولة السلطان المعظم
مالك رقاب الامم مولاي ملوك الترك والعجم صاحب التاج والخاتم
ركن الدنيا * * * * * س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان يمين خليفة
الله ناصر امير المؤمنين في نوبت الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم اختيار
الحق والدين خان خان الشرق والصين سكندر الثاني فيروز ايتگين السلطان

* The text has a dual.

خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ دَوْلَتَهُ * * * * * الْمَظْفَرُ الْمَذْصُورُ الْغَازِي ضِيَاءُ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالِدَيْنِ
الْغِ خَانَ إِدَامَ اللَّهُ دَوْلَتَهُ وَزَادَ خَيْرَهُ فِي الْغُرَّةِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ سَنَةِ سَبْعٍ
وَتَسْعِينَ وَسِتْمِائَةَ ۥ

This Jāmi' Mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultān, the owner of the necks of nations, the master of the princes of the Turks and the Persians, the lord of the crown and the signet, Ruknuddunyā waddīn [Kai Káu]s Sháh, the king, son of a king who was the son of a king, the right hand of God's Viceregent, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, and during the governorship of the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Ikhtiyár ul haq waddín, the Khán of the Kháns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Fírúz Aitigín Sultán, (may God perpetuate his rule!) ** [by] the victorious, the invincible, the champion, Ziyáuddaulah waddín Ulugh Khán, may God perpetuate his rule and increase his benefits! On the 1st day of Muharram, of the year 697. [19th October, 1297]*

* This inscription contains what Mr. Thomas calls an unusual reiteration of the words *ibnu sultānin ibni sultán*, which is perhaps more unusual on coins than on inscriptions. But the spirit of pride that breathes in the words is apparent, when we compare with it the legend of the coins struck in Tirhut by the rebel Bahádur, given in Badáoní II, p. 298.

In Raziya's Bengal coinage (Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 107), I read for مهرة, which has no sense, ممددة, *mumiddatu*, 'the helper,' the same as ناصرة. 'Raziya' stands for 'Raziya unnisá,' i. e. one who among women is looked upon with favour.

I also take this opportunity to give my reading of the Náçiruddín Mahmúd Inscription, published by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles*, p. 129, an inscription which in style is similar to the above Kai Káu's inscription. General Cunningham has favored the Society with a rubbing of it.

[بني] هذه العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر
الدنيا والدين سلطان السلاطين ذي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان
صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و
سلطانه ناصر الملك العالم الكبير اعظم قتلغخان بها الحق والدين ملك ملوك
الشرق والصين بابلن الشمسي في ايام ايلته دامت معاليه في العاشر من رجب
سنة اثني وخمسين وستماية ۥ

'This building was erected during the reign of the great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, Náçiruddunyā waddín, the king of kings, who protects the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the signet in the kingdom of the world, Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the son of the king (may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!), by order of the learned and great Malik, A'zam Qutlugh Khán Baháulhaq waddín, the Malik of the Maliks of the Eastern Provinces and China, Balban the Shamsí [slave of Shamsuddín Iltitnish], during the period of his governorship, may his high qualities endure! On the 10th Rajab, 652.'

From this it will be seen that A'zam Qutlugh Khán (Balban) does not call himself *Malik ul 'Alam* 'the Malik of the world,' but *almalik ul 'álim*, 'the learned Malik.'

The reading of the name 'Aitigín' or 'beautiful moon,' in this inscription was suggested by Mr. Redhouse, and I gladly correct my reading Itgín in the Kai Káús inscription, published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 103, where the correct name of the builder is Zafar Khán Bahráṁ Aitigín, the Royal (*sultání*).*

The date of this inscription is the latest yet discovered of Kai Káús's reign.

Kai Káús seems to have been succeeded by his brother Shamsuddín Fírúz Sháh (I). Mr. Thomas quotes coins of this king, dated 702, 715, 720, 722, and the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has three specimens, struck at Lak'hnautí, with clear dates 706 and 715, and (slightly doubtful) 710.

Three inscriptions of Fírúz Sháh have hitherto been found, of which one, dated 1st Muharram, 713, or 28th April, 1313, was published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Part I, p. 287.† The other two inscriptions are from Bihár, and are dated 709 and 715. They reveal that Fírúz Sháh had a son Hátim Khán,‡ who in those two years, and probably in the interval, was governor of Bihár.

No. 5. *The Fírúz Sháh (I) Inscription of Bihár.* [B.C.]

بنى هذه العمارة المزیدة (؟) فى عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا
والدين ابى المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطاناه ونوبة ايالة
الخان العادل البازل الغازى * * الحق حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلد ملكه
وسلطانه العبد الضعيف محمد حسين تكهروري فى شهر سدة تسع وسبعماية ١١

This (additional?) building was erected in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king, (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!) and during the governorship of the just and liberal Khán, the champion of God, ** Hátim Khán, the son of the king, may God perpetuate his rule! The weak slave Muhammad Husain Tak'harorí. During the months of the year 709. [A. D., 1309.]

A plate of this inscription was published in this Journal, for 1871, Part I, Pl. viii. The inscription itself is attached to a lofty gateway, which together with an arched hall, fast falling to decay, and a roofless mosque, forms the remains of what tradition calls Hátim Khán's palace. It stands on a gentle eminence, due east of the Bihár mountain.

* Or, we might at once translate, 'the Sultán;' for *sultání*, as abstract noun, occurs on numerous coins; *vide* Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for June, 1870, p. 152. The translation of the other portions of the inscription is here confirmed.

† Where in the third line for *الاکرام* read *الاکرم*.

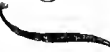
‡ Besides the four sons mentioned by Mr. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 148.

بنى هذا المسجد فى نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر
 فيروز شاه السلطان و ايام اماراة خاقان الزمان المخاطب بحاتم خان ادام الله
 ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله و لكرمه الراجى احقر الخلائق بهرام بن حاجى
 تاب الله عليه و غفر لوالديه فى الغرة من رجب سنة خمس عشرة
 و سبعمائة ||

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king, and during the governorship of the Kháqán of the age, known as Hátim Khán, may God cause their shadows to last! The slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of mankind, Bahrám, son of Hájí, may God turn to him and may He pardon his parents!

On the first day of the month of Rajab of the year 715. [1st October, 1315.]

This inscription, a fine slab of basalt, leans against the wall of the Chhotá Dargáh in Bihár.

Two other sons of Fírúz Sháh, Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh and the well known Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh, struck coins as 'kings of Bengal' during the lifetime of their father. Of the former, Mr. Thomas says (Chronicles, p. 194)—“Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shihábuddín Bughdah Sháh. No date or place of mintage is preserved.” However, the cabinet of the Asiatic Society possesses two specimens,* one of the same kind as published by Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, Pl. VI, No. 4), and a new variety, containing the same legend, but with the letters, on the obverse, close together, and with a  instead of the star on the reverse. The former fortunately contains a complete margin, with the clear legend—

ضرب هذه الفضة بلكهنوتى سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائة

This silver coin was struck at Lak'hnautí in the year 718.

Mr. Thomas looks upon the *d* in the name of this king as the Hindí *ḍ*, which is so often interchanged with *ṛ*. This may be the case, inasmuch as Shiháb, according to Muhammadan custom, would assume the name of his grandfather *bughrá*; † but in India, people seem early to have substituted a *dál* for the *re*; hence we find in the *Aín* the form *bughdí*. ‡

Ghiyásuddín Bahádur Sháh was the last of the Balbaní kings of Bengal. “In A.H. 733, Muhammad ibn i Tughluq is found issuing his own coin in

* Evidently Bábu Rájendralála Mitra's selections from the Koch Bihár hoard.

† Which signifies a male 'Bactrian camel' (with two humps). The spellings given in dictionaries are *بوغور* - *بغور* - *بوغر* - *بغرا* - *بوغرا*.

‡ *Vide* my *Aín* translation, p. 143.

Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the province and the empire.”* And already the year before, we find that a palace had been built, or renovated, in Bihár for the Imperial *Náib*, which tradition still calls the ‘sukúnat,’ or residency.

No. 7. *The Sukúnat Inscription of Bihár.* [B.C.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

شد بتجدید عمارت این دروازه عالی عالم آرای و این طاق رفیع فلک سایی در ایام
خلافت خلیفه جهانپناه آسمان بارگاه خدایگان سلاطین گیدهان فرمان فرمای عالمیان
ذی الامن و الامان لاهل الایمان وارث ملک سلیمان ابو المجاهد محمد بن
تغلقشاه السلطان خلدت خلافته و سلطانه فی الغرة من الشهر المبارک رمضان سنة
اثنی و ثلاثین و سبعمائة ۱۱

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico, were renewed in the reign of the Khalifah, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the Lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, Abul Mujáhid Muhammad, son of Tughluq Sháh, the Sultán, (may his kingdom and rule be perpetuated!). On the first day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 732, A. H. [27th May, 1332].

From this time till the beginning of the 10th century, Southern Bihár as remarked above, remained detached from Bengal, and followed the fortunes of the empires of Dihlí and of Jaunpúr.

Muhammad Tughluq's governors of Lak'hnaúti, Sátgáon, and Sunnár-gáon did not long remain undisturbed, and the death of Bahrám Khán, governor of the last province, was the commencement of new revolutions, which led to the establishment of a line of independent kings.

II.

THE SECOND PERIOD, OR THE PERIOD OF THE INDEPENDENT KINGS OF BENGAL (1338 TO 1538, A.D.)

For this period I shall take the kings singly, and collect for each reign whatever new information I have been able to gather from the rubbings received from General Cunningham, Dr. J. Wise, and Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and from unpublished Bengal coins in the Society's cabinet.

I have also compared the corresponding chapter of the *Riyázussaláṭín* with the statements given in the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* and in *Firishtah*.

The line of the independent kings commences with

* Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 200.

I. Fakhruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Muba'arak Sha'h.

He had been *Siláhdár*, or armour-bearer, to Bahrám Khán, the Dihlí governor of Sunnárgáon, and on his master's death in 739 A. H., or 1338 A.D., proclaimed there his independence.

According to the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, *Firishtah*, and the *Riyáz ussalátín*, Mubáarak Sháh was killed by 'Alí Mubáarak in 741, after a reign of two years and some months.* But as his coins extend over a period of more than ten years, from 739 to 750, it looks as if the date given in the histories should be corrected to *ده سال و چند ماه*, 'ten years and some months.' Mr. Thomas is willing to antedate Mubáarak Sháh's accession to 737; but the coins (*Chronicles*, p. 263, and Plate vi, fig. 7) do not satisfactorily prove this, because the reading *سبع*, in the absence of diacritical marks, is more likely *تسع*, which the histories give, especially because the numerous coins hitherto found do not give the intervening year (738).

The name 'Mubáarak Sháh' has been proved by coins, the histories only call him Sultán Fakhruddín or more familiarly still, Fakhrá.† Ibn Baṭúṭah also mentions him under the name of Fakhruddín, and says that he was an eminent man, kind to strangers and Qúfis.‡

Mubáarak Sháh's son is mentioned below. His son-in-law Zafar Khán fled from Sunnárgáon over Tattah to Fírúz Sháh in Dihlí, who, at his request, invaded Bengal a second time in the beginning of Sikandar Sháh's reign.§

II. 'Ala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar 'Alí' Sha'h.

Regarding this king the *Riyázussalátín* has the following :

'It is said that Malik 'Alí Mubáarak, who as king is styled Sultán 'Aláuddín, was a trusted servant of Malik Fírúz [subsequently Fírúz Sháh III. of Dihlí], and Malik Fírúz was brother's son to Sultán Ghiyásuddín Tughluq Sháh, and son of the paternal uncle of Muhammad Sháh. Muhammad Sháh, in the first year of his reign, made Malik Fírúz his Náib-Bárbak. Now at this time, Háji Ilyás, the foster-brother of 'Alí Mubáarak, did something wicked and fled from Dihlí. Malik Fírúz asked 'Alí Mubáarak what had become of Háji Ilyás. 'Alí Mubáarak went in search of him; and when he found no trace of him, he told Malik Fírúz that Háji Ilyás had run away. Fírúz scolded him and told him to leave his presence. 'Alí

* The *Riyáz* has five months. Stewart places his death in 743; but all histories have 741.

† Dowson, *Elliot's History*, III, p. 304.

‡ See Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 195.

§ These facts are only mentioned by *Shams i Siráj*, who moreover places Fakhruddín's defeat and death immediately after Fírúz Sháh's first invasion of Bengal in 754. This is clearly a few years too late.

Mubárák now went to Bengal. On his way, one night, he had a dream and saw the revered saint Jaláluddín Tabrízí, who said to him, "I will give thee the kingdom of Bengal; but thou wilt have to build me a vault." 'Alí Mubárák put the finger of acceptance on his eye, and asked where it was to be built. The saint replied, "In the town of Paṇḍuah at a place where thou wilt see thirty bricks one over another, and below them a fresh rose of a hundred petals."

'When 'Alí Mubárák arrived in Bengal, he entered the service of Qadar Khán, [the Imperial governor of Lak'hnaúti] and received from him the command (*bakhshigari*) of the army. But when Fakhruddín revolted against Qadar Khán, 'Alí Mubárák killed his benefactor, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Sultán 'Aláuddín. He then made war upon Fakhruddín, and slew him "as a punishment for having killed his benefactor." Leaving thanahs in (the province of) Lak'hnaúti, 'Aláuddín marched to subjugate other parts of Bengal. But from the time he had proclaimed himself king, the whirlpool of pleasure had made him forgetful of his promise to the Saint, when one night Jaláluddín again appeared to him and said, "O Sultán 'Aláuddín, thou art now king of Bengal, but me thou hast forgotten." The king next day at once searched for the bricks, and found them just as the saint had described. There he built the vault, the ruins of which exist to this day.

'Now about this time Hájí Ilyás also arrived in Paṇḍuah. Sultán 'Aláuddín put him into prison, but after some time, at the request of his mother who had been Sultán 'Aláuddín's nurse, he set him at liberty, and allowed him to come to court. Hájí Ilyás, in a short time, found means to gain over the army, killed 'Aláuddín with the help of the eunuch, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Shamsuddín Bhangrah.

'The reign of Sultán 'Aláuddín lasted one year and five months.'

This extract is so far satisfactory, as it explains the relation between Fírúz Sháh, 'Alí Mubárák, and Hájí Ilyás.

The evidence of coins, as in the case of the preceding king, gives 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh a longer reign than the histories. Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 265) gives a coin of the year 742, and he adds that he has seen coins of 744, 745, 746. There is nothing strange in the name '*Alí Mubárák*, which he thinks has arisen from "a strange jumble of Muhammadan writers, who endowed 'Alí Sháh with the surname of his adversary Mubárák Sháh;" for 'Alí Mubárák is as common a name as Mubárák 'Alí, and the histories say that this was 'Alí Sháh's name before accession.

From the fact that the coinage of Mubárák Sháh is restricted to the Sunnargáon mint, and that of 'Alí Sháh to Fírúzábád (*i. e.* Paṇḍuah), we may conclude that the former held Eastern, and the latter Western Bengal.

But 'Alí Sháh was vigorously opposed by Hájí Ilyás, who struck coins

in Paṇḍuah, 'Alī Sháh's capital, in 740 and 744, and in uninterrupted succession from 746 (probably the correct year when 'Alī Sháh was overcome by him) to 758.



III. Ikhtiya'ruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Gha'zi' Sha'h.

Fakhruddín Mubárák Sháh was succeeded in Eastern Bengal by Ikhti-yáruddín, who styles himself "son of the Sultán." We may, therefore, accept Mr. Thomas's hypothesis that he was the son of Mubárák Sháh. Coins are the only testimony on which the name of this king of Eastern Bengal has found a place in the list of kings. The figure of one of the coins given by Mr. Thomas, as also the specimen in the cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society, shew the year 753.*

IV. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Ilyá's Sha'h.

The relation of this king to 'Aláuddín 'Alī Sháh and Fírúz Sháh III. of Dihlí has been mentioned above. Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, he established himself, in 753, in Sunnárgaon (Thomas, p. 269), and thus founded a dynasty, which, with an interruption of about forty years in the beginning of the 9th century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H.

Ilyás Sháh's successes in Eastern Bengal were followed by an attempt to extend the western boundaries of the kingdom, and according to the *Riyáz* he pushed as far as the Banáras district. In order to punish him, Fírúz Sháh, in 754, after marching through Tirhut and Púrniah, invaded Bengal and besieged Ekdálah. The defeat of Ilyás Sháh is almost humorously described by Ziyá i Baraní. But "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country," and Fírúz Sháh withdrew,† appointing collectors, apparently

* Thomas, *Chronicles*, Pl. VI, fig. 9. The margin clearly gives . A figure with  would be desirable, so that the reign of this king might be fixed from 751 to 753.

† It is said in the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, under Ilyás Sháh, that Fírúz Sháh's expedition lasted from the 10th Shawwal, 754, till 11th Rabi' I, 755. As the latter date corresponds to the 5th April 1353, it could only have been *prospect* of the rains, not the setting in of that season, that drove Fírúz Sháh back to Dihlí. The army, according to Baraní, complained of mosquitos in the vicinity of Paṇḍuah.

The 'Fírúzpúrábád,' mentioned by Stewart and quoted by Mr. Thomas (p. 264, note 2), where Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, should be 'Fírúzpúr.' The *Riyáz* says—"At a place where now Fírúzpúr lies (*bajáe kih alyaum Fírúzpúr ábádest*, not *Fírúzpúrábád ast*), Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, and starting from that place on horseback laid siege to the fort of Paṇḍuah. In the fort Sultán Shamsuddín had left his son, whilst he himself had retreated to Fort Ekdálah, which is very strong." The maps shew several Fírúzpúrs round about Gaur; thus two are south of the fort of Gaur.

for the first time, in Tirhut, and was glad in subsequent years to exchange presents with Ilyás Sháh.

As Hájí Ilyás is the legendary founder of Hájípúr, opposite Patna, we may assume that in northern Bihár the Ghandak formed the frontier; in south Bihár, however, the frontier could not have passed beyond Munger, because the inscriptions preserved in the town of Bihár (*vide* below) shew that in 732, 737, 753, 761, 792, and 799, the town of Bihár was under Dihlí governors.

Just as Mubárák Sháh and 'Alí Sháh are called in the histories by their first name, so is Ilyás Sháh also invariably called Sultán Shamsuddín. The name 'Ilyas Khaje,' which Stewart gives, is not to be found in historical works. Stewart also mentions 760 as the year in which Ilyás died, but the histories only mention that his reign lasted sixteen years and some months. In 758, he had for the third time sent ambassadors with presents to Dihlí, and Fírúz returned the compliment by sending him horses; but the Dihlí ambassadors on reaching Bihár heard that Ilyás had in the meantime died. The latest of Mr. Thomas's coins of Ilyás Sháh also bear the year 758.*

Ilyás Sháh is nicknamed 'Bhangrah,' a corruption, it seems, of the Hindústání *bhangérá*, 'a seller, or eater, of the drug *bháng* (hemp).' Firish-tah says that he does not know the origin of the word; but Ziyá i Baraní evidently knew more about it; for he says, rejoicing in his joke,—“And the well known Bengal Páiks, who for years had borne the name of 'the Bengal Ancients' or 'the Dead,' had taken a quid from Ilyás the Bháng-eater, in order to shew that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; and standing in front of the train of that wild maniac, together with the mouldy-looking Bangálí Rájahs, they bravely threw about their arms and legs; but as soon as the battle commenced, they put from fear their fingers into their mouths, gave up standing to attention, threw away swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were consumed by the swords of the enemies.” A graphic description, by the way, of the Bengal Military Police in 1353, A. D.

No inscriptions have hitherto turned up that mention Ilyás Sháh; nor does the author of the Riyáz, who had a good personal knowledge of the ruins of Gaur and Panduah, speak of any buildings erected by him. He only says—‘It is said that Sultán Shamsuddín made in Bengal a reservoir in imitation of Hauz i Shamsí at Dihlí.’

* Reinaud, however, quoted by Marsden (p. 566, note) mentions two Sunnargáon coins of 754 and 760. The MS. of the Riyáz belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal mentions 758 as the year in which the last ambassadors left for Dihlí; Stewart has 759; and the Tabaqát and Firishtah, who copies from it, have ‘in the end of 759.’ The earliest coin of Sikandar figured by Mr. Thomas (Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal, 1867, Part I, p. 63, and Pl. II, No. 12) belongs to 761.

Regarding the coinage of Ilyás Sháh, *vide* Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 57, 58.

V. Abul Muja'hid Sikandar Sha'h.

Ilyás Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar Sháh. The beginning of his reign was marked by a second attempt* made by Fírúz Sháh to annex Bengal; but as in the first, Ekdálah held out, and Fírúz returned to Dihli, and never again interfered in Bengal matters.

'In 766,' says the Riyáz,† 'Sikandar commenced to build the Adínah [*i. e.* Friday] Mosque; but he had not finished it when he died, and the building remained half completed, and now-a-days parts of the edifice may be seen in the jungle near Paṇḍuah, about a *kos* from it. I have seen it myself: it is, indeed, a fine mosque and must have cost a great deal of money. May Sikandar's efforts be thankfully remembered!'

According to the same author, Sikandar Sháh died after a reign of nine years and some months—a statement also given in the Ṭabaqát—of wounds which he had received 'on the field of Goálpárah,' fighting with his favourite son Ghiyás, whom the machinations of a jealous step-mother had driven into rebellion.‡

'Sikandar was the contemporary of the revered saint 'Alául Haq.'

Several inscriptions belonging to Sikandar's reign have been found. One of the year 765, from Dínájpúr, was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 105. I remarked there on the beauty of its characters;§ but the inscriptions inside and outside the Adínah Mosque, rubbings of which the Society owes to General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley, are the finest that I have seen. The characters are beautiful, and the rubbings have created sensation wherever I have shewn them. The inscription inside is 13½ ft. long and 1¼ ft. broad, but contains only verses from the Qorán [Sur. IX, 18, 19], on the top in Kufic and below in (what people call now-a-days in India)

* In 760, according to the Ṭabaqát and the Riyáz; Stewart has 761. Regarding Fírúz Sháh's desire to reinstate Zafar Khán, Mubárah Sháh's son-in-law, in the government of Sunnárgáon, the cause that led to the expedition, *vide* Dowson, Elliot's History of India, III, 304, ff.

† Stewart has 763.

‡ Ghiyás marched with a large army from Sunnárgáon, and pitched his camp at Sunnárgarhí. Stewart has *Sunnárkoṭ*. From the other side, his father issued forth with a terror-inspiring army, and the next day, on the field of Goálpárah, both parties engaged in deadly strife. The whole story is only to be found in the Riyáz.

The Goálpárah meant here is, no doubt, the village quite close to Paṇḍualí, S. W. of it. I have not identified Sunnárgarhí.

§ It was written by one Ghiyás. General Cunningham is inclined to think that the Ghiyás is Sikandar's son.

Ṭughrá characters. The stone outside measures 4 ft. 9 in. by 10 in., and its letters are just as beautiful.

No. 8. *The Sikandar Sháh Inscription, A'dínah Mosque, Hazrat Paṇḍuah, A. H. 770, (vide Pl. V, No. 3).**

أمر ببذاء العمارّة هذا المسجد الجا ابا (؟) فى الدولة السلطان الاعظم
اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب والعجم الوائق بتأييد الرحمن ابو المجاهد
سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود
كتبه فى التاريخ ست رجب سنة سبعين و سبعمائة //

This.....mosque was ordered to be built in the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, A b u l M u j á h i d S i k a n d a r S h á h, the king, son of I l y á s S h á h, the king,—may his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise!

He wrote it on the 6th Rajab of the year 770. [14th February, 1369.]

Neither inscriptions nor coins give Sikandar Sháh a full *julús* name; he only has a *kunyah*, Abul Mujáhid. Perhaps it would be going too far in speculations, if I were to say that Ilyás *naturally* called his son Sikandar; but a Muhammadan, on hearing the name of Ilyás, will immediately think of the *áb i hayát*, 'the water of life'; and as Sikandar is the legendary successor of Ilyás (the Prophet Elias) in search of the precious commodity, the name of the father may have suggested that of the son.

As stated above, the histories assign Sikandar Sháh a reign of nine years and some months. Stewart says that he died in 769, a year obtained by adding nine years and a fraction to 760, which he assumes to have been the year in which Ilyás Sháh died. The above Paṇḍuah inscription extends Sikandar's reign to the latter half of 770, and the coins figured by Mr. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage' (J. A. S. B., 1867, Pl. II, Nos. 12, 14, and 13) give the dates 761, 782, and 783. But Mr. Thomas also states that among the large number of Sikandarsháhís that passed through his hands, he found coins of almost every year between 750 and 792, with the exception of the years 755, 762, 767, 768, 769, 774, 775, 777, and 778. It thus becomes clear that Sikandar Sháh struck coins as prince. Mr. Thomas also quotes A'zam Sháhí coins of 772, 775, 776, the years when Sikandar's coinage is most interrupted, and again from 790 to 799. Further, we have to remember that the poet Háfiz sent the well known ghazal

* I have elsewhere remarked on the numerous grammatical mistakes in Bengal Arabic Inscriptions. They consist chiefly in wrong articles, mistakes in gender, in oblique cases, and in wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals. In order not to disfigure the text, I shall no more indicate such errors by a (*sic*).

to Ghiyásuddín A'zam Sháh, 'king' of Bengal; and as Háfiz died in 791 (خاك مصلي being the date of his death), the ghazal must have been sent to Bengal during Sikandar Sháh's lifetime. The fact that A'zam Sháh's early coins (of A. H. 772) were struck in Mu'azzamábád (*vide* above), agrees with the statement of the Riyáz that he rebelled in Eastern Bengal, where he remained "nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority."*

VI. Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar A'zam Sha'h.

The only fact given in the *Riyáz* and omitted by Stewart is that "A'zam Sháh was treacherously murdered (*ba-daghá kushtah*) by Rájah Káns "after a reign of seven years and some months,† or, as I have seen in a "little book, after a reign of sixteen years, five months, and three days."

The coins of this king, as mentioned before, go to 799; the latest figured by Mr. Thomas (Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pl. II, No. 15) is of 795.‡ No inscription of this and the following two kings have been found.

* It is also curious that in the inscription of 777, published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 292, no king is mentioned, as if it had been doubtful who the real king was.

In order to remove all doubts regarding a confusion of سبعين and تسعين in the reading of Sikandar's and A'zam Sháh's coins, a few clear drawings of Sikandar Sháh's struck between 783 and 792, and of A'zam Sháh's, struck in 772, 775, 776, would be required. A'zam Sháh's reign, according to the common statement, lasted 7 years, which we certainly get when we subtract 792 (the latest year *cited* by Mr. Thomas for Sikandar Sháh) from 799 (the latest year *cited* for A'zam Sháh); but if we take the second statement, given in the *Riyáz*, regarding the length of A'zam Sháh's reign, *viz.* 16 years, 5 months, and 3 days, and subtract it from 799, we get 783, the year of Mr. Thomas's latest *figured* coin.

† *I. e.*, according to the wrong chronology of the *Tabaqát* and the *Riyáz*, in 775.

‡ I may here suggest a few unimportant alterations in Mr. Thomas's readings of A'zam Sháh's coins ('Initial Coinage,' J. A. S. B., 1867, pp. 68 to 70). *First*, عون الاسلام is to be corrected to غوث الاسلام. Again, the mysterious كين (*loc. cit.*, p. 68) is nothing but يمين, *yamín*. Lastly the reverse of coin No. 38 (*loc. cit.*, p. 70), as I see from a specimen in the Society's Coin Cabinet, is

ابد الله دولته و خلد الله ملكه

May God render his power everlasting, and may God perpetuate his reign,—abbada alláhu, not the name 'Abdullah,—which removes from the mint officials the charge of ignorance. It was only Akbar who, in his hatred of everything that was Arabic, recommended the substitution of Alif for 'Ain, and 8 for ح, &c.

In the reverse of the Sikandar Sháhí (*loc. cit.*, p. 64, No. 23), as I also see from a coin in the possession of the Society, there is a wrong Alif before لدين and a و (*waw*) is omitted before *Alqáhiru*,—'Who renders assistance to the religion of God, and who is victorious over the enemies of God.' This cancels the footnote.

VII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Hamzah Sha'h, son of A'zam Sha'h.

The histories give him the epithet of Sultán ussalátín, and praise him for his virtues. Firishtah says :—" And the Rájahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience and practised no neglect and delay in paying taxes."

According to the Ṭabaqát, he reigned ten years. But the author of the Riyáz saw " in the little book," that the reign of this king was 3 years, 7 months, and 5 days, which would bring his reign to 802, or 803, A. H.

Marsden has published a coin of this king, without, however, giving the Royal name (Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLIV). It follows in appearance the coins of Sikandar Sháh and A'zam Sháh; the margin contains 'Firúzábád,' but no year. The specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society is of very rude manufacture, and has most clumsy letters, especially on the reverse.

Vide Pl. VII, No. 1. Silver. Weight, 162.505 grains. A. H. (80)4. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.) Rare. Circular areas.

OBVERSE— **الموید بذائید الرحمن سیف الدنیا والدین ابوالمجاهد حمزه شاه**
بن اعظم شاه السلطان

REVERSE— **ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين**

MARGIN— **سنه اربع * * ***

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Hamzah Sháh, son of A'zam Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and the Muslims * * year * * 4.

VIII. Shamsuddi'n ? ?, son of Saifuddi'n Hamzah Sha'h.

The Ṭabaqát says that this king followed the path of his father, and died after a quiet reign of three years and a few months. Firishtah states that as the king was young and deficient in intellect, an infidel of the name of Káns, who was an Amír of the court, obtained great power and influence, and usurped the executive and the collection of taxes. The Riyáz has the following : " After enjoying himself for some time, he died, in 788, from an illness, or through the foul play of Rájah Káns, who at that time was very powerful. *And some writers have asserted that this Shamsuddín was no son of the Sultán ussalátín, but an adopted son (mutabanní), and that his name was Shihábuddín. Anyhow, he reigned 3 years, 4 months, and 6 days.* It is clear that Rájah Káns, who was zamíndár of Bhatúriah, rebelled against him, killed him, and usurped the throne."

THE SAINTS OF GAUR AND HAZRAT PANDUAH.

Before proceeding in my account of the kings of Bengal, it may be convenient here to collect the information which we possess regarding the

* *I. e.*, according to the erroneous chronology, he would have died in 785.

Muhammadan saints of Gaur and Panduah. Their names often occur in Bengal History, while their dargáhs, as elsewhere, are the natural depositories of inscriptions.

The principal personages of saintly renown are Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí, Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán, Shaikh 'Aláulhaq, and Núr Quṭb 'Álam.* All larger works on Muhammadan Saints contain biographical notices of them.

1. *Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí.*

He was a pupil of Abú Sa'íd Tabrízí and of the renowned Shaikh Shiháb-uddín Suhrawardí. He accompanied the latter on his pilgrimages to Makkah, and used to carry on his head a small oven with the hot pots in which his master kept his food. Numerous miracles are ascribed to him. Among others, he converted, with one look, at Badáon a Hindú milkman to Islám. Though several times charged with immoral practices, he defeated his accusers. When he went to Bengal, he commenced to destroy idols; in fact, his vault occupies the site of an idol temple. He kept a *langarkhánah*, where he housed and fed beggars and travellers. He died in 642 A. H., or A. D. 1244. The place where he died does not seem to be accurately known. The Mutawallís of the tomb near Gaur say that he died in Aurangábád (the old K'harkí), and that his shrine in Bengal† is a mere *jawáb*, or imitation-vault; but the *Aín i Akbarí* (IVth book) says that he was buried at Bandar Díú Mahall.‡ *Vide* below under Yúsuf Sháh.

2. *Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán.*

Siráj came as a boy to Nizámuddín Auliá of Dihlí, who handed him over to Fakhruddín Zarrádí to teach. In course of time, he became very learned, and was told to go to Bengal, where he died in 758, A. H., or 1357, A. D. The *Haft Iqlím* says that Nizám called him 'the mirror of Hindústán,' and that he only received, when advanced in age, proper instruction from Fakhruddín. After Nizám's death, he went to Lak'hnautí, and all the king became his pupils.

For the inscriptions at his tomb, *vide* below under Husain Sháh.

* Besides these, the *Riyáz* mentions a Shaikh Rájá Bayábání (died in 754, when Fírúz besieged Ilyás Sháh). Shaikh Hamíd of Nágor, one of Núr Quṭb 'Álam's teachers, belongs to Nágor in Jodhpúr, not to Nágor in Bírghúm, as Stewart says.

† As most Dargáhs in Bengal, Sháh Jalál's tomb is rich. Its lands lie chiefly in Bardwán District, at Bohát, near Maimarí, a station on the E. I. Railway. There is a Madrasah and a Sarái in Bohát.

The oven is still shewn at the Gaur shrine, and "till three generations back, it cooked rice without fuel."

‡ *I. e.*, either the Maldives, or Díú in Gujarát. *Vide* Dowson, IV, 96, note.

3. *Shaikh 'Aláuddín 'Alá-ulhaq.*

'Alá-ulhaq was the son of Shaikh As'ad of Láhor, and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán. According to the *Ma'árij-ulwiláyat*, he was a true Quraishí Háshimí, and traced his descent from Khálid bin Walíd. He was at first exceedingly proud of his origin, wealth, and knowledge, so much so, that Shaikh Akhí complainingly told Nizámuddín Auliá that he was no match for 'Alá-ulhaq. But Nizám told him not to mind it, as 'Alá would in time become his (Akhí's) pupil. It seems that 'Alá in his pride called himself *Ganj i Nabát*,* and when Nizám heard this, he cursed him, and said, "May God strike him dumb!" The curse instantly took effect; nor was 'Alá-ulhaq's tongue loosed till he became the humble pupil of Shaikh Akhí. As Shaikh Akhí travelled a great deal on horseback, 'Alá-ulhaq accompanied him walking barefoot and carrying his master's pots filled with hot food on his head, till he became quite bald. Nor did he feel concerned when Shaikh Akhí, with a view of humbling him, passed on his journey the houses of his brothers, who were all Amírs and rich men.

Once some travelling faqírs came to 'Alá-ulhaq's cell. One of them had a cat with him;† but whilst in 'Alá's house, the cat was lost. The owner asked the saint to 'make' him a new cat; but when 'Alá said that he did not know from what to make one, he replied, "What do I care from what you make it, make it out of the horn of a stag, if you like." 'Alá was annoyed and said, "You shall feel the horns." Thereupon another of the faqírs, in order to vex the saint, said, "Well, can I make a cat from my testicles?" and 'Alá replied, "There you shall feel it." When the faqírs had left the house, the former was killed by an ox, and the second got an attack of orchitis, of which he died.

'Alá-ulhaq spent large sums in feeding pupils, beggars, and wanderers. But the king of the land got envious, because the public treasury even could not have borne such a heavy expenditure, and he drove the saint to Sunnárgáon. He stayed there for two years, and gave his servants orders to spend twice as much as before. And yet, he only possessed two gardens, the income from which was eight thousand silver tankalis *per annum*; but as he gave a beggar the land as a present, all money must have been supplied him from the unseen world.

* Faríduddín 'Attár, the great saint of Pák Paṭan (Ajodhan) in the Panjáb has the title of *Ganj i Shakar*, 'store of sugar.' But *shakar* may be unrefined, whilst *nabát* is applied to the best refined sugar. 'Alá-ulhaq, therefore, placed himself above Faríd.

† What the dog is to Europeans, is the cat to Indians. To kill or lose a cat is most unlucky.

'Alá-ulhaq died on the 1st Rajab, 800, or 20th March, 1398, and his tomb is at Hazrat Paṇḍuah.

4. *Shaikh Nūruddīn Nūr Quṭb 'Ālam.*

He is the son and spiritual successor of 'Alá-ulhaq. In order early to practise the virtue of humility, he washed the clothes of beggars and wanderers, and kept the water constantly hot for ceremonial ablutions; nay, he even swept the cell of his father and cleaned the privies attached to the house. One day, whilst thus engaged, his pure body was polluted, and his father allowed him to proceed to other work, as woodcutting. He refused the invitation of his worldly brother A'zam Khán, who was the Vazír at the court of Muhammad Tughluq.*

Quṭb 'Ālam died in 851, or A. D. 1447, and lies buried at Paṇḍuah. The words *shams ul hidáyat*, 'lamp of guidance,' are the *tárikh* of his death. He was succeeded by his sons Ruf'atuddín and Shaikh Anwar.

IX. Rájah Ka'ns.

We saw above that Shamsuddín (II.)—a king whose existence and royal titles have not yet been verified by medallie or mural evidence—was dethroned by Rájah Káns. This Rájah, at the present stage of research, belongs to legends and traditions rather than to authenticated history, there being little else known of him besides the fact that through him the succession of kings of the house of Ilyás Sháh, which had successfully ruled over Bengal for more than fifty years, was broken, and that his son became a Muhammadan.

The remark of the Riyáz regarding Shamsuddín and the probability that he did not belong to the old dynasty, but was an adopted son and was called *Shihábuddín*, receives a particular importance from the following coins of a new king, whom I shall now assign, for the first time, I believe, a place in the list of the kings of Bengal. Their manner of execution, which follows closely on that of the coins of preceding kings, and the mint towns mentioned proclaim them to be Bengal coins. The name of the new king is—

Shihábuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Ba'yazi'd Sha'h.

His coins do not mention the name of his father, and the absence of the usual phrase *ibn ussulṭán*, 'son of the king,' indicates that he was either a usurper, in which case 'Báyazid' might represent the Muhammadan name of Rájah Káns after conversion, or a puppet king, in whose name Rájah Káns reigned and coined in the 'Dárul Islám' of Bengal.

If we take the first alternative, we have against it the clear statement of the historians that Káns remained a Hindú, and also the circumstance

* This is rather early, considering that 752 is Tughluq's last year.

that his son does not mention the name of his father on his coins, which he would scarcely have omitted, if Káns had turned Muhammadan. And if we look upon this Báyzíd Sháh as a successful rival of Rájah Káns, we have history and legends against us. Hence the theory of a puppet king—a *benámí* transaction—is perhaps the least objectionable.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 2. Silver. Weight, 163·94 grains. A.H. 812. Circular areas. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.)

OBVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه
السلطان

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة . . . سنة ٨١٢

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Shihábuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Báyzíd Sháh, the king.

The helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims, may God perpetuate his reign! This coin was struck * * * * * year 812.

2 *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 3.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·76 grains. Fírúzábád, A. H. 816. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, two specimens.) Rare. The obverse has sixteen convex scollops, and the reverse eight concave ones.

OBVERSE.—As in No. 1.

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين

Margin.—(ابوبكر) ضرب (عمر) فيروز عثمان آباد سنة (علي) ٨١٦

In the Margin.—(Abú Bakr) struck at ('Umar) Fírúz-(Usmán) ábád in the year ('Alí) 816.

Rájah Káns has been identified by Mr. E. V. Westmacott† with Ganesh, Rájah of 'Dynwaj,' or Dínájpúr. The Riyáz, who appears to have compiled his chapter on this usurper from local traditions, calls him 'Rájah of Bhatúriah.' Whether this name is an ancient one, I cannot say; it does not occur in the *Áin*, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennell's Atlas (1778), in which the name of Bhatúriah is given to a large District east of Máldah, bounded in the west by the Mahánandá River and the Purna-

* In the figure of this coin, there is a wrong stroke between the ٨ and ٦ in the year.

† *Vide* Calcutta Review, No CX, October, 1872. Col. Dalton suggests a comparison of the name 'Káns' with 'Kons,' or 'Konch,' the same as Koch (Koch Bihár). Koch is often pronounced with a nasal twang, as if it were spelt Koñs.

It is also curious that a Parganah near Dínájpúr (south-west of it) has the name of 'Bajitpúr,' a well known Bangálí corruption of Báyzíd púr, which at once reminds us of Báyzíd Sháh. We may attach some significance to this, as the name is evidently old; for the name of this very parganah occurs in the *Áin i Akbarí* (my text edition, p. 403, in *Sirkár Panjrah*).

bhaba its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dínájpúr and G'horág'hát. Bhatú-riah, therefore, is the district to both sides of the Atrai River.

The Ṭabaqát i Akbarí merely states the fact of Káns's usurpation, and assigns him a reign of seven years. Firishtah, who has been followed by Stewart, says that, "though no Muhammadan, he mixed with them and loved them, so much so that some Muhammadans testified to his conversion, and claimed for him a Muhammadan burial. After a vigorous reign of seven years, he went to the world of annihilation, and was succeeded by his son, who had the honor of being converted to Islám."

The Riyáz represents the views of the opponents of the Rájah, and gives the following :—

'When Sultán Shamsuddín died, Rájah Káns, a Hindú zamíndár, seized the whole kingdom of Bengal, and sat proudly on the throne. Oppression and bloodshed followed; he tried to kill all Muhammadans, and had many learned men murdered. In fact, his object was to drive Islám from his kingdom. One day, people say, Shaikh Badr ul Islám, son of Shaikh Mu'inuddín 'Abbás, went to the wicked tyrant, but did not greet him. When the Rájah asked him why he had not saluted him, he replied, "Learned men are not supposed to greet infidels, especially an infidel tyrant, who like thee sheds the blood of Muhammadans." The unclean heretic was silenced, he winced under the reply, and thought of nothing else but to kill the Shaikh. He, therefore, called him one day to a room, the door of which was very low and narrow. But the Shaikh saw through the plan,* and put his foot first over the threshold, and then entered without bending his head. This annoyed the Rájah so much, that he gave orders to take him to the path of his brethren. The Shaikh was at once executed. All the remaining learned men, on the same day, were put on board a ship and were drowned in the middle of the river.

'The usurpation of this infidel and the slaughter of Muhammadans drove at last the Saint Núr Quṭb ul 'Álam to despair, and he wrote a letter to Sultán Ibráhím i Sharqí (of Jaunpúr), *who at that time had extended his kingdom to the [Eastern] frontier of Bihár*,† complaining of the injustice done to Islám and the Muslims, and asking the king to march against the infidel. Ibráhím received the letter with due humility, and consulted with Qází

* The Rájah evidently wished the Shaikh to come to him in a stooping position, which might be looked upon as a 'salám'.

† The Jaunpúr kingdom was founded in 796, and Ibráhím Sharqí, the first titular Sultán, reigned from 804 to 844. The faulty chronology of the Ṭabaqát, Firishtah, and Stewart, makes Rájah Káns die in 794. The story of the Riyáz, therefore, agrees very well with the testimony of coins; but it is strange that the author of the Riyáz did not see the anachronism.

Shihábuddín Jaunpúrí, the chief of the learned of the age, who was allowed at court to sit on a silver chair. The Qází represented the worldly and religious advantages that would flow from a war with the infidel on the one hand, and from a visit to the great saint, on the other. The king, therefore, collected a large army, invaded Bengal, and pitched his camp at Sarái Fírúzpúr. Rájah Káns now applied to Quṭb ul 'Álam, begged to be forgiven, and asked him to intercede on his behalf with the king of Jaunpúr. The saint replied that at the request of an infidel he could not bid a Muhammadan king stop ; in fact, he had himself invited the enemy to come. The Rájah placed his head on the feet of the saint, and said, he was willing to perform anything he ordered him to do, whereupon Quṭb ul 'Álam told him that he would not interfere until he was converted to Islám. The Rájah placed the finger of acceptance upon his eye ; but the wife of the infidel led him back to perdition, and he evaded conversion. But he took his boy, who was twelve years old and had the name of Jadú, to the saint and said, "I have got old and wish to renounce the world ; make this boy a Muhammadan and give him the kingdom of Bengal." Quṭb ul 'Álam, thereupon, put some *pán* which he was chewing, into Jadú's* mouth, taught him the creed, and thus made him a Muhammadan, giving him the name of Jaláluddín. According to the Rájah's wish, he also sent a proclamation through the town, ordering the people to read the Friday prayer in the name of the new king. The blessed law of the prophet was thus carried out with new vigour. Quṭb ul 'Álam now went to king Ibráhim, and asked him to return. The king looked angrily at Qází Shihábuddín, who said to Quṭb ul 'Álam, "At your request the king has come here, and now you come to him as ambassador to implore his mercy. What shall men think of this?" The saint replied, "When I called you, a tyrant oppressed the faithful ; but now, in consequence of your approach, the new ruler has become a Muhammadan ; fight with infidels, not with a king that belongs to the Faith." This silenced the Qází ; but as the king still looked angry, the Qází had the boldness to enter into a scientific discussion with the saint. After many questions and answers, Quṭb said, "To look on the poor with contempt or entangle them in examinations, brings no man prosperity. Your miserable end is at hand." He then looked even at the Sultán with expressions of anger. Ibráhim now got vexed, and returned with a sorry heart to Jaunpúr. It is said that not long after, Sultán Ibráhim and Qází Shihábuddín died.

'When Rájah Káns heard that Sultán Ibráhim was dead, he deposed Jaláluddín, took again the reins of the government into his own hands, and ruled according to his false tenets. He made several hollow cows of gold, threw Jalál into the mouth of one, and pulled him out behind ; the gold

* As saints do with their pupils, or in order to break the boy's caste.

was then distributed among the Brahmans. He hoped that the boy would thus return to his old faith. But as Jalál had been converted to Islám by a saint like Qutb ul 'Álam, he remained faithful to his new belief, and the talk of the infidels made no impression upon him.

'Rájah Káns now again commenced to persecute the Muhammandans. When the measure of his cruelties was full, Shaikh Anwar, son of Qutb ul 'Álam, said one day to his father, "It is a matter of regret that, with you as guardian saint, the Muhammadans have so much to suffer at the hand of this infidel." The saint was just at his devotions, and angry at the interruption, he exclaimed, "The misery will not cease till thy blood is shed." Anwar knew that whatever his father said, was sure to come true; he, therefore, replied that he was a willing martyr * * *. The oppression of Rájah Káns reached the climax, when he imprisoned Shaikh Anwar and his brother's son Shaikh Záhíd. But as he dared not kill them, he banished them to Sunnárgáon, in the hope that they would confess where Qutb ul 'Álam had buried his money and that of his father. But even though they were sent to Sunnárgáon, and were much threatened, no money was found, because none had ever been buried, and Shaikh Anwar was ordered to be killed. Before his execution, he said that at such and such a place they would find a large pot. People dug and found a large vessel with only one gold coin in it. On being asked what had become of the other money, Anwar replied, "It seems to have been stolen." Anwar, no doubt, said so by inspiration from the unseen world.

'It is said that on the very day on which Shaikh Anwar died, Rájah Káns went from his palace to the infernal regions. But according to the statement of some, he was killed by his son Jaláluddín, who, though in prison, had won over the officers. The oppressive rule of this monster had lasted seven years.'

X. Jala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sha'h.

According to the histories, he is the son* of Rájah Káns. His real name is given in the Riyáz as 'Jadú,' and by Firishtah as 'Jatmall' or 'Jaimall'—the MSS. differ. There is a place J a t m a l l p ú r, a little east of Dínájpúr, and we may assume the first name to be correct. As the coins of Báyazíd Sháh go up to 816, and the coins of Muhammad Sháh commence with 818, the latter year, or 817, must be the beginning of his reign; and if he reigned for seventeen years, as stated in the histories, his reign may have lasted from 818 to 835, which agrees with the year on Marsden's coin

* Stewart supposes that he was the eldest son of the Rájah by a Muhammadan concubine. According to the *Tabaqát* and *Firishtah*, he reigned seventeen years, and died in 812 A.H. Stewart says, eighteen years.

of his successor Ahmad Sháh (836). General Cunningham tells me that the Bodleian Library at Oxford has a specimen of 831.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 4, and Marsden, Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLXV. Silver. Weight, 166·89 grains. Mint town? A.H 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.)

Obverse area, bounded by sixteen convex scollops; reverse area, a four-leaved shamrock.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Margin, none.

REVERSE.—ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة في سنة ٨١٨

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and of the Muslims,—may his reign be perpetuated! This coin was struck in.....in the year 818.

Marsden gives this coin as dated 823, but his figure does not shew that year.

2. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 5. New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·695 grains. A. H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Obverse area as in No. 1; reverse, eight concave scollops.

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Margin, none.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين

Margin, (ابوبكر) ضرب (عمر) سنة ثمان (عثمان) عشر (على) ثمانماية

The just king Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims. (Abú Bakr) struck ('Umar) in the year ('Usmán) eighteen ('Alí) eight hundred [818, A. H.].

3. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 6. Silver. Weight, 155·725 grains. Sunnár-gáon (?), A. H. 821. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.) Obverse area, as in No. 1; reverse area, a square inscribed in a circle.

OBVERSE and REVERSE, as in No. 1.

Margin, ضرب * * * * (ساركانو?) ٨٢١

During the time of Muhammad Sháh, says the Riyáz, the town of Panḍuah became so flourishing, that it cannot be sufficiently described. The king also built a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalálí Tank, and a Sarái in Gaur; in fact, Gaur also was again during his reign occupied. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 [822], he made the Palace of Gaur his residence. A large dome with his tomb still exists in Panḍuah, and the tombs of his wife and his son are at the side of his in the same vault.'

XI. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Ahmad Sha'h.

Marsden (Numismata, Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLXXIV) has published a silver coin of this king, whom the histories call the son of Muhammad Sháh. The coin bears the clear date 836 A.H. (1432-33, A.D.), and differs from the preceeding Bengal coins by having the Kalimah on one side.* The Tabaqát merely states that he reigned for sixteen† years, and died in 830 A. H., whilst Firishtah adds that he was a good and liberal king. The Riyáz gives him a different character. 'As Ahmad Sháh was of rough disposition, tyrannical, and blood thirsty, he shed the blood of innocent people, and tore open the bodies of pregnant women. When his cruelty had risen high, and great and small were in despair, Shádi Khán and Náçir Khán, two of his slaves, whom he had raised to the rank of Amírs, made a conspiracy and killed him. This took place in 830, after Ahmad Sháh had reigned sixteen, or, as some say, eighteen, years.'

'Shádi Khán now desired to get rid of Náçir Khán; but Náçir Khán outwitted him, killed him, and issued orders as king. The Amírs and Maliks, however, refused to obey him, and murdered him, after seven days, or, as some say, after twelve hours.'

With Ahmad Sháh ends the dynasty of Rájah Káns. Taking the year 817, the beginning of Muhammad Sháh's reign, as a well attested starting point, and assuming the duration of each reign as given in the histories to be correct, we would get—

	<i>Duration of reign.</i>	<i>Ascertained dates.</i>
Rájah Káns (Báyazíd Sháh)	} 817 — 7, or 810 to 817.	Coins of 812 and 816.
Muhammad Sháh,		
Ahmad Sháh,	817 + 17, or 817 to 834.	Coins of 818, 821, 823, 831.
	834 + 16, or 834 to 850.	Coin of 836.

Now above we saw that the last ascertained year for Hamzah Sháh's reign is 804. If we then allow, on the testimony of all histories, above three years to Shamsuddín, son of Saifuddín, we would be brought to the year 808, the commencement of the usurpation of Rájah Káns, and the reckoning, according to the data which we at present possess, is on the whole satisfactory.

The length of Ahmad Sháh's reign only is open to doubt; for if his reign be extended to 850, we are forced to assume that for the greater part of his rule he was vigorously and successfully opposed by Náçiruddín Mahmúd, whose coinage, as will be seen from the following, goes back at least to 846 A. H.

* The reading of the obverse is—

السلطان الاعظم شمس الدين ابو المجهاد احمد شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

† Stewart has eighteen.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYA'S SHA'H DYNASTY.

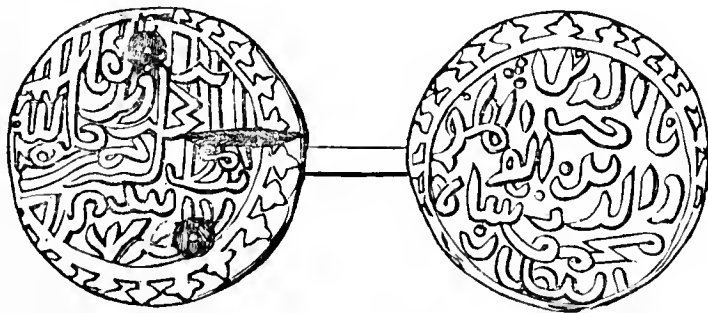
XII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmu'd Sha'h (I).

The histories agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyás Sháh. He seems to have been supported by the old party who were tired of Ahmad Sháh; old families are said to have gathered round him; and Gaur, the old capital, was rebuilt by him. The wars between Jaunpúr and Dihlí, as Firishtah correctly observes, gave Bengal rest, and Mahmúd Sháh, according to the histories, reigned in peace for thirty-two years, or according to some "not more than twenty-seven years," and died in A. H. 862.

In the histories, he is called by his first name Náçir Sháh, instead of Mahmúd Sháh. Bengal history presents several examples of similar inversions, if the retention of the familiar name of the king can be called so.

The chronology of Mahmúd Sháh's reign has been considerably cleared up by a coin in the possession of Col. H. Hyde, the President of our Society, and by the inscriptions received from General Cunningham and Dr. Wise. The dates now ascertained are 846; 861; 20th Sha'bán, 863; 28th Zil Hajjah, 863. Again, the oldest inscription of Bárbak Sháh, discovered by Mr. E. V. Westmacott, is dated Çafar, 865. We are, therefore, certain that Mahmúd Sháh must have reigned at least till the beginning of 864. But if the second statement of the histories regarding the length of his reign (27 years) be correct, we would get the year 836 as the first year of his reign, the very year in which Marsden's Ahmad Sháhí was struck. This would make Mahmúd Sháh an opposition king for the whole length of Ahmad Sháh's reign, which the histories say was not the case. We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Mahmúd's reign.

1. *Coin of Mahmúd Sháh.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·08 grains. (Col. H. Hyde.) A. H. 846. No mint-town. The margin contains little crosses.



OBVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن حجت خليفة الله [في الزمان؟] ضرب سنة ٨٤٦

REVERSE.—ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان

He who is assisted by the assistance of God, the evidence of the Khalífah of God in this age, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king. A. H. 846.

Mahmúd Sháh's coins hitherto published are almost valueless. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society has only one specimen, without date or mint-

town, like No. 8 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins (Journal XV, for 1846, Pl. IV). Some have the Muhammadan creed on one side in (so called) Tughrá characters, and, on the other side, the name of the king *Náçirud-dunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh*. The margin of the specimen is unfortunately cut away. Mr. Laidley's No. 7 has the same obverse; the reverse is the same as on Hamzah Sháh's coins—*

ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه

But the three inscriptions of this king are very valuable, viz., one from Sâtgaón, dated A. H. 861, or 1457 A. D.; one from Dháká, dated 20th Sha'bán, 863, or 13th June, 1459;† and one from Gaur, discovered by General Cunningham, dated 28th Zil Hijjah, 863, or 26th October, 1459.

No. 9. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Sâtgaón* (A. H. 861).‡

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة
و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين
و قال عز من قائل جل جلاله و عم نواله ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
احدا و قال الذبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و على آله و اصحابه من بنى
مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة * * * * * المؤيد بتأييد
[الرحمن] * * * * * بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر [محمود] شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه
و اعلى امرة و شانه بذاء الخان الاعظم المعظم المكرم المخاطب بخطاب

* I am doubtful whether Laidley's Nos. 11 and 12 belong to this king. The obverse of No. 11 consists of seven circles, four with 'Náçir Sháh,' and three with 'assultán;' the reverse is illegible. It is unlikely that the king should have called himself Náçir Sháh on some coins, when other coins and all inscriptions give his royal name 'Mahmúd Sháh.' Laidley's No. 12 is curious; it shews on the reverse the *kalimah* in clumsy Kufic characters, and on the obverse five circles with 'Mahmúd Sháh assultán.' In the centre of the piece are three rings, thus—°.°. Three rings thus arranged are Timur's arms; vide Vambéry's Bokhara, p. 205.

† Received from Dr. J. Wise. It was published in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

‡ This inscription was first published by me in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, Part I, p. 293, where notes will be found on the locality. The name 'Mahmúd' is broken away, only the *dál* is left, which in 1870, when I copied the inscription from the stone, I mistook for a *nún*. General Cunningham's rubbing leaves no doubt that it is a *dál*. I therefore republish the inscription with this important correction.

تربیت خان سلمہ اللہ تعالیٰ عن آفات آخر الزمان بمنہ و کمال کرمہ فی
سنة الحادی و ستین و ثمانمائة ||

God Almighty says, 'Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided. And how beautifully does He whose glory shines forth and whose benefits are general, say, 'Surely the mosques belong to God, do not call on any other besides Allah.' And the Prophet says,—may God's blessing rest upon him and upon his house and his companions!—'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

* * * * by him who is assisted by the help of the Merciful, * * * by proof and evidence, the help of Islām and the Muslims, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzañfar [Mahmúd] Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition! It was built by the great Khán, the exalted, the liberal, who has the title of Tarbiyat Khán—may God Almighty protect him from the evils of the end of time by His grace and the perfection of His mercy! In the year 861. [A. D. 1457.]

No. 10. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panduah*, (Pl. V, No. 4).

General Cunningham found this inscription at the Chhotá Dargáh in Panduah.

قال الله تعالى كل نفس ذايقة الموت و قال الله تعالى ان جاء اجلهم
فلا يستأخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون * قال الله تعالى كل من عايها فان
و يبقی وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام * و انتقل منحدومنا العلامة استاذ
الائمة برهان الامة شمس الملة حجة الاسلام و المسلمين نافع الفقراء و المساكين
مرشد الواصلين و المسترشدين من دار الفناء الى دار البقاء الثامن و العشرين
من ذى الحجة فى يوم الاثنين و كان ذلك من السنة الثالث و الستين
و ثمانمائة فى عهد سلطان السلاطين حامى بلاد اهل اسلام و المسلمين
ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر محمود شاه سلطان صانه الله بالامن و الامان
وبنى هذا الروضة خان الاعظم لطيف خان سلمه من البليات و آفات ||

God Almighty says, 'Every creature tasteth death' (Qor., III, 182). He also says, 'When their fate comes, they cannot delay it an hour, nor anticipate it' (Qor., X, 50). He also says, 'Everything on earth fadeth, but the face of Thy Lord remaineth full of glory and honor.'

Our revered master, the teacher of Imáms, the proof of the congregation, the sun of the Faith, the testimony of Islám and of the Muslims, who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent, the guide of saints and of such as wish to be guided, passed away from this transient world to the everlasting mansion, on the 28th Zil Hijjah, a Monday, of the year 863, during the reign of the king of kings, the protector of the countries of the Faithful, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaáffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God keep him in safety and security! This tomb was erected by the great Khán, Latíf Khán,—may God protect him against evils and misfortunes!

XIII. Ruknuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Ba'rbak Sha'h.

The histories agree in calling him the son of Náçir Sháh, *i. e.*, Mahmúd Sháh, and in assigning him a reign of seventeen years. The Riyáz says, seventeen, *or sixteen*; and the latter statement is evidently nearer the truth, as by the preceding inscription Bárbak cannot have commenced to reign before 864.

To judge from the Tribení inscription published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 290, it would appear that Bárbak as prince was governor of south-western Bengal in 860; but the inscription styles him 'Malik,' not 'Sultán,' from which it is clear that he was no rebel.

The following inscription, which Mr. E. V. Westmacott found in Dínájpúr, is very valuable, as it proves that Bárbak was king in the very beginning of 865.

No. 11. *The Bárbak Sháh Inscription of Dínájpúr.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين *
 فالله خير حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين *
 ببناء المسجد فى العهد السلطان ابن سلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو
 المجاهد باربكشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
 بحكم اشارة خان اعظم و خاقان معظم يهلوى العصر و الزمان الخ اقرار (؟)
 خان سرلشكرو وزير بانى خير مسجد المذكور و مرمت كرده روضه خان اعظم
 و خاقان معظم الخ نصرت خان جنگدار و شقدار معاملات جور و برور
 و محلهاء ديگر فى التاريخ السادس و عشر من الشهر الصفر ختمه الله
 بالخير و الظفر شهر سنة خمس وستين و ثمانماية //

In the name of God the merciful and the clement! A victory from God and a near success, and announce it to the Faithful (Qor. LXI, 13). God is excellent as a protector, and He is the most merciful of the merciful (Qor. XII, 64).

The building of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the king, the son of a king, R u k n u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u j á h i d B á r b a k S h á h, the king, son of M a h m ú d S h á h, the king,—may God continue his kingdom and rule!—by the direction of the great Khán, the noble chief, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Iqrár (?) Khán, commander and wazír, builder of this religious edifice, the said mosque. And the repairer of the tomb (is) the great Khán and noble chief Ulugh Nuçrat Khán, the jangdár and shiqdár of the affairs of Jor and Barúr and of other Mahallahs. Dated, the 16th day of the month of Safar,—may God bring it to a happy and successful end!—of the year 865. (1st December, 1460, A. D.)*

Note on a Bárbak Sháh Inscription from Dínájpúr.—By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, Esq., C. S.

‘I send a rubbing of an inscription of the reign of Barbak Shah, A. H. 865. It states him to have been the son of Mahmood Shah, a point upon which a bit of additional evidence is not without value. It is very clearly cut on the usual black stone, which is commonly called basalt, but which is more like a slate. In one place I found the surface flaking off, and so brittle, that I was afraid to clear it of the whitewash, with which it was clogged, as thoroughly as I should have liked. The slab is about twenty-two inches by ten, and the inscription is in five lines.

‘It is let into the eastern front of a little brick-built mosque adjoining the grave of Chihil Ghazee, the Peer, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in his report on Dinagepore, p. 29. The grave, surrounded by an iron railing, is 54 feet long, and is supposed to correspond to the stature of the saint. It is on the north side of the path up to the mosque, some hundred yards to the west of the Darjeeling road, four miles north of Dinagepore, and not far from the Gopalgunge temples. The Mootawallee is a very ignorant fellow, and I have found out nothing of the Peer beyond his name.

‘The founder of the mosque was “Shikdár of the affairs of Baroor,” and of another place. Baroor I take to be the parganah of that name, now in Poorniah, outside the western border of Dinagepore.

‘On each side of the inscription has been let into the wall a stud, or circular piece, of the same stone, which have on the right side of each a groove, as if for a clamp, which makes me think they were not originally cut for their present position. They are about eight inches in diameter. The centre of each bears in Tughra the *muhur i nubuwwat* or ‘seal of prophethood,’ surrounding this is an inscription of which I send rubbings, but which neither the Moulawi nor I can decipher. In an outer ring, half an inch lower, the northern stone bears the inscription—

* I take this opportunity to correct the wrong reading of a title in the Bárbak Sháh Inscription published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Pt. I., p. 290, Inser. VII., where for *جامدار غيّر محلي* I should have read *جامدار غيّر محلي* *jámadár i ghair i mahallí*, as explained in Journal for 1872, Pt. I., p. 106.

این نقشه مهر نبوت که در میان دو شانه مبارک محمد مصطفی صلی
الله علیه و سلم بود ۱۱

This is the picture of the seal of prophetship which was between the two shoulders of Muhammad Muṭṭafá—may God bless him!

‘As door steps to the mosque and to the enclosure surrounding the grave are pieces of hewn stone, similar pieces lying close by; they are more or less carved and appear to be parts of doorways. Such stones are common in all parts of the district, and are said by tradition to have been brought from Bannagar, near Debkot. They are similar to the remains of Gour and Poroowa [Paṇḍuah]. On the south side of the path is the female portion of a *ling*, of large size, a queer ornament for the premises of a Mahomedan saint.

‘The mosque is somewhat ruinous, the roots of plants are tearing it in pieces. I think that it is of greater antiquity than most in the district, from the strength of the brick arches, the workmanship of the dome, and the fact that the hewn stones which are built into the inner side of each archway, have been cut to fit their places, although bearing marks of clamps to show they have been taken from another building.

‘Three archways, twenty-eight inches wide and nearly six feet high, lead into a vestibule twelve feet by five and a half, at each end of which a similar archway opens to the north and south. Three more archways lead into a chamber, twelve feet square, surmounted by a dome, now cracked in several directions. In the west wall are three niches, and two small archways on the north and south lead into the open air. On the inner side of each of the ten archways, a little below the spiring of the arches, hewn stones, six or eight inches thick, are carried through the whole thickness of the wall which is three feet through. It is unusual in Dinagepore to find that the workmen have dressed the stone as they have here.

‘It is usual to build them in just as they are, often with most incongruous Hindoo carvings upon them.’

Regarding the “seal of prophetship,” it is said in the *Madárij-unnubuwwat* by ‘Abdul Haq of Dihlí, that the seal between the shoulders of the Prophet was a thing raised above the surrounding parts of his blessed body, resembling the body in colour, smoothness, and brightness. And it is stated in the *Mustadrík* that Wahb ibn Munabbih said that no prophet was sent on earth that had not the sign of prophetship on his right hand, except the Prophet, who had the sign between the shoulders. Shaikh Ibn Hajar in his commentary to the *Mishkát* says that the seal contained the words *والله وحده لا شريك له توجه حيث كنت فانك منصور*, “and God is one, He has no associate; pay attention wherever thou art, for thou art victorious.”

Some traditions say that the seal was of light, and others, that it vanished from the skin when the Prophet expired, so much so that people knew by its disappearance that the prophet was really dead. Several authorities compare the seal to the egg of a pigeon: some call it a غدة حمراء, 'a red fleshknot,' and others say that it was a wart covered with hair.

Marsden gives a Bárbak coin which clearly shews the year 873.* The cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains the following:—

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 7. New variety. Silver. Weight 164·025 grains. (Asiatic Society's Cabinet.) A specimen in the possession of Bábu Rájendralála Mitra weighs 164·335 grains.

OBVERSE.— * * * لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان العالم العادل

REVERSE.— • * * الاعظم المعظم باربكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان

Neither of these coins give Bárbak's full name.

XIV. Shamsuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Yu'suf Sha'h, son of Bárbak Sháh.

Firishtah represents him as a learned man, who, after his accession charged the 'Ulamá to see the law of the Prophet carried out. 'No one dared drink wine.'

The histories assign him a reign of seven years and six months, and say that he died in 887. If so, the end of his reign was marked by a successful rebellion of his uncle Fath Sháh; but it is just as likely that Yúsuf died early in 886.

Marsden has a coin of this king without year, and Laidley gives a new variety of 884.† General Cunningham's inscriptions give the following dates—

1. Paṇḍuah, 1st Muharram, 882, or 15th April, 1477.
2. Hazrat Paṇḍuah, 20th Rajab, 884, or 8th October, 1479.
3. Gaur, 10th Ramazán, 885, or 13th November, 1480.

No. 12. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Paṇḍuah, Húglí District.*‡

(Pl. VI, No. 1.) A. H. 882.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا وقال عليه السلام
من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له في الآخرة سبعين قصرا * بنى
المسجد في عهد السلطان الزمان المويّد بتأييد الديان خليفة الله بالحجة

* *Vide* also Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, Part I., p. 299, note.

† Bábu Rájendralála Mitra has a specimen (like Laidley's) of 883 خزانة. The margin, similarly to Fath Sháh's coins, contains shamrocks separated by dots. Weight 163·65 grains.

‡ *Vide*, Journal, As. Socy., Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 300.

و البرهان السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن بابر بك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بنى هذا المسجد المجلس المجلس
مجلس معظم المكرم صاحب السيف و القلم يهلوى العصر و الزمان الخ
مجلس اعظم سآمه الله تعالى في الدارين مؤرخا في اليوم الرابع الغرة
من شهر محرم سنة اثنى و ثمانين و ثمانماية و تم بالخير

God Almighty says—' Surely the mosques belong to God. Do not call on any one besides Allah. And he upon whom God's blessing rest, says, ' He who builds a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in the next world.' This mosque was built during the reign of the king of the age, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, the viceregent of God by proof and evidence, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The mosque was built by the Majlis ul Majális, the great and liberal Majlis, the lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Majlis i A'zam—may God Almighty protect him in both worlds!

Dated Wednesday, 1st Muharram, 882. Let it end well!

No. 13. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.* A.H. 885.

قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له قصرا
في الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد فى زمن السلطان العادل البادل شمس
الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن بابر بك شاه السلطان بن
محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه مجلس المجلس
اعلى اعلاه الله تعالى شأنه فى الدارين و كان ذلك فى التاريخ هجرة
النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم فى يوم الجمعة عشرين شهر رجب رجب قدرة
سنة اربع و ثمانين و ثمانماية

The Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) says, ' He who builds a mosque for God, shall have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of the just and liberal king Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the Majlis ul Majális, the exalted Majlis,—may God whose dignity is exalted also exalt him in both worlds! And this took place on Friday, the 20th Rajab (may the dignity of the month increase!) of the year 884, according to the era of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom God's blessing rest!

No. 14. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Gaur.* A.H. 885.

قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله
تعالى له سبعين قصرا فى الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان
ابن السلطان بن السلطان باربك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان *
بنى هذا المسجد خان اعظم و خاقان معظم * * * بتاريخ دهم ماه مبارك
رمضان سنة خمس و ثمانين و ثمانماية ١١

The Prophet, &c. &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king. The mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, * * * * [not legible.]

Dated, the 10th day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 885.

A rubbing of another Yúsuf Sháhí Inscription has been received from Dr. J. Wise. Dr. Wise says—"The inscription is from one of the four mosques which surround the tomb of Sháh Jalál at Silhat. It is a fine *Tughrá* inscription, but unfortunately one-third of it has been built into the masonry, the slab forming the lintel of the door!"

The inscription is—

No. 15. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Silhat.*

*** ابو المظفر يوسف شاه ابن باربك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بازي هذا المسجد المجلس الاعظم
المعظم الدستور الساعي في الخيرات و المبرات المجلس الاعلى حفظ الله
تعالى عن الآفات ***

*** Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! And the builder is the great and exalted Majlis, the wazír (*dastúr*), who exerts himself in good deeds and pious acts, the Majlis i A'lá—may God preserve him against the evils and * *

To judge from Dr. Wise's rubbing, the inscription, in point of beauty, ranges immediately after the Sikandar Sháh inscription No. 8, mentioned above, and it would be well, if the *Sar i qaum*, 'the head of the clan,' as the Mutawallí of the tomb is called, would take steps to have this beautiful inscription taken out of the masonry, and thus restore it to light and history.

Dr. Wise has also sent the following interesting note on Sháh Jalál.

Note on Sháh Jalál, the patron saint of Silhat.—By DR. J. WISE,
DHA'KA.

The following abridgment of the life and miraculous adventures of Sháh Jalál, the conqueror of Silhat in the 14th century, is taken from the *Suhail-i-Yaman*, written by Náçiruddín, late Munçif of Silhat; his work was composed in the year 1859. It is an abstract of two earlier histories, one of which is called the "*Risálah of Muhí-uddín Khádím*;" the other, by an unknown author, is designated the "*Rauzatus-Salátín*."

According to the Munçif, Sháh Jalál Mugarid Yamaní was the son of a distinguished saint, whose title of Shaikhush-Shuyúkh is still preserved. He belonged to the Quraish tribe. Sháh Jalál's father was named Muhammad; his grandfather Muhammad Ibráhím. His mother was a Sayyidah. She died within three months of the birth of this her only son. His father died fighting in a *jihád* against the infidels.

The youth was adopted by his maternal uncle Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Suhrwardí, a Darwísh of no mean accomplishments, who had studied under the renowned Sháh Jalál ud-dín Bukhárí.

For thirty years Sháh Jalál is said to have lived in a cave without crossing the threshold. He was at last summoned from his seclusion by his uncle, owing to the following circumstance. One day seated in front of his house at Makkah, lost in contemplation, Sayyid Ahmad saw a doe big with young approach him. The doe related how a lion had appeared in the wood in which she lived, and was killing all her comrades. She finally requested him to come and drive away the brute. Sháh Jalál was called forth from his cave, and directed to go and turn out the lion. On the way he puzzled himself what was to be done when the lion was seen. Unexpectedly, however, he met the animal, and the lustre which shot from his eye was so dazzling, that the lion fled and was heard of no more.

On his return, Sayyid Ahmad was so pleased with his behaviour, that he gave him a handful of earth and told him to go forth and wander over the world, until he found earth of similar colour and smell. Where he did, he was there to make his abode.

Hindústán was then the land to which adventurers directed their steps, and Sháh Jalál followed their example. He passed by a city of Yaman, the king of which was informed that a great Darwísh was near. He accordingly sent a cup of deadly poison instead of sharbat, to test his power. Sháh Jalál at once divined its nature, and informed the king's messengers that the instant the draught was swallowed, the king would die. The poison was quaffed without injury to the saint, but, as foretold, the king died.

Sháh Jalál proceeded on his course, but four days afterwards he was overtaken by the Sháhzádah, who had determined on leaving his kingdom and on following the saint in his wanderings.

After journeying for many days, they arrived at Dihlí, where the celebrated Nizám-uddín Auliya then resided. When Sháh Jalál entered the city, Nizám-uddín was sensible of the arrival of a saint. He, therefore, sent messengers to search for him and to invite him to come and eat with him. Sháh Jalál accepted the invitation and gave the messengers a bottle filled with cotton, in the centre of which he placed a live coal. The receipt of this wonderful bottle satisfied Nizám-uddín that this was no common Darwish. He accordingly treated him with every honour, and on his departure he gave him a pair of black pigeons.

The narrative is now transferred to Silhat. In a Mahallah of that city, called Tol-takar, resided at this period Shaikh Burhán-uddín. How a Muhammadan got there, or what he was doing so far away from his own countrymen, puzzles Muhí-uddín, who thinks that this solitary believer must have belonged to some Hindú family, and that he could not have been a true Muhammadan. Burhán, the story goes, had made a vow, that if he was blessed with a son, he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born, he performed his vow ; but as bad luck would have it, a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind, the king of Silhat, and complained. The king sent for Burhán and the child ; and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow, the child was ordered to be put to death, and the right hand of the father cut off.

Burhán-uddín left Silhat and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing of what had occurred, ordered his nephew (*bhánjá*) Sultán Sikandar, to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Sunnargáon with an army.

When news reached Silhat that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind, who was a powerful magician, assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued, the Muhammadans were routed, and Sultán Sikandar with Burhán-uddín fled. The Prince wrote to his uncle, informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war against such foes. The monarch on receiving the news, gathered together the astrologers, and conjurers, and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging, and Naçír-uddín Sipahsálár was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultán Sikandar. This re-inforcement, however, did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery, and it was decided to consult with Sháh Jalál, who with 360 Darwishes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultán and Naçíruddín proceeded to the camp of the saints,

where the Sháh encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer, and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils. Along with the Sháh were Sayyid Muhammad Kabír, Sayyid Háji Ahmad Sání, Shaikh Abul Muzaffar, Qází Amínuddín Muhammad, Sháhzádah Yamaní, &c., &c.

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them, and Gaur Gobind, driven from one position to another, at last sought refuge in a seven-storied temple in Silhat, which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple, and Sháh Jalál prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective, that each day one of the stories fell in, and, on the fourth day, Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

The terms agreed to, Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (*kohistán*). While at his protracted prayers, Sháh Jalál discovered that the earth on which he was kneeling was of the same colour and smell as that given him by the Makkah Darwísh. He, therefore, determined on establishing his abode there. With him remained Sháhzádah Yamaní, Háji Yúsuf, and Háji Khalíl. The rest of the saints retired with the army.

The remainder of Sháh Jalál's life was spent in devotion and in miraculous actions which still live in the traditions of the people. It is believed that Sháh Jalál never looked on the face of woman. One day, however, standing on the bank of a stream, he saw one bathing. In his simplicity, he asked what strange creature it was. On being informed, he was enraged, and prayed that the water might rise and drown her. He had no sooner expressed this wish than the water rose and drowned her. Other less questionable actions are related regarding him. For instance, he caused the corpse of Naçír-uddín Sipahsálár, who died at Silhat, to disappear from a Mosque, while the friends were mourning over it. On another occasion he wished that a fountain like the holy Zamzam of Makkah might spring up near his abode, and immediately the fountain appeared.

Sháh Jalál was translated (*intiqál*) the 20th of the "Kali Chand," A. H., 591, in the 62nd year of his age.

Dr. Wise also writes—"It is a curious fact that the Sháh is invoked by the Silhat *gánjah* (hemp) smokers. I have got a Silhat lunatic, who every day before smoking his *chillum* of tobacco invokes the saint in the following manner:—

*Ho! Bisheshwar Lál,
Tín lák'h Pír Sháh Jalál,
Ek bár, dubára, Jagannath jé ká piyára
Kháne ká dúdh bhát, bajáne ko dotára.*

The chronology of the 'Life of Sháh Jalál,' as Dr. Wise observes, is confused. His death is put down as having occurred in 591, A.H., and he said to have visited Nizámuddín Auliá, who died in 725, A. H. Again, according to the legends still preserved in Silhat, the district was wrested from Gaur Govind, the last king of Silhat, by king Shamsuddín in 1384 A. D., or 786 A. H., during the reign of Sikandar Sháh, whilst 'king Shamsuddín' can only refer to Shamsuddín Ilyás Sháh, Sikandar's father.

Dr. Wise also draws attention to the statement made by Ibn Baṭúṭah who "from Sadkáwán [Chátgáon] travelled for the mountains of Kámrú [Kámrúp, western Ásám]. * * His object in visiting these mountains was to meet one of the saints, namely, Shaikh Jalál uddín of Tabríz."* Jalál then gives him a garment for another saint 'Burhán uddín,' whom Ibn Baṭúṭah visits in Khánbálik (Pekin). Ibn Baṭúṭah, as remarked above, was in Eastern Bengal, when Fakhruddín was king (739 to 750, A. H.). But here again the confusion of dates and names is very great. Jalál uddín of Tabríz died, as we saw above, in 642, and the Silhat Jalál is represented as a man from Yaman.† Neither Jalál nor Burhánuddín is mentioned in the biographical works of Muhammadan Saints.

XV. Sikandar Sha'h II.

The Riyáz says that this king was the *son* of Yúsuf Sháh; the other histories say nothing regarding his relationship. Stewart calls him "a youth of the royal family," but afterwards calls Fath Sháh his "uncle." The Riyáz says that he was deposed on the same day on which he was raised to the throne; the *Aín i Akbarí* gives him half a day; my MS. of the *Ṭabaqát*, two and a half days; *Firishtah* mentions no time; and Stewart gives him two months.

XVI. Jala'luddi'n Abul Muzaffar Fath Sha'h, son of Mahmúd Sháh.

Fath Sháh was raised to the throne, as "Sikandar Sháh did not possess the necessary qualifications." The histories say that his reign lasted from 887 to 896, A. H., and yet, they only give him seven years and five months (Stewart, seven years and six months). The inscriptions and coins, however, given below shew that he reigned in 886; and if the "seven years and five months" are correct, Fath Sháh could only have reigned till 892 or 893, which agrees with the fact that his successor Fírúz Sháh II. issued coins in 893. Fath Sháh was murdered at the instigation of the Eunuch Bárbak.

Laidley has published two silver coins of this king, of which one seems to have been struck at Fathábád in 892. The following is a new variety.‡

* Leo, Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 195.

† *Vide* the Silhat Inscription of 1505, given below under Husain Sháh.

‡ The coin given by Marsden as a Fath Sháhí does not belong to this king.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 8. Silver. Weight, 158·65 grains. *Fathábád*, A. H. 886. (As. Soc. of Bengal, one specimen.) Circular areas. The margin consists of ornamental designs, resembling the niches in mosques and rosettes.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه سلطان

REVERSE.—ابن محمود شاه السلطان مجده الله الفتح فتح آباد ٨٨٦

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh Sultán, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God strengthen him with victory! *Fathábád*, 886.

The following five inscriptions of this king have been received by the Society—

1. *Dháká*, 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, or 2nd January, 1482.
2. *Dhámraí*, 10th Jumáda I., 887, or 27th June, 1482. Published, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 109.
3. *Bikrampúr*, middle of Rajab, 888, or August, 1483.
4. *Sunnárgáon*, Muharram, 889, or beginning of A. D. 1484.
5. *Sátgáon*, 4th Muharram, 892, or 1st January, 1487. Published, J. A. S. B., Pt. I, 1870, p. 294.

No. 16. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Bandar, near Dháká.*

A. H. 886. (Pl. VII, No. 1.)

The Society is indebted to Dr. J. Wise for this important inscription, regarding which he writes as follows—"The inscription was found on an old Masjid at Bandar, on the banks of a K'hál called Tribení, opposite Khizrpúr (Dháká). This K'hál was in former days the junction of the Brahmaputra, Lak'hya, and Ganges. At its opening on the left bank of the Lak'hya, a fort still stands, said to have been built by Mír Jumlah [*vide* Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1872, Pt. I, p. 96]. The place called Bandar is now a mile inland (*vide* Pl. IV), but during the height of the rains, the K'hál is navigable for native boats. The inscription is the most perfect as yet met with in this District."

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * قال الذبي
صلي الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قصرا في الجنة *
بنى هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم بابا صالح في زمان السلطان
ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في تاريخ اول شهر ذي القعدة سنة
ست و ثمانين و ثمانماية من الهجرة النبوية الـ

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God. Do not associate any one with God.' The Prophet, may God bless him!—says, 'He who builds a mosque, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.'

This auspicious mosque was built by the great Malik Bá bá Sáli h in the reign of the king, the son of the king, Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muza ffar Fath Sháh, son of Mah mú d Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—on the 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, A. H. (2nd January, 1482, A. D).

The builder of the mosque appears to have been a very pious man. Three miles west from Sunnárgáon, Dr. J. Wise discovered a mosque built by the same man, and adjoining the mosque his tomb. The masjid is within half a mile of the mosque to which the preceding inscription belongs, and was built in 911, A.H. A portion of the date of the inscription is designedly, as it would appear, chipped off.

No. 17. *The Bá bá Sáli h Inscription of Sunnárgáon.*

قال الله تبارك وتعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بنى هذا
المسجد المبارك في زمن السلطان علاؤ الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه الملك المعظم المكرم خادم النبي حاجي
الحرمين وزائر القديمين حاجي بابا صالح *** دي *** وتسعمائة من
الهجرة النبوية //

God Almighty says, &c. [as above]. This blessed mosque was built in the reign of Sulṭán 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza ffar Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his reign!—by the great and liberal Malik, the servant of the Prophet, who has made a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah and has visited the two footprints of the Prophet, Hájí Bá bá Sáli h. Dated 911, A.H.

The wanting words are no doubt *في سنة حادي عشر*, which would be 911. A small slab let in the brick work of Bá bá Sáli h's tomb contains the following date of his death.

No. 18. *The Inscription on Bá bá Sáli h's Tomb.*

الله لا اله الا هو ليجمعنكم الى يوم القيامة لا ريب فيه و من اصدق من
الله حديثا //

*** روضة الحاجي الحرمين الزائر القديمين خادم النبي عليه السلام
حاجي بابا صالح اله *** في تاريخ *** ربيع الاول من سنة اثني ***

O God! There is no God but He. He will surely collect you towards the day of resurrection, and who is more truthful a speaker than God? [Qor., IV. 89.] ** the tomb of the pilgrim to Makkah and Madínah, who has visited both footprints of the Prophet, the servant of the Prophet (upon whom be peace!), Hájí Bá bá Sáli h ** (*almutawaffá*, who died) on ... Rabí' I, ... 2.

Thus it seems that he died in A. H. 912. Dr. Wise says—“No one here has heard of the name of this pious man. The neighbourhood of these mosques is very old. Qadam Rasúl (the ‘Footprint of the Prophet’), a famous place of pilgrimage, on a mound some sixty feet high, is a little to the north-west. Gangakol Bandar is on the west, and across the Lak’hya River is Khizrpúr with the ruins of what I believe was the residence of ‘Isá Khán, mentioned in the *Áin i Akbarí*.”

A third mosque built by Bába Sálíh is in ‘Azímnagar, District Dháká.

No. 19. *The Bába Sálíh’s Inscription of ‘Azímnagar.*

قال الذبيّ صَلَّى الله عليه و سَلَّمَ عجلوا بالصلاة قبل الفوت و عجلوا
بالذوبة قبل الموت * بني هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم المكرّم
بابا صالح و قد تمّ بناء هذا المسجد في أوّل المحرم سنة ٩١٠

The Prophet—may God bless him!—says, ‘Make quick the prayer before the end, and hasten the *naubat* before death. This blessed mosque was built by the exalted, liberal Malik, Bába Sálíh, and the building was completed on the first Muharram 910 [or 901,—the numbers are unclear].

No. 20. *The Fath Sháh Inscription on Ádam Shahíd’s Mosque at Bīkrampúr (Dháká District). A. H. 888.*

General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise have each sent rubbings of this inscription.

قال الله تعالى و انّ المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال الذبيّ
صَلَّى الله عليه و سَلَّمَ من بني مسجد في الدنيا بني الله له مثله في
الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع الملك المعظم ملك كافور في زمان
السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان
ابن محمود شاه السلطان في تاريخ اوسط شهر رجب سنة ثمان و ثمانين
و ثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says, &c., [as above]. This Jámí’ Masjid was built by the great Malik, Malik Káfúr, in the time of the king, the son of the king, Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king, in the middle of the month of Rájab, 888, A. H. (August, 1483, A. D.)

Dr. Wise writes as follows—

‘The Masjid of Ádam Shahíd is in Bīkrampúr at a village called Qází Qaçbah, within two miles of Ballálbárá, the residence of Ballál Sen. Mr.

Taylor, in his "Topography of Dacca" states that Ádam Shahíd, or Báábá Ádam, was a Qází, who ruled over Eastern Bengal. He gives no authority for this statement, and, at the present day, the residents of the village are ignorant of this fact. They relate that Báábá Ádam was a very powerful Darwísh, who came to this part of the country with an army during the reign of Ballál Sen. Having encamped his army near 'Abdullahpúr, a village about three miles to the N. E., he caused pieces of cow's flesh to be thrown within the walls of the Hindú prince's fortress. Ballál Sen was very irate, and sent messengers throughout the country to find out by whom the cow had been slaughtered. One of the messengers shortly returned and informed him that a foreign army was at hand, and that the leader was then praying within a few miles of the palace. Ballál Sen at once galloped to the spot, found Báábá Ádam still praying, and at one blow cut off his head.

'Such is the story told by the Muhammadans of the present day, regardless of dates and well-authenticated facts.

'The Masjid of Báábá Ádam has been a very beautiful structure, but it is now fast falling to pieces. Originally, there were six domes, but three have fallen in. The walls are ornamented with bricks beautifully cut in the form of flowers and of intricate patterns. The arches of the domes spring from two sandstone pillars, 20 inches in diameter, evidently of Hindú workmanship. These pillars are eight-sided at the base, but about four feet from the ground they become sixteen-sided. The *mihrábs* are nicely ornamented with varied patterns of flowers, and in the centre of each is the representation of a chain supporting an oblong frame, in which a flower is cut.

'The style of this Masjid is very similar to that of the old Goáldih Masjid at Sunnárgáon and to that of 'Isá Khán's Masjid at Khizrpúr.*

No. 21. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Sunnárgáon.* A. H. 889.

General Cunningham has sent a rubbing of the following inscription—

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * وقال النبي
صلي الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له سبعين قصرا في
الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان الاعظم المعظم جلال الدنيا

* Dr. Wise, in one of his letters addressed to the Society, makes the following remark on Sher Sháh's road from the Brahmaputra to the Indus.

"I see in the last volume of Elliot's 'History of India' that doubts are expressed of there ever having been a road made from Sunnárgáon to the Indus by Shér Sháh, as mentioned by Firishtah and others. In this district there are two very old bridges, which local tradition states were constructed by that monarch, and which lie exactly where such a road would have been. One is still used, the other has fallen in."

والدين ابوا مظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه * بانى المسجد مقرب الدولة ملك . . . الدين سلطانى
جامدار غير محلى و سرلشكر و وزير اقليم معظم آباد و نيز مشهور محمود آباد و
سرلشكر تهانه لود و كان ذلك فى التاريخ من المحرم سنة تسع و ثمانين
و ثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., (as before).

This mosque was built during the reign of the great and exalted king, Jalál-uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The builder of the mosque is Muqarrab uddaulah, Malik.....uddín, the Royal, keeper of the wardrobe outside the Palace, the commander and wazír of the territory of Mu'aazzamábad, also known as Mahmúdábád, and commander of Thánah Láwúd. This took place during Muharram, 889. (A. D. 1484.)

The geographical names occurring in this inscription have been discussed above.

THE HABSHÍ KINGS.

The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Bárbak Sháh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. The very names of the actors during the interregnum between the end of the Ilyás Sháh dynasty and the commencement of the house of Husain Sháh, proclaim them to have been Abyssinian eunuchs;* and what royalty at that time was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that, after the murder of Fath Sháh, low hirelings flourished;† and Firishtah sarcastically remarks that the people would only obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne. Faria y Souza also says of the kings of that time:—

“They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years' space they had 13 kings successively.”

* Names as Káfúr (camphor), Qaranful (clove), Fírúz and Fírúzah (turquoise), Almás (diamond), Yáqút (cornelian), Habshí Khán, Indíl, Sídí Badr, &c. Camphor was looked upon as an anti-aphrodisiac (*vide* my *Aín* translation, p. 385); hence the name was appropriate. The Fath Sháh inscription No. 20 mentions a Malik Káfúr; and we are reminded of the Káfúr Hazárdínarí of 'Aláuddín's reign.

† ‘The kings of Bengala, in times past, were chosen of the Abassine or Æthiopian slaves, as the Soldans of Cairo were some time of the Circassian Mamalukes.’ *Purchas.*

The Habshí kings are Sultán Sháhzádah, Fírúz Sháh, and Muzaffar Sháh. Mahmúd Shah II. appears to belong to the old dynasty.

XVII. Sulta'n Sha'hza'dah.

(Bárbak, the Eunuch.)

The owner of this odd title reigned either two and a half months (Ṭabaqát and Firishtah), or perhaps eight months (Firishtah), or according to a pamphlet which the author of the Riyáz possessed, six months. He was murdered by

XVIII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muzaffar Fi'ru'z Sha'h (II.).

(Malik Indíl Habshí.)

He had been a distinguished commander under Fath Sháh, and proved a good king. According to the histories, he died a natural death after a reign of three years, in 899,—a wrong date. The Riyáz says that a mosque, a tower, and a reservoir, in Gaur were built by him.

The coin published by Marsden as belonging to this king, has been shewn by Mr. Thomas to belong to Fírúz Sháh Bahmaní.

The following passage from João de Barros refers to either this king or Husain Sháh:—

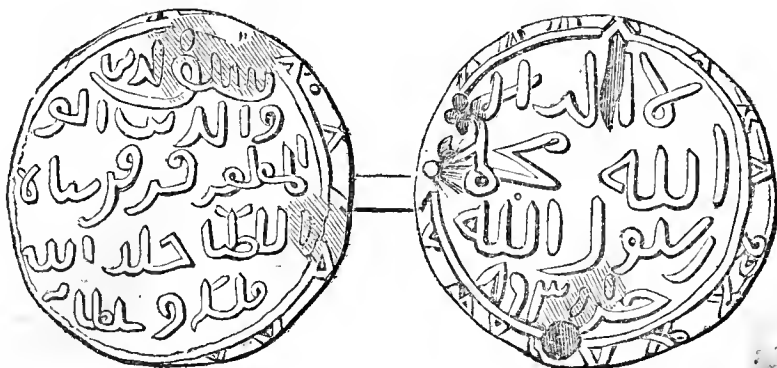
‘One hundred years before the Portuguese visited Chátgáon, a noble Arab arrived there from 'Adan (Aden), bringing with him 200 men. Seeing the state of the kingdom, he began to form ambitious projects of conquest. Dissimulating his intentions, he set himself up as a commercial agent, and on this pretext added to his followers a reinforcement of 300 Arabs, thus raising his total force to 500 men. Having succeeded through the influence of the *Mandarijs*, who were the governors of the place, in procuring an introduction to the king of Bengal, he assisted that monarch in subduing the king of Orísá, his hereditary foe. For this service he was promoted to the command of the King's body-guard. Soon afterwards he killed the king, and himself ascended the throne. The capital was at this time at Gaur.’

The chronology of Fírúz Sháh II.'s reign may be fixed with the help of the following, apparently unique, coin, the original of which is in the British Museum. Col. Guthrie kindly sent the Society a cast, from which the woodcut below has been made. The coin gives the year 893 (A. D., 1488). This year entirely agrees with the ascertained dates of Jaláluddín Fath Sháh's reign, and with the earliest ascertained year of Muzaffar Sháh. Fírúz Sháh II., therefore, reigned from 893 to 895, or 896. The former, 895, is perhaps preferable to 896, because both Mahmúd Sháh and Muzaffar Sháh reigned in 896.

I. Fírúz Sháh II. Silver. No mint town. A. II., 893. (A. D. 1488.) No margins.

OBVERSE.—سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه

REVERSE.—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٩٣



Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Treasury issue of 893.

XIX. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muja'hid Mahmu'd Sha'h (II).

He was raised to the throne on Fírúz Sháh's death, though the government was in the hands of one Habshí Khán. After a short time, Habshí Khán, and immediately after, Mahmúd Sháh, were killed by Sídí Badr Díwánah, who proclaimed himself king.

Though the histories call Mahmúd the son of Fírúz Sháh, there is little doubt that the statement of Hájí Muhammad Qandahárí, preserved by Firishtah, is correct—"In the history by Hájí Muhammad Qandahárí,* it is written that Sultán Mahmúd was the son of Fath Sháh, and that Habshí Khán was a eunuch of Bárbak Sháh, who by Fírúz Sháh's orders had brought up Mahmúd. After Fírúz Sháh's death, Mahmúd was placed on the throne; but when six months had passed, Habshí Khán shewed inclination to make himself king, and Sídí Badr killed him." These facts agree well with the following circumstances: *First*, all histories say that Fath Sháh, at his death, left a son two years old, and his mother, at Sultán Sháhzádah's death, declared herself willing to leave the throne to him, who had brought her husband's murderer to account. *Secondly*, according to Muhammadan custom, children often receive the names of the grandfather; hence Fath Sháh would call his son Náçiruddín Mahmúd; but as the *kunyah* must be different, we have here 'Abul Mujáhid,' while the grandfather has 'Abul Muzaffar.'

General Cunningham found the following inscription of this king in Gaur; unfortunately, the date is illegible.

* The Lak'hnaú edition of Firishtah calls him 'Hájí Mahmúd.' His historical work is not known at the present day.

No. 22. *The Mahmúd Sháh (II) Inscription of Gaur.* (A. H. 896 ?)
(Pl. VII, No. 3.)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بنى الله له قصرا
في الجنة * بني المسجد في عهد سلطان الزمان بالعدل والاحسان غوث
الاسلام والمسلمين ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه السلطان
خلفه الله ملكه و سلطانه بنى المسجد الخان الاعظم المعظم الخ مجلس
خان *** في التاريخ الثالث والعشرين من شهر ربيع الا [ول سنة ست
وتسعين و ثمانماية ؟]

The Prophet (may God bless him !) says, 'He who builds, &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the time, (who is endowed) with justice and liberality, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the great and exalted Khán Ulugh Majlis Khán.....(illegible). Dated, 23rd Rabí'.....

Marsden has published a silver coin of this king, which has likewise no date (*vide* Numism., Pl. XXXVI, No. DCCXXIV); but, as Laidley correctly observes, he ascribes it wrongly to Mahmúd Sháh of Dihlí. The legend of the coin is—

REVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالعدل والاحسان (?)

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه السلطان

The words *bil'adl wal-ihsán* are not clear, they may also be بالعصر والزمان as elsewhere suggested by me; but the former coincides with the phrase used in the inscription. I cannot see the word فتحاباد, which Laidley gives.

According to the chronological remarks made by me regarding the reign of Fírúz Sháh, we have to place Mahmúd Sháh's reign in 896, A. H.

XX. *Shamsuddi'n Abul-Nasr Muzaffar Sha'h.*
(Sídí Badr Díwánah.)

The reign of this king, who is represented to have been a blood-thirsty monster, is said in all histories to have lasted three years and five months; but his death at the hands of the next king cannot have taken place in 903, because his coins and inscriptions mention the years 896 and 898. He must, therefore, have been killed in 899, the first year in which Husain Sháh struck coins.

A Muzaffar Sháh inscription was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 107, from an imperfect rubbing. Since then Mr. W. M. Bourke

has sent me a clear rubbing with the date distinct. I, therefore, republish it with a corrected translation.

No. 23. *The Muzaffar Sháh Inscription of Gangarámpur.*

A. H. 896. (A. D. 1491.)

بني هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد المخدم المشهور قطب اوليا مخدم
مولانا عطا طيب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه في عهد شمس الدنيا
والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في التاريخ
ست و تسعين و ثمانماية ١١

This mosque was built in the time (?) of the renowned saint, Mauláná 'Aṭá—may God render his grave pleasant and may He make Paradise his dwelling place!—during the reign of Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul-Naṣr Muzaffar Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Dated, A. H. 896.

Mr. Bourke's rubbing shews that the word *samánmiah* is cut into the second bar, which separates the third line from the second. Below the last line there is another line cut into the lowest bar; but the letters are too small and partly broken to admit of a satisfactory reading. I can recognize the words 'Mullá Mubárah' and *mī'már*, 'builder.'

Laidley has published a silver coin of this king, the legend of which is (*vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, for 1846, Pl. V, No. 19)—

OBVERSE.—شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—The Kalimah. Year, illegible.

Margin.—the four Khalífahs.

The Honorable E. C. Bayley is about to publish a gold Muzaffar Sháhí, which seems to be of 896, A. H.

Muzaffar Sháh, according to the Riyáz, built a mosque in Gaur. General Cunningham has sent the Society a rubbing of another inscription from the Chhotá Dargáh (Núr Quṭb 'Álam's Dargáh) in Hazrat Paṇḍuah. It is, in point of execution, a very fine inscription.

No. 24. *The Muzaffar Sháh Inscription of Paṇḍuah.* A. H. 898.

Vide Pl. VI, No. 2.

قال الله تعالى ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركا و هدي
للعالمين فيه آيات بيّنات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان آمنا والله اعلي
الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفر فان الله غني

عن العالمين * بني في البيت الصوفة الروضة قطب الاقطاب قتيل
 محبت وهاب شيخ المشايخ حضرت نور الحق والشرع سيد قطب عالم
 قدس الله سره العزيز و نور الله قبره * بني هذا البيت في عهد السلطان
 العادل البازل الفاضل غوث الاسلام والمسلمين شمس الدنيا والدين
 ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه
 بني هذا البيت في خلافة شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين شيخ المشايخ ابن شيخ
 المشايخ شيخ محمد غوث سلمه الله تعالى دائما مؤرخا فى السابع والعشر
 من شهر رمضان مبارك فى سنة ثمان تسعين ثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says, ' Verily, the first house that was founded for men, is the one in Bakkah [Makkah], blessed, and a guidance to all beings. In it are clear signs : the place of Abraham, and who entered into it, was safe, and God enjoined men to visit it, if they are able to go there ; but whosoever disbelieves, verily God is independent of all beings. [Qor. III, 90 to 92.]

In this Sûfî building the tomb of the pole (*quṭb*) of poles was built, who was slain by the love of the All-Giver, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Hazrat N ú r u l H a q washshara', Sayyid Quṭb 'Ālam—may God sanctify his beloved secret, and may God illuminate his grave! This house was built in the reign of the just, liberal, learned king, the help of Islām and the Muslims, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul- Naṣr Muzaffar Sháh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and may He elevate his condition and dignity! This house was built during the *khiláfat** of the Shaikh ul-Islām, the Shaikh of Shaikhs, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus—may God Almighty ever protect him!

Dated, 17th Ramazán, 898. [2nd July, 1493.]

Núr Quṭb 'Ālam was mentioned above among the Saints of Paṇḍuah.

THE HUSAINÍ DYNASTY.

On Muzaffar Sháh's death in 899, 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf, usurped the throne. Of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the name of "Husain Sháh, the good," is still remembered from the frontiers of Orísá to the Brahmaputra.

I have treated of the chronology of the reigns of Husain Sháh and his successors in my article, "On a new king of Bengal, &c.," published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, pp. 331 to 340, and according to that paper, we have—

* The reign, if I may say so, of a spiritual teacher.

1. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, 899 to 927 (929?).
2. Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, 927 (929?) to 939.
3. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh (III.), 939.
4. Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III.), 940 to 944, (defeated by Sher Sháh).

I have now only to describe a few unpublished coins and to give several new inscriptions belonging to the reigns of these kings.

XXI. 'Ala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Husain Sha'h.

Marsden (Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. DCCLXXIX and DCCXCIII) has given two different Husain Sháhís, the former of Fathábád, 899, A. H., and the latter of Husainábád, 914, A. H.* Laidley has two new types, one struck at Husainábád, 912, A. H., and the other (*vide* his plate, No. 21) resembling that of Marsden, but with a different legend. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society contains a few new varieties, with and without dates.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 9. Silver. Weight, 163·57 grains. No mint-town. A. H. 900. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE. — السلطان العادل علاء الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

REVERSE. — حسين شاه سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خاد ملكه و سلطانه ٩٠٠

Col. Guthrie in a MS. list of Bengal Coins in the British Museum quotes Husain Sháhís struck at Jannatábád (Husainábád?) in 918 and 919.

The inscriptions belonging to Husain Sháh's reign are most numerous; the date of the latest two is 925, A.H. Those of which the Society has received rubbings from General Cunningham are marked [G. C.].

1. *Munger*, 903; mentions Prince Dányál. Published Journal, 1872, p. 335. [G. C.].
2. *Machain*, *Parganah Ballípúr*, *Dháká*, 22nd Jumáda I, 907, or 3rd December, 1501. Received from Dr. J. Wise.
3. *Bonhara*, in Bihár, 908. Published, Proceedings 1870, p. 112.
4. *Cheran*, in Bihár, 909. Published, Proceedings 1870, p. 297.†

* Marsden reads the latter date 917. On the former coin, the king's first name is spelt علاء الدين, instead of علاء الدين, with an intermediate *wáw*. This *wáw* should not be read: it arises from a whimsical rule of a class of pedantic Kátibs who maintain that the vowel *u* after a long *á*, as in 'Aláu, requires "a support."

The obverse of the latter coin, to which I alluded in the note to p. 301 of the Journal for 1870, Pt. I, is still a puzzle to me, though I have wasted much time in looking at the coin, patiently waiting for a happy guess. I now believe that the second line is القائم بسلطنته *alqáim bisaltanatíhi*, the last word being written disconnected, as *sultánahu* on the reverse. But the third line is unclear. The weight of the coin is 162·64 grains.

† For a Gaur Inscription of 909, *vide* Glazier, Report on Rangpore, 1873, p. 108.

5. *Silhat*, 911. From Dr. Wise.
6. *Máldah*, 911. [G. C.]
7. *Sunnárgáon*, 911. Given above, No. 17.
8. *Hazrat Panduah*, 915. [G. C.]. The rubbing is unclear.
- 9 to 11. *Gaur*, two of 916, and one of 918. [G. C.]
12. *Sunnárgáon*, 2nd Rabi' II., 919, or 7th June, 1513. [G. C.]
Published, Journal, 1872; p. 333.
13. *Bírbhúm*, 922. Published, Journal, 1861, p. 390.
14. *Dhámraí*, 922. Published, Journal, 1872, p. 110.
15. *Sunnárgáon*, 15th Sha'bán, 925, or 12th August, 1519. [G. C.]
16. *Gaur*, 925, or A. D. 1519. Published with plate, J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I, p. 256.

No. 25. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Machain.* (A. H. 907.)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله له
بيتاً مثله في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء
الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في الثاني والعشرين من جمادي الاول سنة
سبع و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, &c., &c. (as before). This Jami' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!

Dated, 22nd Jumáda I, 907. (3rd December, 1501).

No. 26. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Silhat.* A. H. 911.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * الأمر لهذه العمارة البقعة المباركة المذسوبة بدار
الاحسان حرم الله تعالى من مخافة الزمان العابد العالي الكبير * * * شيخ
جلال مجرد كنيائي قدس الله تعالى سره العزيز في عهد السلطان علاء
الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بذاكره
خاناعظم و خاقانمعظم خالصخان جامدار غير محلي و سرلشكرو وزير اقليم
معظمآباد سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة ||

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement! He who ordered the erection of this blessed building, attached to the house of benefit (*Silhat*)—may God protect it against the ravages of time!—is the devotee, the high, the great, * * * Shaikh Jalál, the hermit, of Kanyá—may God Almighty sanctify his dear secret! It was built during the reign of Sultán 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Kháliq Khán,

keeper of the wardrobe outside the palace, commander and wazír of the District Mu'azzamábád. In the year 911 (A. D. 1505.).

In this inscription Shaikh Jalál, whose biography was given under Yúsuf Shah, is called Kanyái, *i. e.* of Kanyá, which appears to be a place in Arabia.

He is said to have 'ordered' the erection of the building. This can only refer to an order given in a dream, as in the case of 'Alí Sháh and Jalál Tabrízí.

No. 27. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Máldah.* A. H. 911.

قال الذبيّ صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بيتا مثله فى الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء
الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, &c., &c. This Jami' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 911. (A. D. 1505).

No. 28. *A Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

قد بنى هذا الباب الروضة مخدوم شيخ اخي سراج الدين السلطان
المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد
اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ست عشر و تسعمائة ||

The door of the tomb of the venerated Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín was built by the great and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

Shaikh Akhí was mentioned above among the saints of Gaur.

No. 29. *Another Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

بنى هذا الباب الروضة فى عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امرة و شانه و اعز خيارة و برهانه فى سنة ست
عشر و تسعمائة ||

The door of this tomb was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and may He render his benefits and evidence honorable! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510.)

No. 30. *A third Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 918.

بني هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاؤ الدنيا
والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه في سنة ثمان عشر وتسعمائة //

This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! In the year 918. (A. D. 1512.)

No. 31. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Sunnargáon.* A. H. 925.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا والله اعلم
بالصواب قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى المسجد في الدنيا
بني الله له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد في عهد
سلطان السلاطين سلطان حسين شاه ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه
و سلطانه * بني هذا المسجد ملا هزبر اكبر خان بتاريخ پانزدهم ماه شعبان
سنة خمس و عشرين و تسعمائة //

God Almighty says, Surely the mosques, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., &c., (as before).

This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the kings, Sultán Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! This mosque was built by Mullá Hizabr Akbar Khán, on the 15th Sha'bán, 925. (12th August, 1519.)

XXII. Na'siruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Sha'h.

Of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king, I have published three, viz.—

1. *Sunnargáon*, 929, or 1523. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338.

2. *Sátgáon*, Ramazán, 936, or May, 1529. Published, Journal, 1870, p. 298.

3. *Gaur*, Qadam Rasúl, 937, or 1530-31. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338. *Vide* Glazier, Rangpore Report, p. 108.

A few weeks ago I received a black basalt slab from the old mosque in Mangalkot, Bardwán District, with the following inscription—

No. 32. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription from Mangalkot. A. H. 930.*

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا
مثله في الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان المعظم السلطان
بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه خان ميانمعظم بن مراد
حيدر خان دام عزه في سنة ثلثين و تسعمائة ||

The Prophet says, He who builds, &c., (as before). This Jami' Mosque was built in the reign of the exalted king, who is the son of a king, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! Its builder is Khán Miyán Mua'zzam, son of Murád Haidar Khán—may his honor continue! In the year 930, A. H. (A. D. 1524.)

The following important inscription I owe to the kindness of J. R. Reid, Esq., C. S., A'zamgarh, N. W. Provinces, who sent me a rubbing. The slab was found on the right bank of the G'hágrá, near Sikandarpúr.

No. 33. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription of Sikandarpúr, A'zamgarh.*
A. H. 933.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * المتأسس
لهذا المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه
بن حسين شاه السلطان جعل الله في زمرة عباده أكر المجيد و هو
خاناعظم محمدا خان سرلشكر دره خريد في شهر الرجب ٢٧ سنة ثلث
و ثلثين و تسعمائة ||

There is no God, &c. He who builds a mosque, &c. The founder of the mosque, during the reign of the just king Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, son of Husain Sháh, the king—may God place him among the number of his servants!—is the great Ulur [Ulugh], *i. e.* the great Khán.....Khán, commander of the district of Kharíd. On the 27th Rajab 933. (29th April, 1527.)

The inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nuçrat Sháh extended his authority over the whole of Northern Bihár; and as Kharíd lies on the right bank of the G'hágrá, Nuçrat Sháh must have temporarily held sway in the A'zamgarh District.

The coinage of this king contains numerous varieties, among which there are several struck by him during the lifetime of his father. The latter coins are mostly of a rude type, and look debased; besides, they are restricted to the Sundarban mint town of Khalífatábád (Bágherhát) and to Fathábád. They either indicate an extraordinary delegation of power or point to a successful rebellion.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 10. Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains. *Khalífatábád*, 922, A. H. (As. Soc. of Bengal). Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه
خليفة آباد ٩٢٢

3. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 11. New variety. Silver. Weight, 163·14 grains. *Mint town?* A. H., 927. (Cabinet, As. Soc. of Bengal.) Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه ٩٢٧

3. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 12. New variety. Silver. Weight, 162·952 grains. No mint town, or year. Circular areas, and scollops in the margin. The characters are neat. (As. Soc. Bengal.)

OBVERSE.—As in the preceding.

REVERSE.—نصرتشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملكه [يد هرمزد ؟]

I am doubtful as to the correctness of the last words *yad i Hurmuzd*, 'by the hand (engraved by) Hurmuzd.' The characters, though smaller, are clear, and yet it is difficult to suggest anything else.

The years of the three Nuçrat Sháhís published by Marsden and Laidley are not clear; they may be 924 (Marsden) and 927, or 934 and 927. The Cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal, besides the above, contains six different types, among which there is a silver coin struck at *Nuçratábád*, 924 A. H., but it is not clear to what locality this new name was applied.

Nuçrat Sháh's name as prince seems to have been Naçíb Khán; at last this would explain why the histories call him Naçíb Sháh.

He was succeeded by his son

XXIII. 'Ala'uddín Abul Muzaffar Fí'ru'z Sha'h (III).

The Kalnah inscription (A. H. 939) of this king, which I published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, p. 332, is of some importance, and I now give a plate of it (*vide* Pl. VII, No. 2). The name of this king is only

mentioned in the *Riyáz*, and though we do not know his source, his statements have, in several instances, been proved to be correct. In the MS. of his work in the As. Soc. of Bengal—the only copy I know of at present—this king is said to have reigned three *years*, which is impossible;* but Stewart found three *months* in the copy which he consulted.

The Society's cabinet possesses a specimen of this king's coinage, struck in 939, A. H., the same year as mentioned in the Kalnah inscription.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 13. Silver. Weight, 163·215 grains. *Husain-ábád*, 939, A. H. Circular areas. The margins are divided into four quadrants, at the beginning of each of which there is the letter *nún*, and in each quadrant there is an arabesque, which looks like the word نصر. The same design is given on Marsden's Nuçrat Sháh.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان علاؤ الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه

REVERSE.—بن نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانہ
حسينا بار ۹۳۹

Firúz Sháh III. was murdered by his uncle

XXIV. Ghiya's-uddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mahmu'd Sha'h (III).

General Cunningham's Gaur Inscription of this king, dated 941, was published by me in the *Journal*, for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.

Our Society possesses a coin of Mahmúd Sháh of the same type as the one published by Laidley. He refers the coin to 933; but the Society's specimen has clearly 943 A. H. The concentric circles contain the words *badr i sháhí*, or 'royal moon.'

General Cunningham lately sent me the tracing of a Mahmúd Sháhí round *copper* coin, which has the same inscription on both sides, viz. العبد غياث الدين محمود شاه البدرشاهي. But though the phrase *badr i sháhí* seems to shew that the coin belongs to Mahmúd Sháh (III.) of Bengal, it would be desirable to have specimens with dates or mint towns.

Mahmúd Sháh is mentioned in De Barros' work, from which the following facts are taken. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor of Goa [گوة], sent in 1534 Alfonso de Mello with two hundred men in five ships to Chátgáon, which then again belonged to Bengal, in order to effect a settlement. De Mello, on his arrival, thought it wise to send a few of his men with presents to Gaur, where Mahmúd Sháh, who tyrannically held the crown, kept his court, in great apprehension of being deposed, but with such state that only his women amounted to the number of 10,000; but though De Mello's men found in Alfá Khán† a friend, the king imprisoned them,

* The passage, however, is corrupt. *Vide Journal* for 1872, Pt. I, p. 339.

† This is, no doubt, the Alfá Husainí of Baghdád, mentioned by me in *J. A. S. B.*, 1872, Pt. I, p. 337.

and gave orders to seize De Mello in Chátgáon. The latter was shortly after treacherously captured with thirty of his men and was sent to Gaur,* where they were kept strictly confined, because Antony de Sylva Meneses had soon after taken reprisals and sacked Chátgáon. Now at that time Sher Khán and his brother 'Ádil Khán had deserted from the Mughul to the king of Bengal. But Sher Khán wished to revenge the death of the youth whom Mahmúd had slain,—De Barros means Fírúz Sháh III.—to procure the throne. Sher Khán, therefore, made war on Mahmúd, and the king asked his Portuguese prisoners to assist him in the defence of Gaur. At the same time Rabelo arrived with three ships sent by the Goa Governor, to demand the release of the captives, and Mahmúd after securing their co-operation sent them to Gorij [Garhí] near K'halgáon, where they valiantly, though in vain, opposed Sher Sháh. Mahmúd, pleased with their prowess, applied to Nuno da Cunha for further assistance; but when Perez de Sampayo came with nine vessels, he found Gaur in the hands of Sher Khán and heard that Mahmúd had been killed.

III.

I now conclude this essay with my readings and translations of the Bihár collection of rubbings from the time of Muhammad Tughluq to the year 1455 A. D.

The first inscription is taken from the vault of one Sayyid Ahmad Pír-Pahár, regarding whom nothing is at present known in Bihár; but it seems to refer to the building of a portico by a near relation of Muhammad Tughluq.

No. 34. *The Muhammad Tughluq Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 737.

حمد گویم خدایرا صد بار	م—دح وافر باحمد مخ—تار
شد بنا گنبد فلك آسما	.. .. ..
گیدی آرا محمد صف—در	س—ایه ای—زیدی بهر کش—ور
بوالمجاهد خلیفه با ج—اه	.. .. ..
بانی این عمارة المقصود	هست بنده مبارک محمود
دوده خسروی نبیره شاه	.. .. ..
برده این دولت از سرافرازی	یاد گار سبکتگین غازی
چون مرتب شد این ***	هفصد و سی و هفت بد گفتم

* The Portuguese describe Gaur as three leagues in length, well fortified, and with wide and straight streets, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people, "which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death."

1. I praise God a hundred times, and abundantly glorify Ahmad, the elect.
2. This heaven-touching portico was erected.....
3. The world-adorning M u h a m m a d, who breaks through the ranks, the shadow of God in every realm,
4. A b u l M u j á h i d, the Khalífah of high dignity,.....
5. The builder of this desirable edifice is the slave Mubárak Mahmúd,
6. Of royal descent, the grandson of Sháh.. ...
7. This dynasty, on account of its elevation, has obscured the memory of Subuktigín i Ghází.

When this...was erected, I said, it was 737, A. H. (A. D., 1336-37.)

If the name in the sixth line were not broken away, we might fix the name of the builder with the help of p. 454 of Baraní's history.

Nos. 35 to 37. *The Malik Ibráhím Bayyú Inscriptions of Bihár.*

The next three inscriptions belong to the Dargáh of Ibráhím Abú Bakr Malik Bayyú, who is *par excellence* the saint of Bihár. The shrine lies on the hill to the north-west of the town.

Malik Bayyú was first mentioned by Buchanan, who supposed him to be a purely mythological personage. Mr. T. W. Beale next published in his valuable *Miftáh uttawárikh* (p. 90) the first of the following inscriptions. Col. E. T. Dalton also mentions him in his 'Ethnology of Bengal' (p. 211), and says that Jangrá, a Santál Rájah, destroyed himself and his family in the Fort of Chai Champá, Hazáribágh District, when he heard of Malik Bayyú's approach.

The 'Mujáwirs' or custodians, of the shrine claim to be descended from the Malik. According to traditions still preserved among them, Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was an inhabitant of Butnagar, and was sent by Muhammad Tughluq to chastise Háns Kumár, Rájah of Rohtásgarh. The Rájah frequently came to Bargáon, the great Buddhist monastery, to worship. He oppressed the poor Muhammadans of the country. Now it happened that an old woman, a Sayyidah, killed a cow, in order to celebrate the nuptials of her grandson, when a kite snatched up one of the bones, and let it fall near the place where the Rájah worshipped. The Rájah was, of course, enraged, and put the Muhammadan bridegroom to death. At the advice of her friends, the old woman complained to Muhammad Tughluq. Being uncertain as to whom he should intrust with the command of an expedition against Háns Kumár, he consulted the astrologers. They told him, "This very night a storm will occur in the city, of such violence that all the lights will be extinguished. In whose house a lamp may be found burning, he is the man best fitted for the undertaking." Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was found reading the Qorán by lamp-light, and next morning he was appointed to command the expedition. He at once advanced to Bihár, and surprised Rájah Háns Kumár at the Súraj Pok'har, Bargáon. Although the Rájah

escaped to Rohtásgarh, the number of the slain was so great, that Malik Bayyú returned with fifty sers weight of sacred threads. He now occupied himself in subduing the warlike tribes of the province, and unfortunately fell at the moment of victory, his enemy Rájah Hás Kumár having been killed in the same battle. Malik Bayyú's body was brought to Bihár; and the Rájah's head and the sacred threads were buried at the foot of the hill, which still bears the name of Múṇḍ-málá.

According to the inscriptions on Malik Bayyú's shrine, he died, apparently peacefully, on the 13th Zil Hijjah, 753, or 20th January, 1353, in the second year of Fírúz Sháh's reign and about a year before his invasion of Bengal.

No. 35.

بعهد دولت شاه جهانگیر که بادا در بهار ملک نوروز
 شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان که بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
 ملک سیرت ملک بیو براهیم که بد در دین چو ابراهیم کین نور
 بهادزی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از ده درین سوز
 بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سده تاریخ مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز
 خداوند بفضل خویش بروی کنی آسان حساب آخرین روز

1. In the time of the reign of the world-taking Sháh (may the *mulk i naurúz* be in Bihár!),

2. The king of the world, Sultán Fírúz, who was victorious over the kings of the Universe,

3. The angelic Malik Bayyú Ibráhím, who in his faith was as zealous as Abraham,

4. In the month of Zil Hijjah, on a Sunday, of the time, when thirteen (days) of the month had been in grief,*

5. In the year 753 A. H., travelled on that day to Paradise.

6. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him!

No. 36.

این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولست کز سهم تیغ او سر افکندی آفتاب
 بت را همی شکست چو هم نام خویش تا در عالم بقاش بود بت شکن خطاب
 صفدار صف شکن چو صف آراستی بحرب رستم بقیاب فتاده و بهمن شده زتاب
 خورشید اگر چه لشکر سیاره را شکست آخر ز کوه ساخت سراپرده حجاب
 تاریخ آفتاب که یکشنبه از جهان چون لعل رفت در دل سنگ از برای خواب
 بود از ده معظم ذی الحجه سیزده وز سال بعد هفصد و پنجه سده در حساب

1. This Jágírdár of Bihár is the Malik, the sword of the dynasty, from the point of whose sword the sun turns his head

* The poetry is bad enough, but metrical slips also occur. The metre is short *hazaj*; and the *t* in 'budast' has been elided.

2. Like his namesake (Abraham), he broke idols, so that in the future world the title of 'Iconoclast' might be given him.

3. (He is) the warrior who breaks the ranks (of the enemies); when he arranged his ranks, Rustam fell into feverish restlessness, and Bahman lost his firmness.

4. Although the sun defeats the army of the planets, he makes at last for himself a screen of the mountains.*

5. On the day of the sun it was, on a Sunday, when, like a ruby in a stone, he (Malik Bayyú) went away from the world, in order to sleep,

6. When thirteen days had passed away from the exalted month of Zil Hijjah, and 753 years of the era.

No. 37.

درین گنبد که هست از روی معنی بقدر از گنبد افلاک برتر
 بختست شیر مردے کنهیدش لختی شیر اندر بطن شیر
 مدار ملک ابراهیم بوبکر که تیغ از بهر حق میزد چو حیدر
 چنین لشکر کشی کشور کشائی نخیزد دوم اندر هفت کشور
 کنون چون بردرت افتاد یارب ز راه لطف بکشای برو در
 بمشک رحمت و کافور رافت کنی دیوار خاکش را معطر

1. In this dome, which in a spiritual sense has a higher value than the dome of heaven,

2. Sleeps a lion, from whose dread (unintelligible),

3. The pivot of the realm, Ibráhím Abú Bakr, who wielded his sword for truth like Haidar ('Alí).

4. Such a warfare, such a conquest of realms, will not take place a second time in the seven realms.

5. O God, as he has now fallen down at Thy door, open in mercy Thy door to him!

6. Perfume the walls of his grave with the musk of Thy mercy and the camphor of Thy forgiveness!

No. 38. *The Fírúẓ Sháh Inscription in the Chhoṭá Dargáh.* A. H. 761.

The Chhoṭá Dargáh of Bihár is the shrine of Badruddín Badr i 'Álam. This faqír came from Mírat'h, is said to have spent a long time at Chátgáon, and settled at last in Bihár, where he died in 844 A. H., or 1440 A. D., the *tárikh* of his death being بنور حق پیوست, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafuddín Munyarí had invited him, but Badr delayed in Chátgáon, and only arrived in Bihár forty days after Sharafuddín's death.

The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and curious to say, has on the other side Inscription No. 6, given above. It thus contains the name

* The light of the sun is so strong that the planets are not visible; but even the sun sets and loses himself behind the mountains. So also Malik Bayyú.

of the Bengal Fírúz Sháh on one side and that of the Dihlí Fírúz Sháh on the other. We often find slabs with Hindú carvings on one side and Muhammadan inscriptions on the other; but I have not heard of a Muhammadan inscription having been treated so; for it is repugnant to the feelings of a Muslim to have God's name walled up. The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts.

مجدد گشت این مبدون عمارت بعد پادشاه عدل پرور
 شهنشاه جهان فیروز شاه آنک ازو آباد شد محراب و منبر
 بسعی و التماس بندۀ خاص برید خطه اندر دور داور
 ملک سیرت ملک کافی کفایت فهم نامور در هفت کشور
 گذشته هفصد از تاریخ هجرت فزوده بود یک بر شصت دیگر
 همیشه باد شه بر تخت دولت چونام خویش فیروز و مظفر

1. This auspicious building was renewed in the reign of the justice-fostering king,
2. The lord of the world, Fírúz Sháh, through whom niches and pulpits [*i. e.*, mosques] flourished,
3. Through the exertion and at the request of the special slave, (who is) the Reporter (*baríd*) of the District, in the time of the just king,
4. An angelic man, a noble whose guarantee is sufficient, a wise man, renowned in the seven realms.
5. Seven Hundred years have passed away of the Era of the Hijrah, and sixty-one besides.
6. May the king on the throne of power remain for ever victorious and successful, as (indicated) by his name!

The following two inscriptions are of importance for the history of the Dihlí empire.

No. 39. *The Muhammad Sháh Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 792.

This inscription belongs to the ruined mosque in Kabír-uddínganj, the most northern Mahallah of the town of Bihár. The mosque has three cupolas, the centre one circular, the others octagonal. Two of its lofty minarets have fallen down.

Regarding the king, *vide* Mr. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 306. The metre (long *ramal*) precludes the possibility of an error in the date.

شد بعد دولت شاه محمد نامدار اینچنین مسجد مروج فضل باری کردگار
 این بنارا کرد چون خواجه ضیا ابن علا بد ز هجرت هفتصد دیگر نود دو در شمار

1. In the time of the reign of Sháh Muhammad, the illustrious, this Masjid became generally used, (by) the grace of God, the Creator.
2. When Khwájah Ziyá, son of 'Alá, erected this edifice, it was 792 after the Hijrah. (A. D. 1390.)

No. 40. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Dihlí) Inscription of Bihár. A. H. 799.*

This inscription belongs to the *Khánqáh*, or cell, of Ziyá ul Haq, governor of Bihár, who was mentioned in the preceding inscription. The slab was found in the cluster of religious buildings known in Bihár as the Chhotá Takyah, 'the small cloister,' in which there is the tomb of Sháh Díwán 'Abdul Wahháb, who is said to have died in 1096, A. H.

As the inscription mentions Mahmúd Sháh as the reigning king in 799, it follows that Nuçrat Sháh was not acknowledged as opposition king by Malik Sarwar of Jaunpúr, to whom Bihár then belonged. *Vide* 'Chronicles,' pp. 312 to 317.

کرد اندر عهد سلطان جهان محمود شاه حاكم خطه ضياء الحق بنا اين خانقاه
هفتصد نه با نود از سال هجرت رفته بود شد تمام اين خانقه بادا ضعيفان را پناه

1. During the reign of the king of the world, Mahmúd Sháh, Ziyá ul Haq, governor of the province, built this *Khánqáh*.

2. Seven hundred and ninety-nine years had passed since the Hijrah, when this asylum was completed. May it be the refuge of the weak! (A. D. 1397.)

Nos. 40 to 42. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Jaunpúr) Inscriptions of Bihár.*
(A. H., 847 and 859.)

From the preceding inscriptions we see that Bihár, in the 8th century of the Hijrah, belonged to the Dihlí empire. With the establishment, immediately afterwards, of the Jaunpúr kingdom, it was separated from Dihlí. Bihár with Qanauj, Audh, Karah, Dalamau, Sandelá, Bahráich, and Jaunpúr, had since 796 been in the hands of Malik Sarwar Khwájahsará, who had the title of 'Sultán ushsharq,' or 'king of the East.' He does not appear to have struck coins, and the fact that the preceding inscription does not mention his name, confirms the statement of the histories that he did not assume the ensigns of royalty. He was succeeded by his adopted son Malik Qaranful,* whose elder brother Ibráhím ascended the throne of Jaunpúr in 804, under the title of Sultán Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ibráhím Sháh. After a reign of forty years, he was succeeded by Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (844 to 862), to whose reign the following three inscriptions belong.

The inscriptions do not mention Mahmúd's *kunya*; the coins (Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 322) do not even give his first name. But as Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh of Jaunpúr is the contemporary of, and has the same name

* This word is generally derived from the Greek *caryophyllum*, a clove; but the *Ghiyásullughát* derives it more correctly from the Hindí *karn*, 'ear,' and *phúl*, flower, because women and eunuchs often put a clove into the lobe of the ear. An ear-ornament, resembling the head of a clove, has also the same name. It is possible that Malik Qaranful, like Malik Sarwar, was a eunuch.

as Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (I) of Bengal, care is to be taken not to confound the two.*

The first of the following three inscriptions belonged to a mosque which stood opposite to the Chhoṭá Takyah, on the opposite bank of the Adyánadí, in Bihár. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found.

The second and third inscriptions belonged to the ruinous Pahárpúr Jámí' Masjid.

No. 40.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة ۱۱

شد بتوفیق الهی و ز طغیل مصطفی	مسجد جمعه بعد شاه دین پرور بنا
شاه محمود ابن ابراهیم عادل شاه آنک	کشور از شاهان ستاند باج بخشید برگدا
بانی این مسجد آن مسند شریعت هست کو	ذات پاکش قرۃ العین نبی و مرتضا
سرور و صدر جهان آن سید اجل که شد	ملک و ملت دین و دولت را دراو اتجا
کرده فرمایش بناء خیر ملک الشرق کآن	مقطع داور درین خطه نصیر ابن بها
این بنا شد استوار از طاق کسری در بهار	کعبه در عظمت برفعت بیت معمور عا
غره مادر جب بد هشتصد و چهل هفت سال	کازدرین مسجد اقامت شد بتائید خدا

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says—"He who builds a mosque for God, for him will God build a house in Paradise.

1. By divine grace and for the sake of Muṭafá [the Prophet], the Jum'ah mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king

2. Sháh Mahmúd, son of Ibráhím the Just, a king who takes realms from kings, (and) gives beggars tribute.

3. The builder of this mosque is the great lawyer, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazá ('Alí),

4. The chief and the centre of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and the royal house, take refuge,

5. (Who) ordered this building (to be erected), he the best in the Eastern (Jaunpúr) kingdom, the Jágírdár (*muqṭi'*), the lord of this district, Naçír ibn i Bahá.

6. This building in Bihár is stronger than the portico of Kisrá; it is a Ka'bah in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity.†

7. It was on the 1st Rajab, of the year 847 A. H., [25th October, 1443, A. D.] when with the assistance of God the first prayer was read (*iqámat shud*) in this mosque.

* The Jaunpúr Mahmúd Sháhí coins generally have the word *sulṭání*, and allude to the investiture by some Khalífah.

† The phrase *استوار از طاق کسری* in line 6 is a Hindí construction for the Persian Comparative.

No. 41.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة *

بارك الله در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین شاه محمود بن ابراهیم شاه راستین
صفدر گیهان پناه مملکت صدر کریم یافتہ توفیق خیر از فضل رب العالمین
مسجد جامع بنا کرد آنچنان کاندرجهان طاق بنیاد آمدش با ماه و ماهی هم نشین
منبر و محرابش از فرط علو مرتبه یافت آن رونق که تحسین میکند روح الامین
وین ندا از عالم بالا همی آید فرود هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدين
چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام هشتاد و پنجاه و نه بود ست تاریخ از سنین ۸۵۹
در بقاع خیر او احمد همی خواند بجان روح پاک شیخ شرف الحق والدین راضعین

In the name of God, &c., (as above).

1. Blessed be God, in the time of Náçiruddunyá waddín Sháh Mahmúd, son of the righteous Sháh Ibráhím [of Jaunpúr],

2. The hero of the world, the refuge of the kingdom, the noble chief, who through the mercy of the Lord of the Universe has found grace to do good,

3. Built this Jámí' Masjid in such a way, that on earth the arch of its structure dwells together with the moon and the fish.*

4. Its pulpit and niche, from the excess of the loftiness of (their) dignity, have received such a lustre that even the *Rúh ul Amín* (the warden of Paradise) has approved (of them).

5. And from the upper world, the call comes continually down (to earth), 'This is the garden of Eden, enter it (and live in it) for ever.'

6. Wednesday, the 27th of the month of fasting (Ramazán) of the year 859 is the date of its erection (14th September, 1455, A. D.).

7 Ahmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*ba-ján*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaikh Sharaf ul-haq waddín.†

No. 42.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة ۱۱

مسجد جامع بتوفیق خداوند الاله وز طفیل مصطفی صاحب تمکین و جاه
شد بعد دولت شاهي که صیت عدل او مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماهي تا بماه
آنکه پور شاه ابراهیم عادل سرور از آفتاب سلطنت شاه جهان محمود شاه

* I. e., the building is so high, that it touches the moon, and its foundation is so deep, that it touches the fish, upon which the earth is supposed to rest.

† The metre is as bad as the poetry. To get out the metre, we have to read *sharf* for *sharaf*—which is Hindústání, and have to scan *haqqa waddín*.

.. .. .
.. .. . نزهت بیت المقدس حرمیت بیت الحرام
بندۂ فضل اللہ نبشتہ بیست ہفتم ز صیام ہشصد و پنجاہ و نہ تاریخ بود و سال و ماہ

In the name of God, &c.

1. The Jāmi' Masjid, by the grace of God the Lord, and for the sake of Muṭṭafā, the Lord of power and dignity,
2. Was(erected) during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice surrounds the west and the east, (extending) from the back of the fish to the moon.
3. Namely, the son of Shāh Ibrāhīm the Just, the exalted, the sun of Royalty, the king of the world, M a h m ú d S h á h (two distichs illegible).
6. The glory of the holy temple (in Jerusalem), the honor of the Haram (the temple in Makkah).....
7. The slave Fazlullah wrote this on the 27th day of the Fast, A. H. 859 (10th September, 1455, A. D.)

I now bring this essay to a close. It has extended over more pages than I originally had intended. I hope in a short time to put together the collection of inscriptions belonging to the Pathán and Mughul periods, received by the Society from General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise, to whose unwearied exertions Bengal History owes so much. In the meantime it would be well if other members also, and all such as take an interest in the subject, would send rubbings and coins to the Society ; for in the absence of written histories it is only from mural and medallie remains that we can expect to gain a correct knowledge of the history of Bengal.

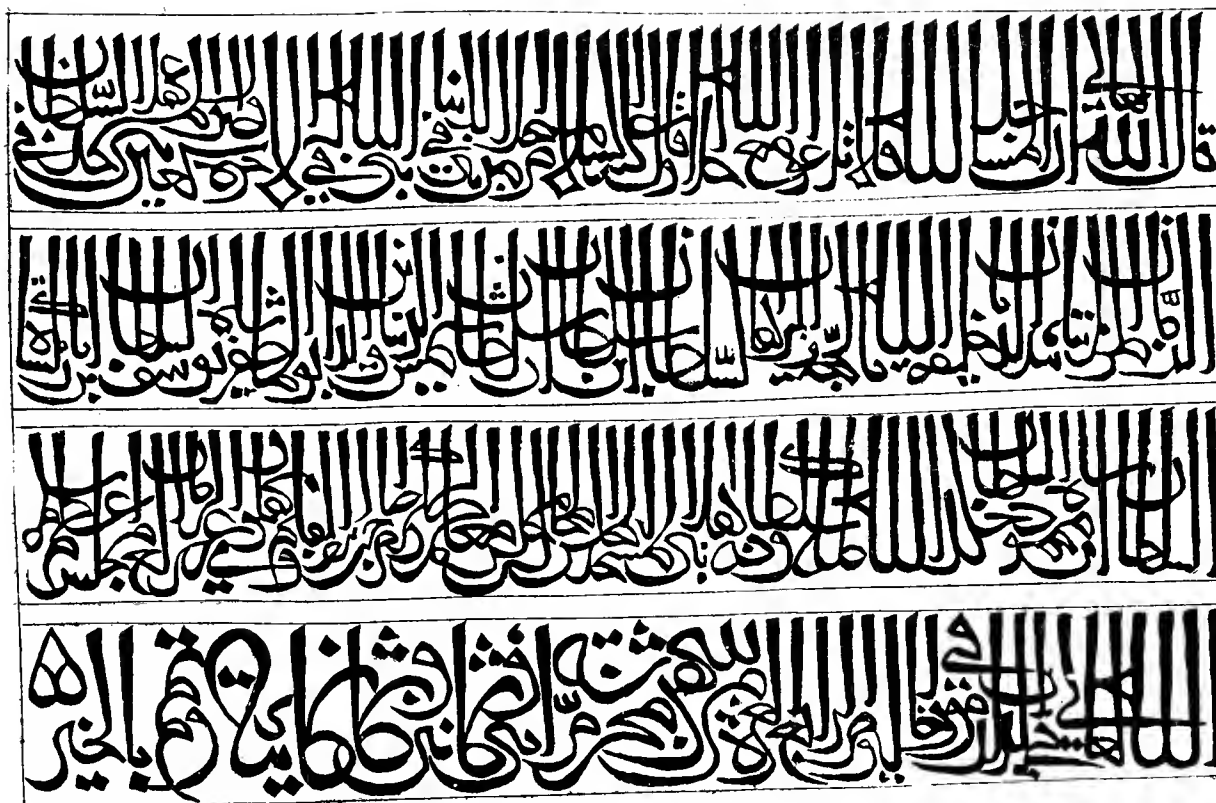
Table of the Independent Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, from A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D. 1338 to 1538.

		Statements of the Histories.		Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
		Duration of reign.	Dates.	by Coins.	by Inscriptions.		
1	Fakhruddín Abul Muzaffar Mubárák Sháh,.....	2 years and some months.	739 to 741	739, 741 to 750.	none.	739 to 750	Eastern Bengal.
2	Ikhtiyáruddín Abul Muzaffar Ghází Sháh, (son)	not mentioned.		753.	none.	751 to 753	Do.
3	'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar 'Alí Sháh,....	1 y. and 5 m.	none.	742, 744 to 746.	none.	740 to 746	Western Bengal.
4	A. The House of Ilyás Sháh. Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ilyás Sháh,	16 y. and some m.	none.	Western Bengal, 740, 744, 746 to 758; Eastern Bengal, 753 to 758.	none.	740 to 759	
5	Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, (son) ...	9 y. and some m.	none.	As prince, 750 to 754; 759 to 761; 763 to 766; 770 to 773; 776; 779 to 783, 784 to 792.	Rajab, 770.	759 to 792	
6	Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar A'zam Sháh, (son)	7 y. and some m., or 16 y. 5 m. 3 d.	to 775	772; 775; 776; 790 to 799.	none.	792 to 799	
7	Saifuddín Abul Mujáhid Hamzah Sháh (son),	10 y., or 7 y., or 3 y. 7 m. 5 d.	to 785	804.	none.	800 to 804	
8	Shamsuddín, (?), (son ?) ...	3 y. and some m., or 3 y. 4 m. 6 d.	to 788	none.	none.	804 to 808	

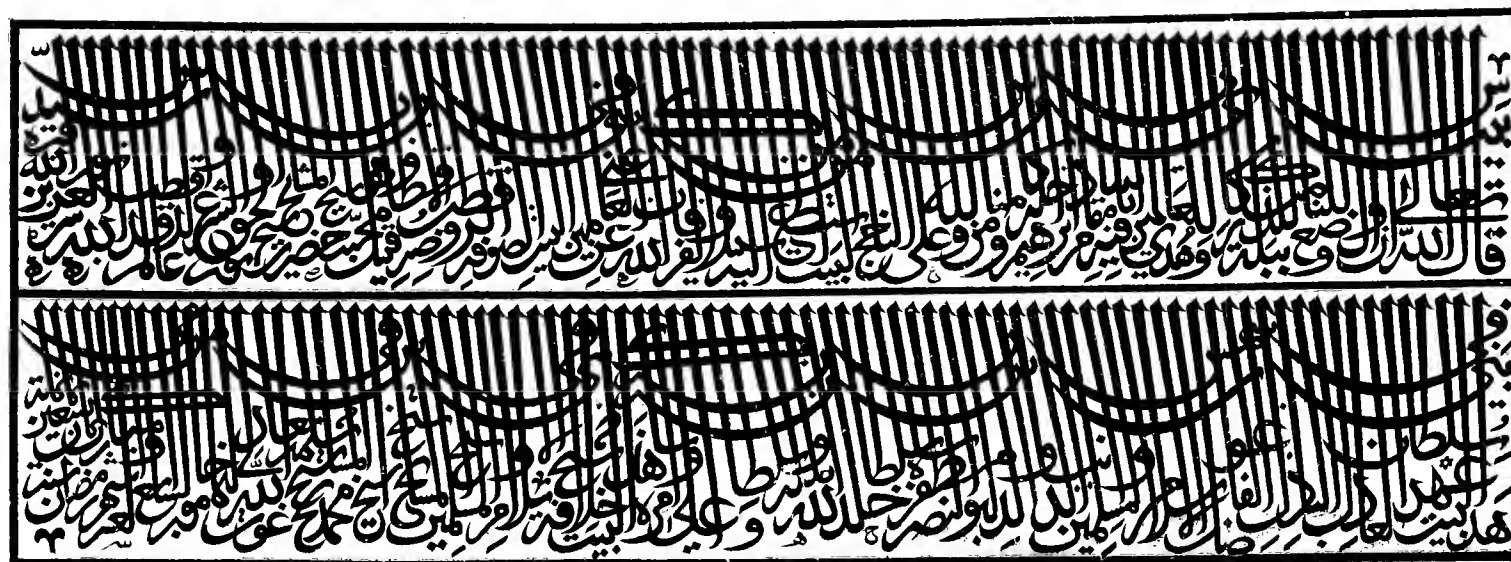
9	<i>B. The House of Rájah Káns.</i>					808 to 817
	Rájah Káns,	7 years.	none.	none.		
10	Shihábuddín Abul Muzaffar Báyzád Sháh,	not mentioned.	812, 816	none.		817 to 834
	Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, (son)	17 years.	818, 821, 831	none.		
11	Shamsuddín Abul Mujáhid Ahmad Sháh, (son)	16 or 18 years.	836	none.	834 to 850 [or to 846 ?]	
<i>C. The House of Ilyás Sháh restored.</i>						
12	Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (I),	32 or 27 years.	846	861; Sha'bán, 863; 28 Zil Hijjah 863.	846 to 864	
13	Ruknuddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh, (son)	17 or 16 years.	873	860 (as prince); Safar, 865.	864 to 879	
14	Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, (son)	7 y. 6 m.	883, 884	882, 884, 885.	879 to 886	
15	Sikandar Sháh (II), (son ?)	2½ days, or ½ day.	none.	none.	886	
16	Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, (son of No. 12)	7 y. 5 m.	886	886, 887, 888, 889; beginning of 892.	886 to 892	

	Statements of the Histories.	Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign.	REMARKS.
		by Inscriptions.			
		by Coins.	by Inscriptions.		
<i>D. The Habshí Kings.</i>					
17	Sultán Sháhzádah Bárbak, the Eunuch,	8 or 6 or 2½ m.	none.	none.	893
18	Saifuddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh (II),	3 years.	to 899	893	893 to 895
19	Náçiruddín Abul Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh (II), (son of No. 16 ?)	1 year.	none.	illegible.	23rd Rabí' ... (?)
20	Shamsuddín Abul-Naçr Muzaffar Sháh,	3 y. 5 m.	to 903	896	896 to 899
<i>E. The House of Husain Sháh.</i>					
21	'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh,	27 y., or 29 y., or 29 y. 5 m.	to 927* (929 ?)	899, 900, 912, 914	903, 907, 908, 909, 911, 915, 916, 918, 919, 922, 925.
22	Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, (son)	13 y., or less, or 16 y.	to 939	922, 924, 927	929, 930, 933, 936, 937.
23	'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh (III), (son)	3 months	none.	939	939
24	Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III), (son of No. 21)—defeated by Sher Sháh,.....	none.	to 944, dies 945	943	941

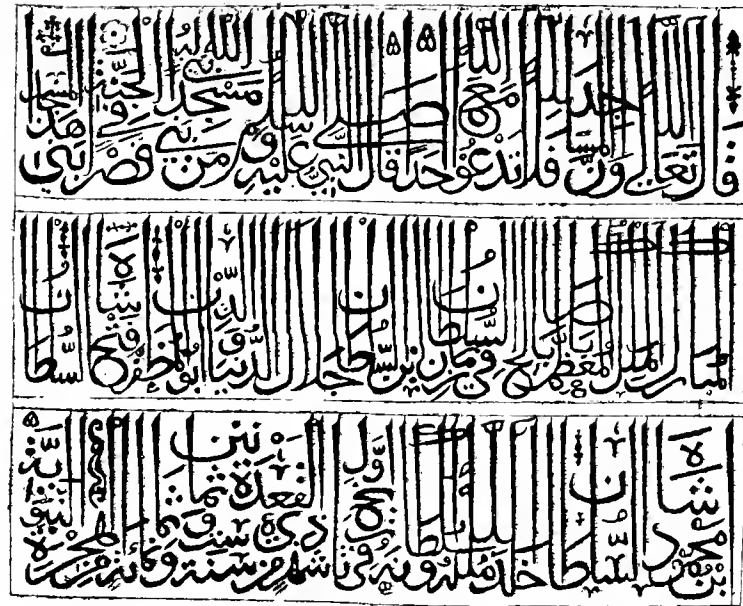




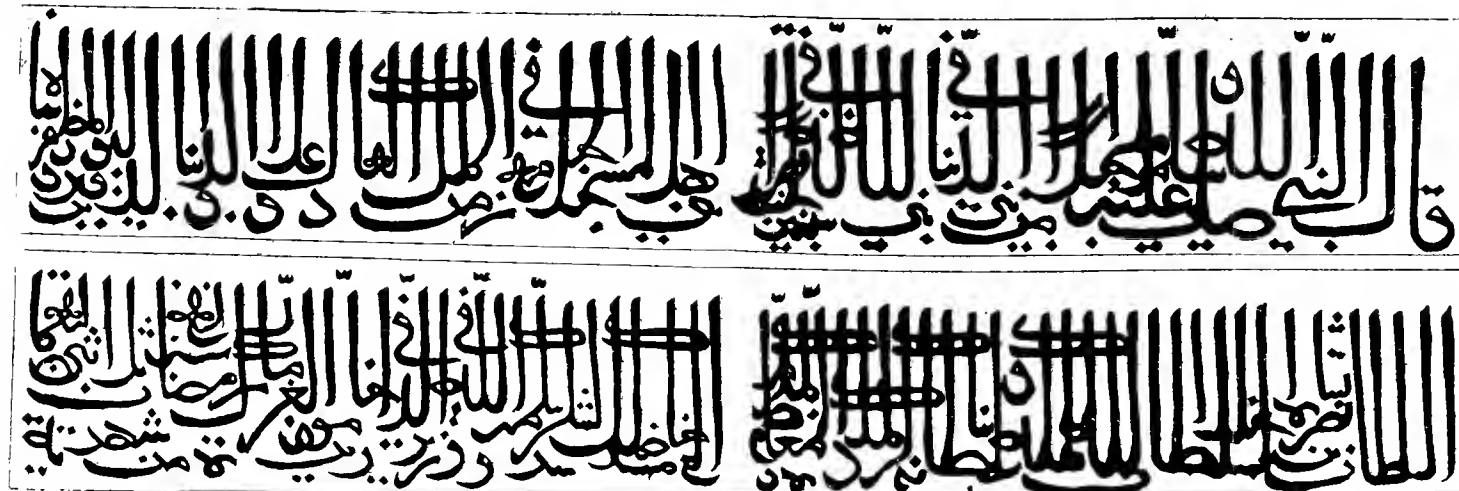
No. 1. The Yusuf Shah Inscription, of Panduah (Hugli District), A. H. 832.



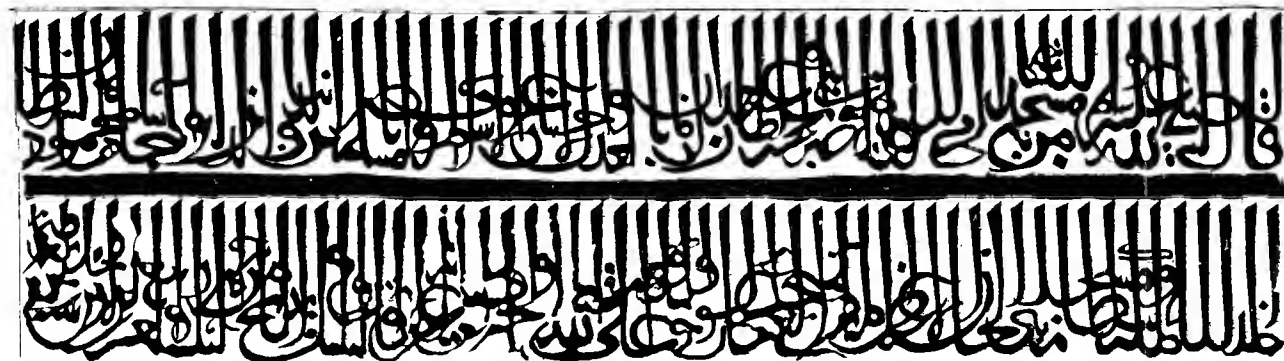
No. 2. The Muzaffar Shah Inscription, of Hazrat Panduah, A. H. 898



No. 1. The Fath Shah Inscription of Dhaka, A. H. 836,



No. 2. The Firuz Shah (III.) Inscription of Kalnah, A. H. 939.



No. 3. The Naqiruddin Mahmud Shah (II.) Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.





JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1873.

Note on two Muhammadan Coins.—By THE HONORABLE E. C. BAYLEY,
C. S. I.

I have the honor to bring to the notice of the Society two fine gold Muhammadan coins which I have lately seen. They are both as yet undescribed.

The first is a gold coin of Náçir-uddín Khusrau, the usurper who ascended the throne of Dihlí after the assassination of Quṭb-uddín Mubárah in 720 A. H., and reigned a little more than four months.

The coin is in beautiful preservation and weighs about 169 grains.

It is of the same type as the silver coin, described as No. 155 of 'Thomas' 'Pathan Kings.' The marginal inscription is, however, complete and runs,

ضرب هذه السكة في سنة عشرين و سبعمائة

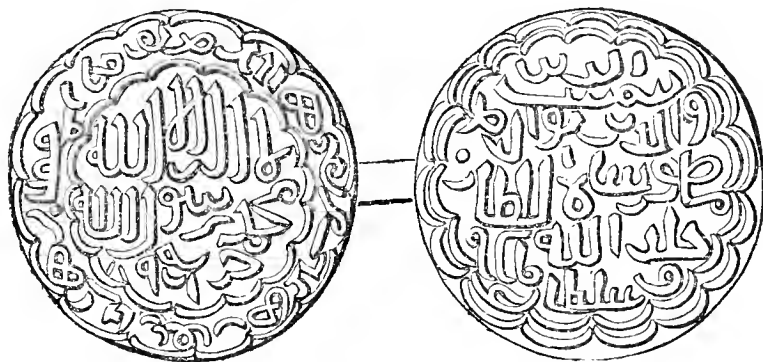
In the centre, too, of the reverse, the word preceding "الرحمن" reads clear as "ناصر" "Náçir ul-rahmán." The drawing of the original of Mr. 'Thomas' coin as given in the plates (Pl. iii, fig. 73) seems as if the latter had been imperfect at this word. The legends are, therefore, probably the same, except as to the denomination of the coin given in the margin.

The gold coin which I have above described, is in the possession of Col. J. J. H. Gordon of the 29th Regiment Native Infantry, who procured it at Peshawar.

The other coin is also a Muhammadan coin, but belongs to a later date and another mint. It is a coin of the Bengal usurper Muzaffar Sháh, and

also greatly resembles the silver coin of that Monarch, figured by Marsden, (Pl. xxxv, fig. DCXCII) and attributed by him to Shams-uddín Altamsh.

Major Waterhouse has been good enough to photograph this interesting coin, and I enclose a copy of the photograph.



I give the legend as I read it in full, but there may be some doubt as to one word and as to the date, of which more presently.

REVERSE.

Muhammadan profession of faith,
or “Kalimah,” with the date.

Margin—the names and titles
of the four companions.

OBVERSE.

شمس الدنيا والدين ابو الظفر مظفر شاه
سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطنته

The first difficulty is as to the title “ابو الظفر.” The legend in this line and that below it, is very much cramped at the end, and is with difficulty legible. I read this word therefore with some doubt, it is possibly meant for ابوالمظفر.

Unfortunately, the chief doubt of the reading centres in the *date*. The numerals are preceded by two scarcely legible groups of letters, which I take to represent *في سنة*, and these cover the numerals, which are very ill executed. Attached to the marginal scroll on the left may be seen a triangular mark. This may be either a part of the scroll itself, or it may be intended for the cipher Λ or 8.

On the other hand, the extreme right hand cipher, if examined by a glass, resolves itself clearly into two, and it may therefore either stand for ٦ or 6, or for • and ١, *i. e.*, “0” and “1.” The date may therefore be read as 901, or 896, indifferently.

This is unfortunate, for the date of this king is uncertain. We know but little of him. The main facts which seem to be clear are, that he murdered his immediate predecessor Mahmúd Sháh, and at once ascended the throne. After some time a rebellion arose, headed by his eventual successor 'Alá-uddín Husain. It would appear, moreover, Muzaffar Sháh was before long driven into the fortified city of Gaur, and that he held his own within this refuge for a very considerable time, defeating all the attacks of his opponents. In the end, however, they triumphed; one account says by the treachery

of his courtiers, whom he had disgusted by his cruelty ; another story is that emboldened by success he rashly hazarded a battle outside his fortification, and fell in the contest.

The popular dates assigned to this king vary very much, but it is specifically stated that his reign lasted three years and five months.

One set of dates, that most generally accepted, carries his reign as far down as 903, which would place his accession in either the beginning of 899 or end of 898, A. H. ; but, as will be seen, this is probably too late.

The only one point on which there is no doubt is that he erected a building at Gaur in 898. This is testified by the inscription published in the Society's Journal, Vol. XLII, p. 291, by Mr. Bloehmann from the Gaur impression furnished by General Cunningham.

Another piece of evidence, but a less conclusive one, is the coin published by Marsden, Pl. xxxviii, No. DCCXCII, and which is dated in 899. It is attributed by Marsden to 'Alá-uddín Husain ; but if correctly attributed, as is probable, it is, I think, indirect evidence, *not* that Muzaffar Sháh was then dead, but that he was still alive in possession of Gaur. For *this* coin of 'Alá-uddín is struck at Fathábád, a mint of which I believe no other specimens exist, whereas his later coins bear the mint mark usually of "Jannatábád," the well known mint name of new Lak'hnautí or Gaur. It is of course more than probable that 'Alá-uddín Husain, in the flush of victory and with his adversary penned up and beleaguered in a fortress, at once assumed, while himself in camp or at some obscure town, the regal style and struck coins, while Muzaffar Sháh might still have done the same inside his strong fortress.

The facts we have then are these : Muzaffar Sháh was reigning in 898. He was probably still reigning but penned up in Gaur at some period in 899. He reigned three years and five months.

All of these facts are consistent with the dates either of 896 or 901 A. H., but in either case this coin must mark *one* extreme limit of Muzaffar's Sháh's reign. My own feeling is rather to read the date as 901 A. H., resting mainly on the general assignment of a later date to him by native historians, and on the appearance of the date itself. I am bound to state, however, that such authorities as General Cunningham and Mr. Bloehmann prefer to read 896.

This coin was found at Gaur some years ago, and is in the possession of E. Lewis, Esq., C. S.

Notes on Two Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Twelfth Century, A. D., recording Grants of Land by Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj.—By
BA'BU RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.

In April last, I received from Mr. E. T. Atkinson of Allahabad two copper plates bearing Sanskrit inscriptions, together with a transcript in modern Devanāgarī and an English translation of one of them. Mr. Atkinson informed me that the plates “had been found in the village of Basáhi, about two miles north-east of the tahsílí town of Bidhuná, in the Etáwah District. The village is in a small *kherá* or mound into which a Thákur cultivator was digging for bricks to build a house. He came on the remains of a pakká house, in the wall of the *dálán* of which were two recesses (*ták*), and in each of these recesses was a plate.”

No. 1, the smaller of the two plates, measures 16 inches, with an average breadth of $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It has a clasp rivetted on the middle of its upper edge to which is attached a chain of two rings of unequal thickness, holding a heavy bell-shaped copper seal. The legends on the seal are a figure of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, and a conch shell, a rude imitation of the famous *pāñchajanya* conch or war trumpet of that divinity, with the name of S'rí Govindachandra Deva in the middle. The seal is peculiar to the last line of the Kanauj kings, and implies that those who adopted it were the especial followers of the Vaishṇava faith.

The writing on the plate extends to twenty-two lines, the last beginning at about the middle of the lower edge. The character is the well-known Kuṭila, deeply cut, and in an excellent state of preservation.

The record was first sent to Paṇḍit Bápudeva S'ástrí, who had it deciphered and translated by one of the paṇḍits of the Sanskrit College of Benares. The transcript prepared by the paṇḍit is generally correct, and is annexed below with a few slight alterations; but the translation, being loose and periphrastic, has been replaced by another.

The subject of the inscription is the grant, to an astrologer named Ahneka, of a village named Vāsábhi, in the canton of Jiávani, in the Etáwah district. The donor is Rájá Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, and the date of the gift, Sunday, the 5th of the waxing moon in the month of Pausha, Samvat 1161, corresponding with the end of December in the year 1103 of the Christian era. The boundary of the village is given in full, and Mr. Aikman, who communicated the plate to Mr. Atkinson, identifies the place with the modern *kherá* village of Basáhi where the record was found. He says, “The only name like Jiávani in Pargannah Bidhuná is Jiva Sirsání, about ten miles south-east of Bidhuná, which has a large *kherá*. The name

Bándhama still exists as the name of a village about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Basáhi. Pusáni may be identified with Pusaoli, two miles south of Basáhi. For Varavvalá the local paṇḍits give Belgur, two miles southwest; for Banṭhara, two miles west of Basáhi. Sávahada is apparently the modern Sabhad, $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles N. N. W. of Basáhi. All these are kherá villages with which the whole north-east of the Bidhuná Parganah appears to be studded. Tradition has it that Sahad in the Phaphúnd Parganah, which is now but a kherá, was the site of the elephant stables of the rulers of Kanauj, and, though there is now no vestige of a wall, the villagers still point out the sites of the gates, as the Dihlí Darwázah &c."

The attesting witnesses to the gift were the high priest, the accountant general, and the warder of the palace, the conveyance being a man of the name of Vijaya Dása, son of Paṇḍit Kuke.

No. 2 measures eighteen inches by eleven and a half. It originally had one or more rings and a seal attached to its top: but they are now lost. Its corners are broken, and the inscription, which extends to twenty-four lines, has been very much defaced by rust, making it quite illegible in some places. Owing to this the paṇḍit, who deciphered the first plate, could not make anything of the record. Careful clearing and an impression taken under a copper plate printing press, have, however, enabled me to read a good part of it, and filling up such portions as are irretrievably lost of the preamble, which is the same as in a record published in the twenty-seventh volume of this Journal, and the concluding imprecatory and commendatory verses from several land grants already published, I have succeeded in restoring the record with the exception of a few proper names of places which are not of any material importance. The portions taken from other records have been enclosed in brackets in the subjoined transcript.

The subject of the patent is the gift of two villages by Govindachandra to a Thákur of the name of Devapála S'armá, son of Thákur Udyi, and grandson of Thákur Yogi, of the Kásyapa clan. The title of the donee and his ancestors appears in its ancient form of Thakkura. The date of the gift is the third of the wane in the month of Phálguna, Samvat 1174, or just thirteen years after the first grant. The dates are given, in both cases, both in letters and figures, and so there is no doubt whatever about the accuracy of my reading.

The preamble of the first grant opens with a reference to a dynasty of which one Gáhaḍavála was the founder, and Karlla the last prince. One of the descendants, some unknown generations removed from Gáhaḍavála, was Mahiála, and after some generations Bhoja, who does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Karlla. Of these several names, that of Bhoja is the most important. As a sovereign of Kanauj, he must be one of the two Bhojas of the Sáran plate noticed by me in my paper "on a Land

Grant of Mahendrapála Deva of Kanauj,"* probably the last who was the same with the "Lord Paramount" named in the Gwáliár inscription translated by me and included in my paper on the "Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior,"† and noticed also in my essay on the "Bhoja Rájá of Dhár and his Homonyms."‡ The date of the last Bhoja of Kanauj was 885, A. D.,§ and that of the Bhoja of Gwáliár 875, A. D.,|| showing an interval of only ten years which may reasonably be supposed to have been included in a single reign. This identification would make the dynasty of Gahadavála to be the same with that of Devasákti, which, according to my calculation, commenced in the year 779, A. D.¶

When Karlla, the last prince of the dynasty, died, cannot be ascertained; but it must have been at about the third quarter of the eleventh century. The inscription notices a revolution immediately after his death; perhaps he was destroyed by a rising of his own people, who expelled his descendants from Kanauj and made over the kingdom to Chandradeva, or at least helped him to take it.

The dynasty of the last named prince was founded by Yasovigraha, whose name occurs in a large number of inscriptions; his date, however, is nowhere satisfactorily settled.** His son Mahichandra was the father of Chandradeva. No inscription of either of these has yet been met with. Of Madanapála, the son and successor of Chandradeva, an inscription has been published, bearing date the 3rd of the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1154 = 1097 A. D.†† According to the inscription under notice he was the reigning sovereign in 1103, A. D., when his son Govindachandra, as heir apparent, gave away the village of Basáhi.

The second inscription describes the dynasty of Yasovigraha, but makes no mention of the line of kings which preceded it. According to it Govindachandra was reigning sovereign or Mahárája on the 3rd of the wane in the month of Phálguna, in the Samvat era 1174 = A. D. 1117. So he must have succeeded his father between 1103 and 1117 A. D. On the 6th of the wane in the month of Mágha, Samvat 1182 = A. D. 1125, he gave away a village in the canton of Haladoya,‡‡ and his reign may be assumed to have

* Ante XXXIII, p. 321.

† Ante XXXI, p. 391.

‡ Ante XXXII, p. 91.

§ Ante XXXI, p. 409.

|| Ante XXXIII, p. 96.

¶ Ante XXXII, p. 409.

** A summary of all the Yasovigrahas noticed in inscriptions will be found in a footnote to a paper entitled "Of two Edicts bestowing land recorded on plates of copper." Ante XXVII, p. 217.

†† Ante XXVII, p. 218.

‡‡ Ante XXVII, p. 247.

extended to the close of the third decade of the twelfth century, and probably to a much later period. His son and successor was Vijayachandra. He is said to have died in 1168 A. D.,* leaving the kingdom of Kanauj to his son Jaychandra, the last king, from whom the country passed to the Muhammadans. There are several copper plate patents extant of this sovereign. Six of them found by Captain Fell at Benares, and now in the Library of the Asiatic Society, bear dates as follow :—

Nos. 1008-3 and 6, Samvat 1233 A. D. 1175.

No. 1008-4, Samvat 1234 = A. D. 1176.

Nos. 1008-5, 7 and 8, Samvat 1236 = A. D. 1178.

Lt. Col. Caulfield's Faizábád plate,† Samvat 1243 = A. D. 1187.

His overthrow by the Muhammadans took place in A. D. 1193, which gives a period of about twenty-six years for his reign.

As the history of these sovereigns has been discussed at length by Colebrooke, Wilson, and others, and I have at present neither the time nor the inclination to write a monograph, I shall close these brief notes with a few remarks on the nature of the gift and on the various kinds of rights, taxes, and cesses which they bestowed on the donees.

The gifts, as a rule, are absolute, and to last, in the metaphorical language generally used are such occasions, “as long as the sun and moon will endure.” Their resumption is also prohibited with dire imprecations. But no where is any mention made of the right of actual possession of the donor. The first impression produced on reading a copper-plate grant is that the proprietary right of the donor is conveyed to the donee, but looking to the fact that almost invariably there is a clause in the deed which says “the inhabitants and local officers, should render to the donee all rents, taxes,” &c., or other words to that effect, the conclusion becomes evident that the right conveyed is, like that of the zamíndárs, limited to rents, &c., and does not extend to actual possession, which is taken for granted will rest with the tiller of the soil, except of course in the cases of unoccupied land, forests, mines, wastes, &c., which are frequently separately mentioned. This peculiarity in the land tenures of India was first pointed out by Colonel Sykes, and it shows the existence of zamíndarí rights of middle men apart and distinct from the occupancy rights of the cultivators. It shows also that the right of possession did not rest with the king. He was entitled to demand revenue or *kara*, and cesses, but not to dispossess the occupant at will and pleasure. However extraordinary this may appear to persons who associate the idea of Indian sovereignty with every thing that is arbitrary and autocratic, it is a fact which is in perfect keeping with the laws of the land.

* Ante XXVII, p. 218.

† Colebrooke's Essays, II. pp. 289, 295, and 296. Journal, As. Soc., II., pp. 341. and 342; XXVII, p. 218. Ante X, p. 98.

According to the *Tattvakaumudī*, there were formerly four classes of tax-gatherers intermediate between the actual occupant on the one side and the king on the other; these were the Grāmādhyaksha, the Kauṭumbika, the Vishayādhyaksha, and the Sabhādhyaksha, and the revenue passed successively through their separate hands before it reached the king.* Whether these persons were paid officers, or owners in some sense or other, I cannot ascertain, but in the *Vivāda Chintāmani* a rule is quoted which says, “A gift of land made by the king by taking it from its proprietor through anger or avarice, or under a pretext, (*i. e.* not lawfully resumed) is illegal.”†

There are laws quoted in it of the rights of squatters and lease-holders, apart from those of permanently fixed cultivators, who held the position of the ryots of the present day.‡ This becomes the more apparent from the nature of the right of the king in land as defined by S’rīkrishṇa Tarkā-lankāra in his commentary on the Dāyabhāga of Jimutavāhana. “When the owner of one kingdom,” says he, “buys a country or the like from the owner of another, the right acquired in his purchase is that of realising revenue, which the seller had, and not anything similar to the right acquired in land by inheritance, which is also connected with land, and which is not of the same nature with the former, and cannot be produced by its transfer, the discordance being in their natures.”§ Accordingly, we find in one of the Sanchi inscriptions a vassal of Chandra Gupta purchasing from one of his own subjects a piece of land, at the legal rate, for 12,500 dīnārs for a Buddhist temple.||

The rights conveyed by the patents also indicate this very clearly. The first right named in the records under notice is called *bhāga* or “a share” of the produce. It is, I believe, the same with the *bhāgajota* of the present day, in which an owner allows the cultivation of his land by a farmer on the understanding of receiving a share (*bhāga*) of the produce, the cost and labour of cultivation being borne by the latter. The share varies from four to ten-sixteenths, according to the nature of the soil and other circumstances; but it is ordinarily fixed at half the produce, which in the case of paddy is sometimes meant to include the straw, and sometimes to omit it. Owners of land are occasionally required to supply seed grain; but

* यथा हि ग्रामाध्यक्षाः कोटुम्बिकेभ्यः करमादाय विषयाध्यक्षाय प्रयच्छन्ति, विषयाध्यक्षा सभाध्यक्षाय, स च भूपतये इति ।

† Prasannakumar Tagore’s Translation, p. 124.

‡ Ibid., pp. 130-31.

§ अत एव राज्यान्तराधिकारिणः सकाशात् अन्यद्वपतिना क्रीते राज्यान्तरादौ विक्रेतृस्त्वं सजातीयं करग्रहणोपयोगिस्त्वमेव तस्य तत्र जायते, न तु दायप्रतिगृह्योत-भूम्यादिदृष्टिस्त्वसजातीयस्त्वं तत्र भूम्यादौ तथाविधस्त्वस्त्वेन तद्विरोधात् तादृश-स्त्वान्तरोत्पत्तिसम्भवात् समानजातीययोस्तयोर्विरोधात् ।

Bharatachandrā Siromani’s edition of the Dāyabhāga, p. 18.

|| Ante Vol. VI, p. 455.

this is not common. At the time of Govindachandra, the share was, I believe, a tenth, as I find in the inscription No. 1 the word *bhága-kutaka-das'a*, which means the share (*bhága*) for a plough-share (*Kutaka*) to be *das'a* “ten,” the “ten” meaning either ten hundredths or one tenth. The ordinary practice of calculating by fractions of the rupee or sixteenths has, I imagine, not been adopted here, as the very next word *bandha viñs'ati* twenty or a twentieth for mortgages, would in that case mean twentysixteenths, which would be absurd. One-twentieth or twenty-hundredths—most probably the former was the rate of cess for mortgages. But whatever the rate the right was clearly limited to rent, and did not extend to actual possession.

The second right of the zemindar is named *Bhoga*, literally meaning enjoyment, but most probably intended to imply usufruct, as in the current terms *Bhogabandhak*, *Bhogalábh*, *Bhogádhikár*, *Bhogasanad*, &c., a mortgage is meant in which the article pledged is permitted to be used in lieu of interest. It might mean the actual possession and enjoyment of the land, but that cannot be the object intended by the conveyancer, for in that case he would not have described it as “payable,” and enjoined the inhabitants or ryots to “render it.” The condition of payment, or rendering, implies that the land was left in the possession of the ryots, and the donee was still to have some enjoyment of it. This could be effected by allowing the landlord to have the right of using it when the land was left fallow, either as field for grazing his cattle, or taking the grass from the field after the cultivator's crop had been removed from it. A right of this description is enjoyed in the North-Western Provinces to this day; and a case once came up in appeal to the High Court of Calcutta from Behar in which the zemindar claimed the right of taking grass from the field of his ryot, after the ryot had removed his crop. This is indicated in a passage in the *Viváda Chintámaní* where it is stated that “the produce of seeds thrown from one field into another by a storm or a deluge, is enjoyed by the proprietor of the field,”* *i. e.*, the produce resulting without the intervention of the ryot is due to the zemindar, even during the currency of a lease, unless otherwise provided for in the lease.

The next is *Kara*, *i. e.*, rent proper or revenue, in which a fixed amount, whether payable in money or kind, has to be rendered for the use of land irrespective of the actual produce at any given time. The standard for fixing the rate was doubtless the produce, but when the rate was once fixed, the produce was no longer taken into consideration.

The next is *Pravani kara*, or a toll on quadrivials, *i. e.*, a toll at turnpikes, it being very unlikely that a traveller was called upon to pay a toll at every cross road. The translator of the Delhi College copper-plate

* Prasannakumár Tagore's edition, p. 131.

fancies that from the mention of this tax, “it may possibly be inferrible that the impoverishment of the imperial coffers had recently given rise to a new species of fiscal exaction ;”* but the impoverishment is altogether imaginary ; there is nothing to show that Govindachandra’s reign was financially a bad one, and needed any extraordinary fiscal measures for relief. On the contrary, Govindachandra and his two successors, who exercised supremacy for nearly the whole of the twelfth century, and possessed the finest and richest portion of India, including the Gangetic doab, a good portion of Oudh down to Benares, and an undefinable portion of the tract of country to the south of the Ganges and Jumna from Tikkari to Gwalior, were rich and prosperous, the most distinguished sovereigns of their times, lavish in bestowing entire villages, not unoften two, three, or more at a time, in free gift to Bráhmans, it is extremely improbable that they laboured under pecuniary difficulties. Were the difficulty to be admitted as a fact, still the question would remain, how could the bestowal of the right to raise such a tax relieve the tightness of the imperial exchequer ? To make it really beneficial, the donor should have reserved the right for himself, and not given it away to a subject.

These four forms of taxation are mentioned in the second plate, and the grant appears to be limited to the enjoyment of these, which the tenants were to contribute. In the first grant the gift is absolute, including the power of administering justice, the punishment being limited by the nature of the offence, *sadrisáparádha danda*. But even here the tenants are not altogether lost sight of, nor their rights annulled, for it ordains that the share (*bhága*) for each plough, *kútaka*, should be ten or a tenth (*das’a : bhága-kútaka-das’a*).

The right of the donee in mortgage is fixed at one-twentieth or five per cent., which is somewhat more than the stamp tax of the present day. He is authorised also to raise a tax for beggars—a poor rate—which is to be equal to a *prastha*, or four *kuduvās*, which is equal to “forty-eight double handfuls ;” but whether that was required to be contributed by every tenant, or for every biggah of land cultivated, I cannot ascertain. The tax is named *agu-prastha*. A similar rate of tax is also fixed for the administration of justice *aksha-pāṭala-prastha*. For the watch and ward of the village, a similar rate is likewise fixed. It is called *prátihára-prastha* or a *chaukidári* tax, and in some villages of Bengal, it is still current, though the measure of corn given is different. Royalties are also fixed for mines (*ákara*), collection of fragrant grass, meaning evidently the wild *Bená* grass or *Khaskhas* (*turushka-danda*) ; wild tree-cotton (*dhara*) ; reeds for mat-making (*kaṭa*) ; and trade in precious metals and jewels, collectively called *hiranya* or gold. In the translation of the Inscription published in the twenty-seventh volume of this Journal (p. 249), the word *turushka-danda* has been rendered into

* Ante XXVII, p. 248.

“Mahommedan amercements,” the translator suggesting that it implies that “the encroachment of the northern invaders were gaining head, and that their dominion was becoming to be recognised ;” but I cannot accept this version as correct. It assumes the presence in Etawah of such a Moslem population as would be worth taxing; and that is far from being probable. The word *turushka* doubtless means a Turk or a Moslem, and it is undeniable that the incursions of Mahmúd Ghaznavi did leave some of his followers scattered in different parts of India, but they did not make up such a population in villages as to make judicial fines imposed on them of any material value. At any rate such fines do not by any means indicate Moslem sovereignty in India, nor does their imposition by Bráhmans under the orders of a Hindu king in the year 1103 imply its extension. It may be added, that the right of administering justice carries with it that of fining, and the donee who got the right, enjoyed the fines from Hindu and foreign offenders alike, and a special mention of “Mahommedan amercements” was not at all needed. But the most important argument against the theory appears to me to be the position which the word *turushka danda* occupies in the text. It is preceded by *ákara*, “mine,” and followed by *dhara*, “tree cotton,” and *kaṭa* “mat reed,” and one naturally expects it to be the name of some article of produce; and this is supplied by the old meaning of *turushka* “an aromatic substance,” added to *danda*, “a stick,” an aromatic reed. In the western parts of the Burdwan district, where the khas-khas is common, a royalty is to this day charged by zemindars for permission to cut it.

Transcript of Inscription No. I.

१० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

तस्माद्यं सर्वदेवानां दाभोदरमुपास्महे ।

त्रैलोक्यं यस्य वक्तीवाक्रोडान्तस्थं बलित्रयी ॥ १ ॥

वंशे गाहडवालाख्ये बभूव विजयी नृपः ।

सहिञ्चालसुतः श्रीमान् नलनाभागसन्निभः ॥ २ ॥

याते श्रीभोजभूषे विबुधवरबधूनेत्रसीमातिथित्वं

श्रीकर्त्तुं कीर्त्तिशेषं गतवति च नृपे क्षात्यये जायमाने ।

भर्तारं यं धरित्री त्रिदिवविभुनिभं प्रीतियोगादुपेता

त्राता विश्वस्य पूर्वं समभवदिह स क्षापतिस्त्र्यम्बदेवः ॥ ३ ॥

द्विषत्क्षितिभृतः सर्वान् विधाय विवशान् वशे ।

कन्याकुलेकरोद्राजा राजधानीमनिन्दिताम् ॥ ४ ॥

तनाजनि द्विषदिलापतिदन्तिमिहः क्षोणीपतिर्मदनपाल इति प्रसिद्धः ।

येनाक्रियन्त बज्रशः समरप्रबन्धाः सन्नर्तितप्रहतशत्रुकबन्धबन्धाः ॥ ५ ॥

तस्मादजायत नरेश्वरदृन्द्वन्द्वपादारविन्दयुगलो ज्वलितप्रतापः ।

क्षोणीपतीन्द्रतिलको रिपुरङ्गभङ्गी गोविन्दचन्द्र इति विश्रुतराजपुत्रः ॥ ६ ॥

संवत् सहस्रैके एकषष्ट्युत्तरशताभ्यधिके पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे पञ्चम्यां रविदिने
संवत् ११६१ पौषसुदि ५ रवौ ॥

अयेहासतिकायां सकलकल्पक्षयकारिण्यां यमनायां स्नात्वा यथाविधानं मन्त्रदेव-
चटपिमनुष्यभूतपितृस्तर्पयित्वा । सूर्यं भट्टारकं सर्वकर्तारं भगवन्तं शिवं विश्वाधारं वासुदेवं
समभ्यर्च्य ऊतवहं ऊत्वा । जीआवनीपत्तणयां वसभीग्रामे समस्तमहत्तमजनपदान् सम्बो-
धयति । यथा ग्रामोऽयं मया क्षेत्रवनमधूकाद्याकाशपातालसहितः सदृशापराधदण्डः*
भागकूटकदश, बन्ध, विंशति, अगूप्रस्थाक्षपटलप्रस्थ, प्रतीहारप्रस्थाकर, तुरुष्कदण्डधर-
कर, हिरण्यसर्वादायसंयुक्तः । पूर्वस्यां बान्धमौअग्रामः पश्चिमायां वडव्वलाग्रामः दक्षि-
णस्यां पुसोणीग्रामः उत्तरस्यां सावहदग्रामः एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धः । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
यशःपुण्यविष्टदये जलवुद्बुदाकारं जीवितं दानभोगफलां लक्ष्मीं ज्ञात्वा । बह्वृचशाखिने
गौतमगोत्राय गौतम, अवितथ, अङ्गिरस, त्रिप्रवराय सेमपौत्राय कुल्येपुत्राय ज्योतिर्विदे
ब्राह्मणआल्लेकाय महाराजपुत्रश्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवेन उत्तरायणसङ्क्रान्तौ कुशपूतेन हस्तो-
दकेन चन्द्रार्कं यावत् शासनत्वेन प्रदत्तः ।

ये यास्यन्ति महीभृतो मम कुले किंवा परस्मिन् पुर-

स्तेषामेष मयाञ्जलिर्विरचितो नादेयमस्मात् कियत् ।

दूर्वामात्रमपि स्वधर्मनिरता दत्तं मया पाल्यतां

वायुर्वास्यति तपस्यति प्रतपनः श्रुत्वा मुनीनां वचः ॥ १ ॥

बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ २ ॥

खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धराम् ।

स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ ३ ॥

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति ।

तावुभौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गवासिनौ ॥ ४ ॥

तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयशतेन च ।

गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिर्हर्ता न शुद्ध्यति ॥ ५ ॥

लिखितञ्च पुरोहितश्रीजागूकमेहत्तकश्रीब्राह्मणप्रतीहारश्रीगौतमी एषां सम्मत्या पण्डितः
श्रीकूकपुत्रविजयदासेनेति ॥

Translation of No. 1.

Om ! Salutation to the glorious Vāsudeva.

1. I adore Dāmodara, the first among the Gods, the three folds of skin on whose belly are said to be the three worlds in his lap.
2. In the dynasty of Gāhaḍavāla was born the victorious king, comparable to Nala and Nabhāga, the son of the auspicious Mahiāla.
3. When king Bhoja had become an object of sight to the charming wives of the gods, (*i. e.* died); when the career of king S'ri Karlla had come to a close, when there was a revolution, then Chandradeva became king. On gaining him, who was like the lord of heaven, for her husband, earth was gratified. He was a protector of the universe.
4. Having brought under subjugation all irrepressible and inimical kings, the sovereign established his reproachless metropolis at Kānyakubja.

5. Of him was born the renowned of earth, Madanapála—a lion to the inimical elephant Ilápati, (king of Ilá), who engaged himself in frequent warfare,* and made the trunks of his decapitated enemies dance (in the battle field).

6. Of him was born the celebrated prince Govindachandra, whose lotus-like feet were adored by hosts of mortal sovereigns—a prince of refulgent might, the ornament of mankind, and the disturber of the enjoyment of his enemies.

On Sunday, the 5th of the waxing moon, in the month of Pausha, of the Samvat year one thousand one hundred and sixty one, Samvat 1163, Pausha, 5th Sudi, Sunday.† Having this day bathed here at Asatika,‡ on the sin-destroying Yamuná,—having offered libations of water to the tutelary divinities, sages, (rishis) men, animals and manes,—having worshipped the sun, the sovereign and glorious lord of all, S'iva, and the asylum of the universe Vásudeva,—having duly made offerings to the fire (the prince) thus addresses all the respectable inhabitants of the village of Vasabhi, in the district or circle (*Pattana*) of Jiyávaní. This village with all its fields, and orchards of Madhuka and mangoes, together with the sky over it and the region below it, as also the power of administering justice, the right to a tenth for every ploughshare, to a twentieth on mortgages, to royalties or shares (*prastha*) of corn, for beggars, justice, watch and ward, mines, aromatic reeds and gold, along with all other,—the village having on its East the village of Bandhamauni; on its West the village of Vedabhala; on its South the village of Pusáni; and on its North, the village of Sávahada, thus bounded on four sides—for the increase of virtue and good name of my parents and myself, and knowing life to be as impermanent as a bubble on water and the value of wealth to lie in charity and enjoyment, has been granted as a sásana for the period of the sun and the moon to the astrologer Bráhmaṇa, Ahneka, son of Kulye, and grandson of Meine, of the Bahvrich Sákha (branch) of the Gautama clan (gotra), having Gautama, Avitatha, Angiras'a for his threefold *Pravara*, by Govindachandra Deva, son of the Mahárāja, on the winter solstitial conjunction (of the month of Pausha and Mágha) with water held in his hand, and purified by Kus'a grass.

1. With folded hands this is my prayer to all future sovereigns of my and other dynasties, that they should never take any tribute from this village—not even a blade of durba grass. Those who wish to do their duty should, obedient to the mandates of sages, preserve intact my gift, (as long as) the wind blows and the sun continues to shine.

2. This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara and others. To whomsoever belongs the earth for the time being, he enjoys the fruit (of such gifts).

3. Whoever robs earth, whether given by himself or others, becoming a maggot, sinks with his parents into ordure.

4. Both he who accepts land and he who grants it, are equally meritorious, and they dwell eternally in heaven.

5. The alienator of land-grants cannot expiate his crime even by (dedicating to

* The word *prabandha* means both continuous action and a treatise. The latter would imply that the king composed some treatises on tactics, but the second clause would be more in keeping with the former meaning which has been adopted in the text.

† The repetition is due to the circumstance of the date being given first in words and then in figures.

‡ Probably the name of a ghat or a village on the Yamuná.

public use) a thousand tanks, by (performing) a hundred Vájapeya rites, and by giving away in charity ten million heads of cattle.

This was written by Vijayadāsa, son of the Pandit S'ri Kuke, with the consent (or in the presence?) of the family priest S'ri Jāguka, the chief accountant (*Mehattaka*),* S'ri Brāhmaṇa, and the warder (*Pratihāra*) S'ri Gautami.

Transcript of Inscription No. II.

- १ (स्वस्ति ॥ अकुण्डोत्कण्डवैकुण्ड)कण्ठपीठलुटत्करः । संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे स त्रियः
(श्रेयसेऽस्तु) वः ॥ १ ॥ आसीदशीतद्युतिवंशजातक्ष्मापाल(मालासु दिवं गतासु ।
साक्षाद्विवस्वा(निव
- २ भूरिधाम्ना) नाम्ना (यशोविग्र)ह इत्युदारः ॥ २ ॥ तत्सुतोऽभून्महीचन्द्रश्चन्द्रधाम-
निभं निजम् । येनापारमकूपारपारे व्यापारितं यशः ॥ तस्याभू(तनयो नयैक-
रसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मण्डलो
- ३ विध्वस्तोद्धतवीरयोध)तिमिरः श्रीचन्द्रदेवो नृपः । येनोदारतरप्रतापशमिताशेष-
प्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्गाधिपुराधिराज्यमसमं दोर्विक्र(मेणार्जितम् ॥ तीर्थानि काशि-
कुशिकोत्तरकोश—)
- ४ लेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य । हेमात्मतुल्यमनिशं ददता द्विजेभ्यो येना-
क्लिता वसुमती शतशस्तुलाभिः ॥ तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचूडा(मणि-
र्विजय)ते नि—
- ५ (जगोत्रचन्द्रः । यस्याभिषेककलशोल्लसितैः पयोभिः प्रक्षालितङ्गलिरजःपटलन्धरि-
त्र्याः ॥ यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चलन्मायत्कुम्भिपदकमास + भरध—
- ६ (स्यन्महीमण्डले । चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुगलितस्यानाख्यगु)द्भासितः शेषः पेषवशादिव
क्षणमसौ क्रोडे निलीनाननः ॥ तस्मादजायत निजायतबाहुवह्निबन्धावरुद्धनवराष्ट्रग-
- ७ (जो नरेन्द्रः । सान्द्रासृतद्रवमुचां प्रभवो गवां यो) गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बु-
राशेः ॥ न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्षमांस्त्रिष्टु दिक्षु गजानाथवज्रिणः । ककुभि बभ्र-
सुरभ्रमुवल्लभ—
- ८ (प्र)तिभटा (इव यस्य) घटा गजाः ॥
सोयं स(मस्तराजचक्रसंसे)वितचरणः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
परममाहेश्वरनिजभुजोपार्जितश्रीकन्यकुब्जाधिपत्य
- ९ (श्रीच)न्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमद-
नपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर—
- १० परममाहेश्वरश्रीमद्गोविन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयी () निवासिनो
निखिलजनपदानुगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्र—

* I take this word to be the ancient form of the Uriya *Māhinti* and the Bengali *Māyiti*, an officer whose duty is to keep accounts.

११ तीहारसेनापतिभाण्डागारि (काक्षपट)लिकभिषङ्गैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगप-
त्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषानाज्ञापयति (बोधयत्यादिश—

१२ ति च ।

यथा वि(दितमस्तु भ)वतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामौ सजलस्थलौ सलोहलवणा-
करौ समत्स्याकरौ सगर्तोपरौ समधूकाम्रवनवाटिकाविटपटणयूतिगो—

१३ (चरपर्यन्तौ सोर्ध्वा)धस्यतुराघाटविशुद्धौ स्वसीमापर्यन्तौ चतुःसप्तत्यधिकैकादशशत-
संवत्सरे फाल्गुने मासि कृष्णपक्षे तृतीयायां तिथौ अङ्कतोऽपि संवत् ११७४ फाल्गु-

१४तीरसमावासेन मन्त्रपूतोदकेन स्नात्वा विधिवत् मन्त्र-
दे(व)मुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणं स्तुतिं कृत्वा तिमिरपटलपाटनपटुमहसमुष्णरोचिषमुप-
स्थायै(षधिपतिशक—

१५ लशेखरं समभ्य)र्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्व्यासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय पायसेन हविषा हविर्भुजं
ज्जत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपासारनैधु—

१६ वप्रवराय ठकुरश्रीयोगिपौत्राय ठकुरश्रीउदैपुत्राय ठकुरश्रीदेवपालशर्मणे ब्राह्मणा-
यास्माभिर्गोकर्णकुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमाचन्द्रार्कं यावत् (शासनी—

१७ कृत्य) प्रदत्ताविति मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकरप्रभृतिसर्वदायानाज्ञा-
विधेयीभूय दास्यथा ॥

भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ।

भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्य भूमिं

१८ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ १ ॥ शङ्खं भद्रासनं क्वत्रं
वराश्चा वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत् पुरन्दर ॥ २ ॥ सर्वानेतान्
(भाविनः पा—

१९ र्थि)वेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं न्यर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणाङ्गले काले
पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ ३ ॥ बज्रभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । (यस्य यस्य
यदाभू—

२० मित्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ ४ ॥ सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलम् । हरन्नरक-
माम्नोति यावदाभूतसंभवम् ॥ ५ ॥ तडागानां सहस्रेणाप्यश्वमेधशतेन च । (गवां कोटि-

२१ प्र)दानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुभ्यति ॥ ६ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् । स-
विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ ७ ॥ पष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः ।

२२ आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ ८ ॥ वारिहीनेष्वरणेषु शुष्ककोटर-
वासिनः । कृष्णसर्पाश्च जायन्ते देव (ब्रह्मस्वहारिणः ॥ ९ ॥ यानीह दत्तानि

२३ पुरा) नरेन्द्र दानानि धर्म्मा(र्थयश)स्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम
साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ १० ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधा(धिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरा

२४ विष)योपभोगाः । प्राणा(सृणाग्र)जलविन्दुसमा नराणाम्भर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोक-
याने ॥ करणिकोद्गतं ठकुरश्री

Translation.

1. Let this be auspicious. May that agitation at the commencement of his dalliance with S'rí, when her hands rolled about on the neck and shoulders of eager and lustful Vaikunṭha, be to your prosperity!

2. When the line of protectors of the earth, born of the race of the ungenial-rayed orb (the sun), had departed to heaven, there lived *one* of the name of Yásovighraha, the munificent, who, in the plenitude of his effulgence, was like the sun himself.

3. His son was Mahichandra, whose glory, resembling the light of the moon, was spread wide by him beyond the sea.

4. Unto him was born a son, the king S'rí Chandradeva, the lover of polity, the discomfiter of hosts of enemies, the dispeller of the gloom of impatient, heroic warriors, by whose glorious majesty was repressed the revolts of the subjects of the unrivalled great kingdom, of auspicious Gádhipura,* which was earned by the valour of his arms.

5. Repairing, as a protector, to Kás'í, Kusíka, Uttara Kos'ala, Indrasthána, and other places of pilgrimage, he marked the earth by the performance of a hundred *tulá* rites, in course of which he repeatedly gave to the twice-born his own weight in gold.†

6. His son was Madanapála: that crest-jewel of the lords of the earth flourishes as the moon of his race. By the waters, which sparkled in jars at his coronation, the earth was washed clean of all the sinful dust of this iron age.

7. When he went forth to conquer, on the earth sinking under the over-powering weight of the foot-falls of his maddened and careering elephants, high as lofty mountains, the serpent Sésha, crushed as it were by it, and having its crest-jewel fractured and thrust down into its bleeding mouth, for a time hid its face in its folds.‡

8. From him descended the king Govindachandra, even as the moon issued forth from the ocean. His long arms, extending like creepers, tied and checked all elephant-like upstart kingdoms, and he was the source of thick fluid-nectar-sprinkling eloquence.§

9. His numerous elephants could nowhere in the three quarters find worthy tuskers that could fight with them, and so they repaired to the quarter of the wielder

* Ancient name of Kananj.

† The ceremony is a very costly one, but it is not uncommon. Within the last ten years it has been several times celebrated in Calcutta, and in course of it not only gold, but silver, rice, paddy, sesamum seed and other articles were weighed against the donor, and presented to Bráhmans. The *Dánakhaṇḍa* of Hemádri, now in course of publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, contains a full description of the details of this rite.

‡ It is commonly believed that certain species of serpents bear very bright jewels on their heads; S'ésa, the king of serpents on whose head rests the earth, according to Pauránic cosmogony, has the largest jewel.

§ If the word *gavaya* be taken in its ordinary acceptation of kine, the meaning of the phrase would be "the source (whence men obtained) kine which gave thick, sweet milk."

of the thunderbolt (East) where the lord of Abhramu* (Airávata the elephant of Indra) was their only rival.

The same Govindachandra Deva, whose feet are profoundly adored by hosts of sovereigns, the highly revered,† the great king over great kings,‡ the supreme lord,§ the devout worshipper of S'iva,|| the sovereign of the three classes of kings, viz. As'vapati, Gajapati and Narapati,¶ master (Váchaspati) of all knowledge and logic, successor of the highly revered the great king over great kings, the chief lord, the devout worshipper of S'iva, S'rí Madanapála Deva, *who was* the successor of the highly revered, the great king over great kings, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of S'iva, S'rí Chandra Deva, the sovereign who, by his arms, carved the happy kingdom of Kányakubja, reigns supreme.

He commands, acquaints and enjoins the inhabitants of(?) and those who have come thereto from other places, as also kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, warders, (*pratihára*) generals, treasurers (*bhándágárikas*) justiciaries (*akshapatolikas*) physicians, astrologers, guardians of female apartments (or dwellers of the *zenána*), envoys, and owners of elephants, horses, towns, mines, commons, and herds of cattle : Be this known unto you, that after bathing in water consecrated by mantras, after offering according to law water to mantras, gods, sages, mortals, elements and manes, after paying due adoration to the fiery light (sun) whose rays are potent in dispelling dense darkness, after worshipping the crescent-crested (S'iva), after performing *pujá* to Vāsudeva, the preserver of the three regions, after offering oblations of frumenty and clarified butter to the partaker of butter (fire), for the promotion of virtue and fame of myself and of my mother and father, I have, by this patent, with water held in my hand and consecrated with Kusa grass, for the period of the duration of the sun and moon, bestowed on the third of the wane, in the month of Phálguna, in the year of Samvat one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, (in figures) Samvat 1174 Phalg., the two above written villages, together with their soil and waters, their iron and salt mines, their fisheries, pits and salt fields, their orchards of mango and madhuka trees, their gardens, topes, grass fields and pasturages, including everything above and below,

* Name of the mate of Airávata.

† *Paramabhattáraka*. In Sanskrit dramas *bhattáraka* means a king, but in ordinary language a revered personage is generally implied.

‡ *Mahárájádhirája* equivalent to the Arabic *sultán us-salátín*. The term may be split into two—*Mahárája* and *adhirája* “great king, and paramount sovereign.”

§ *Parama*=supreme and *ísvara*=lord or god. The epithet has been loosely rendered into Emperor in the translation of the Delhi College plate (xxvii p. 249).

|| *Parama-Máhá-ísvara*. In the Benares inscription of Col. Stacy, it is placed in opposition to *parama vaishṇava*, some of the princes named being *parama máhes'vara*, others *parama vaishṇava*. The long *á* after *m* shows that the word is a derivative and refers to Máhes'vara or S'iva. A sectorial meaning may be objected to on the ground of the seal having the Vaisṇava emblems of Garuda and conch-shell, indicating that Govinda was a Vaishṇava. But the expression of equal respect for both S'iva and Vishṇu is not uncommon.

¶ Evidently intended for some tributary kings. The Rájás of Orissa used to call themselves *Gajapatis*; those of Talingáná and Karnáṭa bore the special title of *Narapati*, and some of the Burmese monarchs were *As'vapatis*; but it is not at all likely that any of these bore allegiance to the kings of Kanauj. *Vide ante* xxvii, p. 24.

with their four abuttals well defined, and within their boundaries, on the Bráhmaṇ Thakkura, Devapála S'armá, son of Thakkura Udai; and grandson of Thakkura Yogi, of the Kás'yapa clan (*gotra*) and Kásyapására-naidhu sept (*pravara*). Knowing this you should comply with his orders, and render unto him all dues, shares, rents, tributes, quadrivial tolls, &c., whatever have to be given.

On this subject are the following s'lokas :

1. (The same as the 4th s'lóka of the first grant.)
2. A conch shell, a throne, an umbrella, choice horses, and excellent elephants, Purandara, are the royal insignia, which constitute the reward of giving away land.
3. Rámachandra repeatedly intreats all present and future lords of earth (to bear in mind) that this bridge of virtue (the granting of lands) is common to all sovereigns, and should be preserved by you at all times.
4. (Is the same as the 2nd of the first grant.)
5. He who robs a gold piece (*suvarṇa*), a cow, or a finger's breadth of land, dwells in hell until the dissolution of the universe.
6. (The same as the 5th of the first grant.)
7. The same as the 3rd of the first grant.
8. The donor of land dwells in heaven for the space of sixty thousand years; the resumer, and the abettor thereof, are doomed to abide in hell for a like period.
9. The resumers of lands dedicated to Gods and Bráhmans, become dwellers in arid wastes devoid of water, and dry hollows in trees, and are born as black serpents.
10. All the gifts of former kings are productive of virtue, wealth, and fame,—how an he, who claims the name of goodness, resume them which are to them but as emblems of vomited food?
11. Sovereignty is like unto clouds impelled by wind, (*i. e.* inconstant), worldly pleasures are sweet only for the moment, the life of man is but a drop of water at the point of a blade of grass; virtue verily is the only great friend for translation to a future world.

By the Kayastha Thakkura S'rí—



A Metrical Version of the opening Stanzas of the Prithirāj Rāsau, with a critical commentary.—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A., B. C. S.

“Manuscripts are in general grossly incorrect ; and a familiarity with the metre will frequently assist the reader in restoring the text where it has been corrupted.”

Colebrook, on Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetry.

The following version of the opening Stanzas of Chand's great poem does not lay claim to any poetical merit. It simply professes to be a close and accurate reproduction of the original, so far as the difficulties of the text allow, in readable and intelligible English. Occasionally the exigencies of rhyme and metre have necessitated some slight expansion or curtailment ; and in a few passages the *exact* turn of expression has been deliberately abandoned, either because there was a doubt about the reading, and therefore a little vagueness was preferable to what might turn out to be mistaken accuracy, or because a rigid adherence to Hindi style would have had a forced and unnatural effect, and to that extent have misrepresented the original. But throughout, the translation is line for line, not unfrequently word for word ; the connection of ideas, not always easy to trace, has been carefully studied and faithfully preserved ; and not a word *materially* affecting the sense has anywhere been either omitted or inserted.

These, it must be admitted, are rather the merits which should characterize a prose translation ; and as a literal rendering of these very same stanzas has already appeared in the last volume of the Society's Journal, the present version might be hastily condemned as a mere work of super-erogation. The rendering to which I refer is therefore appended in a running foot-note ; the words to which exception is taken as being (in my opinion) specially incorrect being printed in italics ; and the text is inserted above, in order that the correspondence, or otherwise, of the one with the other may be rapidly apprehended. For other reasons it was desirable that such comparison should be made ; though it may be added that the present metrical version would never have been attempted but for the opening sentence of the preface to the prose translation, which fathers upon me a retractation which I am not conscious of having made.

In my reprint of the text I have for the sake of the metre corrected the copyist's errors of spelling in many places where without such correction the lines could not possibly be scanned. It is incredible that Chand himself was guilty of these false quantities, since in one of the verses which I translate, it will be seen that he specially prides himself upon his accurate knowledge and observance of the laws of prosody. The alterations, which affect the sense, are very few in number, and are all fully explained and defended in my running commentary.

I. प्रथम साटक छंद ।

आदि प्रनम्य नम्य गुरुयं वानीय वंदे पयं ।

सिष्टं धारन धारयं वसुमती लक्ष्मी चरनाश्रयं ॥

तमगुण तिष्ठति ईस दुष्ट दहनं सुरनाथ सिद्धिअयं ।

थिर चर जंगम जीव चंद नमयं सर्वेस वरदामयं ॥ १ ॥

- I. Bowing low before my master, I the queen of speech entreat,
And the world-supporting serpent and great Vishnu's holy feet.
Then the perfect, sin-consuming god of gods that awful power,
Life of man and life of nature, I the poet Chand adore.

Thus after due mention of his Guru, the poet addresses his invocation to Sarasvati, Sesh-nag, Vishnu, and Mahádeva, the first of these four divinities being clearly indicated by her title of Váni. Half of the second line is difficult, but if translated literally, would I believe stand thus, "The supporter of the weight of creation, that is, of the world," meaning Sesh-nág. It can scarcely be doubted that *sishtam* is a corruption of *srishtam*, 'created,' not of *sreshtham*, 'the best' or 'highest;' for the substitution of *i* for *ri* is quite according to rule, as in *siála*, 'a jackal' for *srigála*, but I know no instance of the substitution of *i* for *re* or *t* for *th*. In the third line, the words *tama-guna* indicate Mahadeva, who is lord not 'of vice and of virtue,' but of the quality (*gun*) of darkness (*tama*). In *siddhi-srayam* the first part of the compound may mean 'success,' or may allude to the eight Siddhis, Rasollása, Tripti, Sámya, Tulyatá, Visoká, &c., the constituents of perfection; and adopting the latter view I translate by 'perfect.' In the fourth line, I have corrected the unmeaning word *Chandana-mayam* by the simple process of division into *Chanda namayam*, 'I Chand reverence.' In the first half of the line, *achara* should probably be read for *chara*; for certainly the intention is to represent the god as the life both of sentient and insentient creation.

II. वयूआ छंद ।

प्रथम सुमंगल मूल श्रुति वीय ॥

स्मृतिसत्य जल सिंचय इ ॥

I. The prose translation :

"First reverently bowing, bowing, the poet adores the feet of the *Gurus*. Taking refuge at the feet of the *highest*, the afforder of support, the husband of the opulent Lachhi; who stands the lord of vice and of virtue, consuming the wicked, the lord of heaven, blessing with success; who is as sandal-wood to the life of living beings moving on the earth, lord of all, bestower of blessings."

II. The prose translation :

"First the very auspicious root is to be celebrated. Irrigated with the water of the truth of tradition, religion like a fair tree with one trunk sprung up, with thrice six branches rejoicing the three worlds. Leaves of various colours, leaves like mouths there were. Colour of flowers and weight of fruit it had, speech unfailing, princely, rejoicing with fragrance the sight and touch, ásan tree of hope to the parrot-like poet."

सुतर एक घर धर्म उभयो ॥
 त्रिषट साष रम्मिय त्रिपुर ॥
 वरन पत्त सुष पत्त सुभ्यो ॥
 कुसुम रंग भारह सुफल ॥
 उकति अलंव अमीर ॥
 रस दरसन पारस रम्मिय ॥
 आस असन कवि कीर ॥ २ ॥

II. From the seed of Revelation,
 Watered by Law divine,
 Sprang with thrice six spreading branches
 Faith, a straight and goodly pine,
 Each leaf a lettered sign.
 Rich in fruit of lovely colour
 And honied flowers of song,
 Sweet to taste, to see and handle,
 For the poets, parrot throng.

In the first line I have divided the unknown word *Sruta víya* into *Sruti víya*; *Sruti* being the highest Revelation as distinct from *Smriti*, mentioned in the next line, divine Law or Tradition. *Víya*, if allowed to stand, is of course 'seed;' but it might be better to read *boya*, 'to be sown;' the difference between the two words in Nágari writing being almost imperceptible. The fifth line is probably corrupt; but *baran* certainly means not 'colour,' but 'letters of the alphabet;' which, according to the Mimánśa Philosophy are supposed to be eternal and immutable. In line 7 *amír* is not the familiar Persian word meaning 'a noble,' but is for *amrit*, 'nectar.' In the last line the word *ás* is a little doubtful, but *ásan* unquestionably means simply 'eating.'

III. कृष्ये ।

प्रथम कीय संगल प्रमान । निगम संपूजय वेद धुर ॥
 त्रिगुण साष चिजं चक्र । वरन लग्गो सु पत्त कर ॥
 त्वचा धर्म उदरिय । सत्त फूल्यो जु चव दिशि ॥
 कर्म सुफल उदयत्त । अमृत सुमृत्त मध्य वसि ॥

III. The prose translation :

"First having indeed proclaimed a blessing, having honoured the sacred writings, whose beginning is the Veda, whose three-fold branches in all four directions are possessed of colour and leaves like letters. Religion, having sprouted out through the bark, flowered fair in all four directions: its fruit, virtuous deeds springing out immortal, dwelling amidst mortals; firm as counsel of kings, or as the earth; the wind shakes it not, giving to life the flavour of nectar, the kali-yug affixes no stain to it, containing truth, wisdom, and perpetual freshness."

डुल्लै न वाय नृप नीति धृति । स्वाद अमृत जीवन करिय ॥
कलि जाय न लगै कलंक इहि । सत्त सत्त आढति धरिय ॥ ३ ॥

III. The Vedic Scriptures, God's best gift,
First claim respect profound,
With three-fold branches spreading wide,
Each leaf a lettered sound ;
Its bark religion, whence the bud
Of virtue forced its birth,
Ripening to fruit of noble deeds,
Heaven's bliss midst men on earth.
Who tastes, unshaken by the blast,
Firm as king's counsel, stays,
Aye growing to more perfect good,
Unsoiled by these foul days.

I have headed these stanzas 'Chhappai,' that being a more correct designation of them than 'Kabitt.' In the first line the word *pramān* is precisely identical in meaning with *nigam* in the following line ; both are synonymes of the Veda. A strictly literal translation would be "first having taken the blessed scriptures, reverence them, the divine oracles, the original Veda." It will be noticed that the poet keeps hovering round the same idea, which he repeats in three different metres. Line four here corresponds precisely with line five of the Vathúa, and as there *baran* must be translated 'A letter of the alphabet.' In the last line occurs the word *ārhati*, which I translate 'growing,' taking it to be formed from the root *ridh*. A Mathurá Pandit explained it by *sambandh*, 'connection ;' in which sense chiefly as a business term, for dealings with an *arthiya*, or 'broker,' the word is still very common.

IV. कृप्यै ।

भुगति भूमि किय क्यार । वेद सिंचिय जल पूरन ॥
वीथ सुवय लय मध्य । ज्ञान अंकूर सजूरन ॥
त्रिगुण साष संग्रहिय । नाम वड पत्त रत्त किति ॥
सुकरम्म सुमन फुल्लयौ । भुगति पक्का द्रव संगति ॥
दुज सुमन डसियवुध पक्का रस । वट विलास गुन पसरिय ॥
तरु इक्क साष त्रय लोक सहि । अजय विजय गुन विस्तरिय ॥ ४ ॥

IV. The prose translation :

"Taking possession of the earth like a garden-plot ; irrigating it with the fulness of the Veda as with water ; placing in it good seed, upsprung the shoot of knowledge, combining branches of *three qualities*, with leaves of many names, *red as earth*. It flowered with good deeds and *good thoughts*, complete deliverance, *union of substances*. The *twice-born* of pure mind have experienced its flavour of perfect wisdom, a banian tree of delight, spreading abroad virtues ; the branches of this excellent tree in the three worlds, unconquered, victorious, diffusing virtues."

IV. The world, a pleasant garden-plot,
 Watered with Vedic lore,
 From good seed cast into its midst
 The plant of wisdom bore.
 Three great boughs spread, and the earth grew glad
 At the leaves' new melody,
 While flowers of virtue swelled to fruit
 Of immortality.
 The bird-like sage quaffed the sweet juice
 Of this exquisite marvellous tree,
 With its single stem and its far-spreading boughs
 Full of glory and victory.

In the first quatrain, the only word of any difficulty is *bhugati*, which I take to be equivalent to *bhog*. In the second occurs the phrase *ratt chhiti*. Here *ratt* is simply the past participle of the verb *rang*, meaning not 'red,' nor even 'coloured,' but in its secondary sense 'affected by love,' like the more common *mohit*, 'charmed.' The two words are parenthetical, and the most literal translation of them possible is 'earth is charmed.' The three boughs, to which such frequent reference is made, can scarcely be taken to mean the three qualities *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, but indicate rather that the influence of religion extends over the three worlds of earth, heaven, and hell. In line seven, I have altered *susan*, apparently a mere misprint, to *suman*, not 'good thoughts,' but 'a flower.' In the ninth line, *duja* might mean 'twice-born;' but it seems a more appropriate carrying out of the allegory to take it in its other well-known sense of 'a bird.'

कंद भुजंगप्रयात ।

- प्रथमं भुजंगी सुधारी ग्रहन्न ।
 जिनै नाम एकं अनेकं कहन्न ॥
 दुती लवभयं देवतं जीवतेसं ।
 जिनै विश्व राधौ बली मंत्र सेसं ॥
 5. चवं वेद वंभं हरी किति भाषी ।
 जिनै भ्रम साधम संसार साषी ॥
 तृती भारती व्यास भारथ्य भाषौ ।
 जिनै उत्त पारथ्य सारथ्य साषौ ॥
 चवं सुषदेवं परोषत्त पायं ।
 10. जिनै उद्धयो सर्व कुरु वंस रायं ॥
 नरं रूप पंचम श्रीदृष सारं ।
 नलैराय कंठं दिनै शुद्ध चारं ॥
 छटं कालिदासं सुभाषा सुवदं ।
 जिनै वाग वानी सुवानी सुवदं ॥

15. कियौ कालिका मुघ्य वासं सुसुद्धं ।
 जिनै सेतु बंध्यौ तिभोजप्रबंधं ॥
 सतं दंडमाली उलाली कवित्तं ।
 जिनै बुद्धि तारंग गंगा सरित्तं ॥
 जयदेव अठ्ठं कवी कव्वि रायं ।
 20. जिनै केवलं कित्ति गोविन्द गायं ॥
 गुरुं सव्व कव्वी लहं चंद कव्वी ।
 जिनै दर्शयं देवि सा अंग हव्वी ॥
 कवी कित्ति कित्ती उक्ती सुदिषी ।
 24. तिनं की उचिछी कवी चंद भण्णो ॥

V. First reverence to the serpent-king, who ordereth all things well,
 Whose name is told ways manifold, though one, unchangeable.
 Next be adored the Sovereign Lord, the god of quick and dead,
 Who by strong spells set fast the world on the great serpent's
 head.

5. In the four Vedas' holy texts is Hari's glory shewn,
 A witness to eternal truth, where only sin was known.
 Be Vyása third, from whom was heard the tale of the Great War,
 Where Krishna, first of charioteers, drove Arjun's sounding car.
 Fourth, Sukadev, who at the feet of king Parikshit stood,
 10. And wrought salvation for the whole of Kuru's lordly brood.
 Sri Harsha, fifth, pre-eminent in arts of poesy,
 Who on king Nala's neck let fall the wreath of victory.
 Sixth Kálidás, in eloquence beyond all rivals great,
 Whose voice the heavenly Queen of Speech vouchsafed to
 modulate.

15. Upon whose lips great Káli's self thought it no shame to dwell,
 The while he framed in deathless verse King Bhoja's Chronicle.

V. The prose translation :

First be *the well-adorned Bhujangi taken*, whose name this one is spoken in many ways. Second be taken the god, the lord of life, who placed the universe by powerful spells on Sesh-nág. In the four Vedas *by the Brahmans* the glory of Hari is spoken, of whose virtue this unvirtuous world is witness. Third the Bháratí Vyása spake the Bháráth, *who bore witness to the more than human charioteer*. Fourth Sukadeva at the feet of Parikhit, *who extolled all the kings of the race of Kuru*. Fifthwho placed a *six fold* necklace on the neck of king Nala. Sixth Kálidása, fair of speech, fair of wit, whose speech is *that of a poet, a master-poet, fair-speaking, was made the pure fragrance of the mouth of Kali, who firmly bound the dyke of three-fold enjoyment*. Seventh, Danda-Máli's charming poem, the wave of whose wit is as the stream of Gangá. Jayadeva, eighth, poet, king of poets, who only *made the song of Govinda*. Take all these poets as thy spiritual guide, poet Chand, *whose body is as a sacrifice inspired by Devi*. The poets who have uttered praises and excellent speech, of them poet Chand has spoken highly."

- Be seventh in place the jocund grace of Danda-Máli's theme,
 Sweeping along, full, deep and strong, like Ganga's mighty stream.
 Eighth Jayadeva, bard of bards, most worthy that high name,
 20. Whose sole delight to tell aright the great god Gobind's fame.
 Thus each great name of elder fame I the bard Chand invoke ;
 For as the present god inspired, those loving servants spoke.
 In humble phrase I dare to praise the deeds of one and all,
 24. Who can but gather up the crumbs that from their table fall.

If this passage is genuine, and there seems no reason to doubt the fact, it is of some value in the history of Sanskrit literature as tending to determine the date of the two poets Srí Harsha and Jayadeva. Dr. Bühler assigns the former to the middle of the twelfth century, relying chiefly on the authority of Rájá Sekhara, a Jain writer of about the year 1350 A. D. This view, which is by no means in accordance with ordinary Hindu tradition, has been ably combated in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, and must now be considered as finally refuted. For though Chand may not have been a very profound critic of Sanskrit style, and may have been as regardless of chronological precision as most of his countrymen, still it is impossible that he should have committed the blunder of referring to remote antiquity a writer, who—according to Dr. Bühler's hypothesis—would have been all but, if not quite, his contemporary. Similarly in Jayadeva's case, the desire of European scholars to prune down the exaggerated figures, in which Hindus are prone to indulge, has led to error in the opposite direction. Professon Wilson concludes him to have been a disciple of the great religious reformer Rámánand, who flourished in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This connection, so far as I can ascertain, is not warranted by any text in the *Bhakta Málá*, the recognized authority for the lives of the Vaishnava saints, and is totally disproved by the fact now brought to light that Jayadeva is mentioned by name by Chand, who wrote some hundred years before the time of Rámánand even.*

The metre *Bhujanga prayát* is a series of rhyming couplets, each line comprising four of the foot called in Sanskrit prosody *Ya-gan*, i. e. one short followed by two long syllables. In the twenty-four lines, as originally printed, there are as many as eighteen false quantities ; but the defect in every instance is obviously the result of mere carelessness on the part of the transcriber, and has been rectified by some one of the three simple and recognized prosodiocal expedients, viz., the introduction of an anusvára, the reduplication of a consonant, or the change of the quantity of a vowel. In the first line, the word *Bhujangi* contains an allusion to the name of the

* I have stated the argument at greater length in two letters on the subject which have appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*.

metre, which it is quite impossible to preserve in a translation, but primarily it denotes the serpent God, Sesh-nág; *bhujanga* being a common name for a serpent. *Sudhári*, like every other word with the same termination, has not a passive but an active signification, and means 'the good arranger;' as *mantra-dhári* means 'a layer down of counsel,' and *rás-dhári* 'a composer of dances.' It will be observed that the poet is giving a brief catalogue of all the great authors of earlier date, and places at their head the god Sesh-nág, the first artificer or *ποιητής* of the universe. He then passes on to the Vedas, which he represents as directly inspired by Vishnu, and thence to the Mahá-bhārat of Vyása, the Srí-Bhāgavat of Suka-deva, and so on, in each case either mentioning by name or describing the author's principal work and eulogizing his genius. Thus in the fifth line we are forbidden by the context from taking the obscure word *bambham* to represent the 'Brahmans' as the authors of the Veda, which has already been distinctly ascribed to Vishnu himself. I would rather consider it as a corruption of *babhru*, a title of that god, and couple it with the word Hari which immediately follows it.

In line eight, *utta* would seem to be an abbreviation for *uttam*, 'the best;' while Páratth is simply the Hindi form of the Sanskrit Pártha, meaning 'the son of Prithá,' a very familiar name of Arjun, the great hero of the Mahá-bhārat. In lines nine and ten, the reference is to the Srí Bhāgavat, which was recited by Sukadeva to king Paríkshit when at the point of death, as the best means for procuring the 'salvation' (*uddhāra*) of his soul.

In the following couplet, I have corrected the unmeaning word *shaddha* to *suddha*. The allusion is to Sri Harsha's famous poem, the Naishadha, which narrates in twenty books the adventures of the hero Nala, king of Nishadha, and concludes with the description of the Svayam-vara, where Damayanti in token that she had selected him for her husband 'dropped upon his neck the wreath of flowers.'

Lines thirteen to sixteen are eulogistic of the great poet Kálidása, to whom Chand ascribes, not with perfect accuracy, the composition of the Bhoja-prabandha, a work in mixed verse and prose.* A literal translation of line fourteen would be "whose voice Sarasvati made a charming voice," *vág* being not 'speech' but the 'queen of speech;' and *váni* not 'a poet' but 'voice.' In line fifteen, *vásam* is not 'fragrance,' but 'an abode;' and in line sixteen the words *setu bandhyau* mean simply 'composed,' having been selected with alliterative allusion to the *prabandha* which forms part of the title of the work under mention. It may be noted upon lines seventeen and eighteen, that Danda-máli's great work, the Dasa-Ku-

* The prose frame-work is known to have been composed by Ballála Misra, but many of the poetical extracts may with great probability be ascribed to Kálidás.

mara-Charita, has still less claim than the Bhoja-prabandha to be considered a poem; since unlike most Sanskrit literature it is entirely in prose. The style, however, is sufficiently elaborate to make it ordinarily included among the Kávyas.

In line twenty, an alteration required by the metre is equally essential for the sense: *kittí*, with the last syllable long, being when so spelt the past participle of the word *karná*, 'to make,' must be corrected to *kitti*, with the last syllable short, a corruption of *kirti*, 'fame.' *Gáyam* also should be translated as the verb 'sung,' rather than as equivalent to *gíta*, 'a song.'

In the twenty-second line, *habbi* cannot possibly be taken as a derivative from the root *hu*, 'to sacrifice;' it is far more natural to connect it with *háva*, 'love and dalliance.' In the last line, I take *uchishti* as a substitute for *uchchhíshta*, corresponding to the Hindi *jhuthá*, 'the fragments of a feast.'

VI. दोहा ।

उचिष्ट चंद कंदह वयन । सुनत सु जंपिय नारि ।
तन पवित्र पावन कविय । उक्ति अनूठ उधारि ॥ ६ ॥

VI. Hearing Chand rate his art so low,
His lovely consort cries :
O pure and all unblemished bard,
Skilled in rare harmonies.

Here *uchisht* must of course be taken, as at the end of the last stanza, to denote something utterly low and vile. In the third line *tan pavitra* is rather 'pure of body' than 'purifier of the body,' and *pávan*, with precisely the same meaning, is added simply for the sake of emphasis.

VII. कप्ये ।

कहै कंति मम कंत । तन पावन वड कविय ।
तंत संत उच्चार । देवि दरसिय मक्ति हव्विय ॥
तंत वीर उयंत । रंग राजन सुष दार्दय ।
वाल केल प्रत्यंग । सुरनि उद्धरि कविताईय ॥

VI. The prose translation :

"The speech in verse of Chand, *excellent*, hearing him utter, his wife says, *Purifier of the body*, O poet, uttering excellent speech."

VII. The prose translation :

"Saith the wife to her husband: *Purifier of offspring*, great poet, uttering spells and charms, like an oblation offered to Devi, hero of spells, very terrible, giving pleasure to kings by thy poetry: the childish sports one by one of the gods having extolled in thy poems, having uttered unchecked speech, from which to me comes wisdom, that word which is the visible form of Brahm, why should not the best of poets speak it?"

अवलंब उक्ति उच्चार करि । जिहित मोहि कोविद् रहै ॥
समब्रह्मरूप या सवद कज्जं । क्यों उचिष्ट कवियन कहै ॥ ७ ॥

VII. Nay, good my Lord, thus quoth his spouse,
Great bard, unblemished elf,
Whose prayers and spells have power to win
The love of Heaven itself,
Hierophant of mystic lore,
Charm of the courtly throng,
Like to a child in untaught play
Lisping divinest song ;
In faith pronounce one holy name
(For faith and love make wise),
'Tis Brahma's self ; no dregs of eld
Deem then thy melodies.

There can be no question as to the meaning which the first line is intended to convey, but it seems impossible grammatically to extract that meaning from it, if the word *sama* be retained. I have altered it to *mama*. In the second line also, I have made a change by substituting *tan* for *tant* ; it now corresponds precisely with the third line of the preceding *doha* ; and a repetition of the kind, after a change of metre, is a very favorite artifice with Hindi poets. The erroneous reading of *tant* is due to its occurring at the commencement of the very next line, where it caught the copyist's eye. In the third quatrain, I have introduced two emendations ; first by combining *ko* and *vid* into one word *kovid*, 'wise ;' and secondly, by joining *kabiya* with the following negative, and so converting it into the plural form *kabiyan*. The words *habbiya* and *uchisht* have already been commented upon.

VIII. ब्रह्मै । चंद वाक्यं ।

सम वनिता वर वंदि । चंद जंपिय कोमल कल ।
सवद ब्रह्म इह सति । अपर पावन कहि असल ॥
जिहतत सवद नहि रूप । रेष आकार ब्रन्न नहि ।
अकल अगाध अपार । पार पाव न त्रयपर सहि ॥
निहि सवद ब्रह्म रचना करै । गुरु प्रसाद सरसं प्रसन्न ।
जद्यपि सु उक्ति चुकौ जुगति । तो कमलवदनि कवितह हसन ॥ ८ ॥

VIII. The prose translation :

"To his wife saith the bard Chand, muttering soft and low, that true word of Brahm, *purifier of all others*, itself pure, that word which has no form, stroke, letter, or colour, *unshaken*, unfathomable, boundless, *purifier of all things* in the three worlds, that word of Brahma *let me expound, the glory of the Gurus, pleasing to Sarasvati*, if in the arrangement of my phrases I should succeed, *it will be pleasing to thee*, O lotus-faced one."

With reverence to his dearest spouse
 Quoth Chand in accents mild :
 That holy name of God most high,
 Pure, infinite, undefiled,
 Beyond the compass of all shape,
 Form, stroke, or lettered sign,
 Fathomless, indivisible,
 That no sphere can confine,
 Hymned I that name, by my lord's help
 And Sarasvati's grace,
 Jeers still would mock my faltering style,
 O Queen of the lotus face.

In the first line, I have allowed the word *sam* to stand, thinking it possible that it might be intended to represent the Sanskrit *swa*. The combination *barbandi* would seem to be a misprint; though it is impossible to say, as it is omitted altogether from the prose translation; obviously it consists of two distinct words *bar* 'excellent' and *bandi*, 'reverencing.' In line seven, *akal* is not 'unshaken,' but 'without parts,' that is 'indivisible.' The next line literally translated would be 'that can find no limit in the three worlds;' पावन being divided into पाव न. In the eighth line, *prasád* is not in opposition to *rachná*, but the words are parenthetical, and the construction expressed in full would be *Guruke prasád se, aur yadi Sarasvati prasann ho*. In the eleventh line, for *chukaun* with *u* short, meaning 'to complete,' I think it would be better to read the same word with *ú* long, meaning 'to fail.'

IX. कृप्ये । चंद स्त्री वाक्यं ।

तुम वानी वर वंद । नाग देखंत विमल मति ॥
 कंद भंग गुन रहित । कंड कौमार काव्य छत ॥
 बुधितरंग सम गंग । उक्ति उच्चार अमिय कल ॥
 सुनर सुनत विहसंत । संत जनु वस्य करन वल ॥
 अवतार भप प्रथिराज पड । राज सुष तिन समलहहि ॥
 वीराधिबीर सामंत सब । तिन सु गल्ह अच्छो कहहि ॥ ९ ॥

IX. O reverent and most pure-souled bard,
 Versed in all rhythmic law,

IX. The prose translation :

"Thou art the poet, the excellent bard, gazing on the heavens with unclouded intellect, skilful in the arrangement of metres, having made the song of the peacock-youth. The wave of thy wit is like Gangá, uttering speech immortal, soft, good men hearing it are rejoiced, it subdues like a spell of might. The incarnation king Prithiráj the lord, who maintained the happiness of his kingdom, hero, chief of heroes, and all his paladins, of them speak a good word."

Who lisped in numbers as a babe,
 Numbers that knew no flaw,
 Like Gangá's stream, on pours thy song
 In rich mellifluous flood,
 A spell of might that all confess,
 But most the wise and good ;
 The incarnate god, who rules the world,
 King Prithirāj the Great,
 Of lordly chieftains lordlier lord,
 Be it thine to celebrate.

The word *nág* which occurs in the second line, is one that bears many meanings, but the context shews that in this passage it must be interpreted in its technical sense of 'the art of prosody.' A literal rendering of the next two lines would be 'whose verses are without any faults who in childhood made poems.' I fail to discover any possible allusion to the Kumárasambhava. In the sixth line *amiya kal* are 'sweet strains,' without any reference to 'immortality.'

X. कप्यै । चंद वाक्यं ।

गजगवनी प्रति चंद । चंद कोमल उच्चारिय ॥
 मनहरनी रसवेली । सुरन सागर रस धारिय ॥
 वंक नयन वयवाल । प्रानवल्लभ सुखदाईय ॥
 गरु अगुन निगुन ग्रहनि । गवरिपूजा फल पाइय ॥
 भए आदि अंत कविता जितै । तिन अनंत गति मति कहिय ॥
 अनेक ग्रंथ तिन वरन वत । यों उचिष्ट मतिमें लहिय ॥ १० ॥

X. Unto his fair and stately dame

Quoth Chand in loving wise :
 Dear charmer, clinging vine of love,
 Foretaste of Paradise,
 With girlish eyes of witching glance,
 My queen, my soul's delight,
 Noting all faults but knowing none,
 Heaven's rich-dowered favourite ;
 List while I tell in faltering tones
 How infinite a throng,

X. The prose translation :

"To her of the elephant gait, Chand singing a pleasant rhyme said, Ravisher of the soul, tendril of enjoyment, possessing the fragrance of the ocean of the gods, thou of the glancing eye, in the flower of thy youth, beloved of my soul, giver of bliss, wife, free from all evil qualities, thou who hast obtained the fruit of the worship of Gauri; as many poems as there have been from first to last, consider how endless a string there is of them, the description of this matter is in many books, thus having taken in the best counsel."

Of diverse talents, diverse theme,
Are the great lords of song.

In this passage the only line of any difficulty is the seventh, which I translate 'faultless, observant of faults;' omitting the first word *garu*, which may either represent *garv*, 'pride,' or be a mis-reading for *guru*. A literal rendering of the last quatrain would be 'from first to last what poems there have been, their endless (varieties of) style and theme I tell. Countless are the books: now gather from my poor wit this attempt to describe them.'

XI. वंद पदरी ।

प्रनम्य प्रथम मम आदि देव ।
ॐकार सवद जिन करि अखेव ॥
निरकार मध्य साकार कीन ।
मनसा विलास सह फल फलीन ॥
त्रयगुनह तेज त्रयपुर निवास ।
सुर सुरग भूमि नर नाग भास ॥
फुनि ब्रह्मरूप ब्रह्मा उचारि ।
कथि चतुर वेद प्रभु तत्त सार ।
वरनयौ आदि करता अलेष ।
गुन रहित गुननि नह रूप रेष ॥

- XI. First I adore the one primeval Lord,
Who breathed the unutterable, eternal word ;
Who out of formless chaos formed the earth,
And all creation, as he willed, had birth.
Through the three spheres his three-fold glory sped.
Fiends, gods and men—earth, heaven and hell o'erspread.
Then the supreme, in Brahma's form revealed,
By the four Vedas heaven's closed gate unsealed.
How sing the great creator, uncreate,
Passionless, formless, aye unchanged in state :

And so on for the remainder of a long paragraph ; which, as it contains nothing of special difficulty, has already been adequately translated, and therefore need not be repeated. It does not advance very far in the promised poetical catalogue, for after extolling the divine author of the

XI. The prose translation :

"First reverencing my first of gods, who uttered the imperishable word Om, who made the formed out of the formless, the will of his mind blossomed and bore fruit, the sheen of the three qualities, inhabiting the three worlds, *shining on* gods in heaven, men on earth, serpents in hell. Then in the poem of Brahma leaving the *Brahma-egg*, the lord, the essence of truth, said the four Vedas, *the creator uttered them unwritten*, without qualities, having neither form nor line.

Vedas, it just mentions by name the Purānas, the Rāmāyana and the five Mahā-kāvyas ; when the poet is stopped by his wife, who desires to have the Purānas enumerated more in detail. In the seventh line, I prefer the alternative reading *Brāhmā uchāri* to *Brahmānda chāri*, which the editor has adopted ; and I translate ‘then spake Brahma, the visible form of Brahm,’ which appears to me a very simple and intelligible form of expression.

Before concluding this article, it may be interesting to adduce a specimen of a genuine native commentary on Chand : accordingly, I append a paraphrase of the first four lines of invocation, written by Pandit Mākhan Misr, a Sārasvat Brāhman, resident in Mathurā, who has the largest library of Sanskrit MSS., and is one of the best-read scholars in that city of Sanskritists.

शाटक ।

आदि कहियै प्रथम नम्य कहिय नमस्कार करवे लाइक जो गुरयं गुरु तिनैँ प्रणम्य
नमस्कार करकैँ पय कहियै जल सरोकी निर्मल अथवा दूध सरोकी खेत ऐसी जो
वानीय नाम सरस्वती ताय नमस्कार करुं कैसे गुरु हैं शिष्टं कहियै परंपरामर्यादानके
राखनवारे हैं फिर कैसे हैं धारन कहियै ध्यानादिक जो अष्टांगयोग हैं ताके धारयं
कहियै धारण करवे वारे हैं अरु पशुपती कहियै महादेवजी अरु लक्ष्मी कहियै लक्ष्मी
स्वामी जो विष्णु इन दोनोंनके जो चरण हैं तेहैं आश्रय जिनकूं ऐसे गुरुनकूं फिर
कैसे गुरु हैं तमगुन जो तमोगुण है सो न तिष्ठति कहियै नहीं विनके विषे स्थित है
अरु ईश कहियै समर्थ हैं अरु दुष्ट कहियै पाप ताकूं दहन कहियै अग्नि सरोके जराय-
वेवारे हैं अरु सुरनाथ जो इंद्र ताकी जो सिद्धी कहियै संपत्ति ताके अथ कहियै
आश्रय हैं अर्थात् जो कोई गुरुनकी सेवा करै है ताइ इन्द्र करदेइ हैं यावर कहियै
वृक्षादिक अरु जंगम कहियै मनुष्यादिक जो जीवमात्र तिनकूं चंदनमय नाम चंदन जैसे
शीतल हैं सर्वेश कहियै सबके स्वामी हैं वरद कहियै वरके देवेवारे हैं अभय कहियै
निर्भय ह ॥ १ ॥

The above is a good illustration of the extreme difficulty which really learned Hindus, whether they come from the east or the west of India, find at the present day in understanding their own vernacular in its earliest form. Their suggestions as to the train of ideas, traditional usage, &c., are often valuable ; but their etymological explanation of particular words is frequently of the wildest and always requires confirmation. Hence the English editor of Chand must in the main depend on his own resources and stand or fall by himself.

The Initial Coinage of Bengal under the early Muhammadan Conquerors.
Part II.—By E. THOMAS, F. R. S.

(Continued from Journal, Vol. XXXVI, 1867, p. 73.)

The discovery of an undisturbed hoard of no less than 13,500 coins in Koch Bihár, inhumed some five centuries since, recently claimed attention both from the number and importance of its representative specimens, which so effectively illustrated the history of the kingdom of Bengal for a consecutive period of some 107 years.* The earliest date thus accorded towards the purely Initial Coinage of the country under its newly-installed Muslim administrators did not reach higher than the reign of the Empress Raziyah, A.H. 634-637 (A.D. 1236-1239), or more than 34 years after the first entry of the adventurous *Khiljî* and *Turkî* troops into the recognized Hindû capital of the lower Ganges.† A still more recent discovery of a comparatively poor man's *cache*, in the fort of Bihár,‡ elucidates an earlier chapter of the local annals: and though the contents of the earthen vessel in this case are limited in number to a total of 37 pieces, and restricted in their dates to a term of 13 years, they, in some respects, compete advantageously with the previously-recovered unexampled store, in the value of their contributions to the obscure records of the Gangetic Delta, and in priority of date bring us more than 20 years nearer to the first occupation of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyâr *Khiljî* in 600 A.H. As in the larger and almost regal treasure trove of Koch Bihár, the specimens in the present instance prove to be essentially of home or indigenous fabric. With the exception of a single northern piece of the supreme *Sultân* of India, they are one and all the produce of the mints of Bengal proper, and mark with singular fidelity the varied incidents of the alternate rise and fall of the provincial governors during the unsettled relations existing between suzerain and vassal from A.H. 614 to 627, when Altamsh came into real and effectual possession of the south-eastern portion of his Empire.

* Journ. R. A. S. (N.S.) Vol. II., 1866, p. 145. Reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. XXXVI, 1867, p. 1.

† The name of Nuddea, नवद्वीप, *Navadwîpa*, the "new island" (converted into نوديه by the Muslims), would seem to imply a southerly movement, in concert with the silt of the Ganges, of the seat of Government down to the comparatively modern occupation of this site, on the abandonment of the successive traditional capitals of earlier dynasties.

‡ I have no information as to the exact circumstances of the discovery of this small hoard, beyond the general intimation that it was secured by Mr. A. M. Broadley, in or near the Fort of Bihár. The coins have now become the property of Colonel Guthrie, who had already contributed the materials for my earlier notice of the Initial Coinage of Bengal.

One of the most instructive facts disclosed by these few pieces is, that the rich and comparatively undisturbed territory of Bengal felt the want of a supply of *silver* money long before a similar demand arose in the harassed provinces of the North-West. The southern coins date, as far as can be seen, some nine years prior to Altamsh earliest effort at a silver coinage in his northern dominions; and even Raziyah's silver money of deferred date bears every token of exclusive manufacture in the subordinate Lak'hnautí mint.

I have already quoted the testimony of Minháj i Siráj, to the effect, that on the first conquest of Bengal by the Muslims, they found no metallic or other circulating media of exchange except that supplied by *cowries*;* even the compromise of the mixed silver and copper *jitals* of the various Hindú dynasties of the central Rájput tribes was unknown in the sea-board marts of the south.

The chronicles of the proximate kingdom of Orísá, whose boundaries touched, if they did not often trench, upon the ancient kingdom of Gaur,† explain how so infinitesimal and largely distributed a currency was able to supply the wants of so rich and essentially commercial a population. It would appear, from the official records preserved in the Temple at Púrí, that although there was no silver money in use, gold in convenient weights, if not in the form of absolute coin,‡ was freely interchangeable with the more bulky heaps of cowries. In these same official *palm-leaf* documents we find the powerful king of Orísá, Anang Bhím Deo (A.D. 1174-1201), describing the geographical limits of his kingdom, specifying, with close exactitude, its now *proved* superficial area (39,407 square miles); and adding that, as the revenues of his predecessors of the Kesarí line had amounted, with a more limited extent of territory, to 15,00,000 *marhs* of gold, so his own added boundaries had raised the State income to 35,00,000 *marhs*. Mr. Stirling (our most trusted revenue authority), relying upon still-extant local

* J.R.A.S. (N. S.) II., p. 148. See also Hamilton's Hindustan, i., 40.

† Mr. Stirling says, under the Ganga Vansa line, for a period of nearly four centuries (from A.D. 1132), the boundaries of the ráj of Orísá may be stated as follows:
 “North, a line drawn from the Tribení, or Trivení, Ghát above Húglí, through Bishnpúr, to the frontier of Patkúm: East, the river Húglí and the sea.” As. Res. xv. 164. Hunter i., 280. “To the north of the mouth of the Saraswatí lies the broad and high Tribení Ghát, a magnificent flight of steps, said to have been built by Mukund Deo, the last Gajpati of Orísá.” Blochmann, As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 282.

‡ On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Rájá's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khurdah Rájás, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run this: *Víra Srí Gajapati, Gauréswara*, etc. “The illustrious Hero, the Gajpati (Lord of Elephants), sovereign of Gauṛa (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkalá, Karnátá, and the nine forts,” etc. Stirling, As. Res. xv., p. 272.

tradition, defined the *mark* at 5 *máshas*' weight;* while Dr. Hunter, under later and more vague native inspiration, pronounces it to be $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *karishá*, which measure may be assumed to represent the local pronunciation of the old widely-spread *karsha* of Manu, corresponding with the normal weight of the gold *suvarna*, i. e. 80 *ratis*.† Taking the *rati* at 1.75 grains, this will make Mr. Stirling's return amount to 43.75 grains ($5 \times 5 = 25$; $25 \times 1.75 = 43.75$) per *mark*; whereas Dr. Hunter's estimate, under the same figures, would only produce 35 grains ($140 \div 4 = 35$); but, as he assumes the modern *karishá* to be equal to "one *Tolah* or one Rupee" of our modern system,—the amount of which however he does not further define‡,—and taking the 180 grain total as the test,§ the result is not far removed from Mr. Stirling's earlier estimate under the old régime;—producing, in effect, a return of 45 grains for the *mark* ($180 \div 4 = 45$). But, singular to say, if we revert to the more ancient standard of the

* Asiatic Researches, xv., 271. Mr. Stirling, however, seemed to imagine that the sum named for the total revenues, as tested by this estimate, was too high; but later investigations fully support the reasonable measure of the king's boast.

† J.R.A.S., II., pp. 169, 170. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 221.

‡ "Orissa," a continuation of the "Annals of Rural Bengal," (London, Smith and Elder, 1872) i., pp. 316, 317. Dr. Hunter, like myself, has endeavoured to make his antiquarian researches instructive in their application to the defects of our own government in India, consequent upon the too frequent disregard of the superior local knowledge and hereditary instincts of the races we are appointed to rule over.

After enumerating the ascertained totals of the revenue of the province at various periods, the author goes on to say, "From time immemorial Orissa, like some other parts of India, has used a local currency of *cowries*. When the province passed into our hands in 1803, the public accounts were kept and the revenue was paid in these little shells." We "however stipulated that the landholders should henceforth pay their land-tax in silver, and fixed the rate of exchange at 5120 *cowries* to the rupee." (In 1804, the official exchange was 5120, and the practical rate of exchange from 6460 to 7680.) . . . "Had our first administrators contented themselves with taking payment in silver at the current rate of the cowrie exchange, the Orissa land-tax would now have been double what it is at present. But had they resolved to collect it at a grain valuation, according to Akbar's wise policy, it would now be more than double; for the prices of food have rather more than doubled since 1804. The system of paying the land-tax by a grain valuation appears to me to be the best means of giving stability to the Indian revenues."—Orissa, ii., 172. Dr. Hunter had not seen my notice of "The Revenues of the Mughal Empire" (Trübner, 1872) when this was written. I had equally appreciated the equity and suitableness of the system of estimate by agricultural produce, which had come down to Akbar's time from the earliest dawn of the civilization of the nation at large; but I had to condemn Akbar for introducing a new element in the shape of a settlement to be paid in silver, on the average of the prices of previous years—an assessment he hoped, in defiance of the proverbial uncertainty of Indian seasons, to make immutable; furnishing, in effect, the leading idea we so unwisely followed in that deplorable measure, Lord Cornwallis's "Permanent Settlement of Bengal."

§ Prinsep's Essays, U.T., p. 7.

sataraktika, or 100-*rati** weight,—a metric division which was reproduced and reaffirmed in the authorized *tankah* of the Pathán dynasty, and to which we have to allow a theoretical weight of 175 grains,—Dr. Hunter's $\frac{1}{4}$ *toláh* will come out, to the exact second place of decimals, of the 43·75 ($175 \div 4 = 43\cdot75$), obtained from Mr. Stirling's data.

The determination of the true weight of the *rati* has done much both to facilitate and give authority to the comparison of the ultimately divergent standards of the ethnic kingdoms of India. Having discovered the guiding *unit*, all other calculations become simple, and present singularly convincing results, notwithstanding that the basis of all these estimates rests upon so erratic a test as the growth of the seed of the Gunjá creeper (*Abrus precatorius*), under the varied incidents of soil and climate. Nevertheless, this small compact grain, checked in early times by other products of nature, is seen to have had the remarkable faculty of securing a uniform average throughout the entire continent of India, which only came to be disturbed when monarchs, like Sher Sháh and Akbar, in their vanity, raised the weight of the coinage without any reference to the number of *ratis* inherited from Hindú sources as the *given* standard, officially recognized in the old, but altogether disregarded and left undefined in the reformed Muhammadan mintages.

I may as well take this opportunity of disposing of the other technical questions bearing upon the general subject; and, without recapitulating the investigations elsewhere given at large, I may state generally, that I understand the *rati* to have been 1·75 grains, the 100 *rati* piece—reproduced in the ordinary Dihlí *tankah*—175 grains. The Rájput *jítal*, composed of mixed silver and copper, preserved in the early Dihlí currencies of the Muslims, is $\frac{1}{64}$ in value of the 1·75 grain silver coin; but the number of *jítals* in any given composite piece was dependent upon the proportional amount of the silver added to the ruling copper basis. The *kání*, like the *jítal* is $\frac{1}{64}$ of the *tankah*; but the *kání* is found to be the practical as well as the theoretical divisor, applicable alike to land and other measures, preserving its more special identity in the southern peninsula. Both terms have now been found in conjunction on a single piece of metropolitan fabric, where the *jítal* is authoritatively declared to be of the value of *one kání*.† In more advanced days under the Patháns, immense quantities of pieces were coined to meet the current exchange.

* Chronicles of Pathán Kings, pp. 3, 167, 223, 224 (note). Dr. A. Weber, in the Zeitschrift for 1861, p. 139, cites the parallel designation of *Sata Krishnala*, from the *text* of the Black Yajur Veda (circa 800 B.C.). The commentator uses the local name above quoted.

† Numismatic Chronicle (N.S.) iv., p. 40, *et seqq.* J.R.A.S. (N.S.), II., pp. 150, 166, 168. Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli, pp. 161, 252.

answering to $\frac{8}{64}$ or $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *tankah*; and under Muhammad Tughluq, amid other useful breaks in the too-uniform descending scale of the small change, a new division was introduced in the form of a $\frac{6}{64}$ or *six-kānī* piece, which subsequently became better known as the *black tankah*.*

It would appear that the normal or conventional rate of exchange of the precious metals mechanically accepted in India from the earliest times was as silver to gold 8:1; copper to silver 64:1. Of course these rates were constantly liable to fluctuation.† Indeed, we can trace the effect of the influx of the gold of the Dak'hin, after its conquest, in the fall of that metal, evidenced by the obvious readjustment of the weights of the gold and silver coinage at the Imperial seat of Government. But the copper rate must have had a very extended lease of immutability, as this ratio of 64:1 was maintained from the most primitive ages up to the time of Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1488-1517).

As regards the application of these data to the examples specially under review, it would seem that the Bengal silver coinage was, from the first, deficient in weight in reference to the corresponding issues of the Dihlī mint; but the Dihlī silver coins were avowedly designed to fall in with the concurrent gold pieces of identical weight, and of full standard in metal: whereas we must suppose that the Lak'hnautī silver pieces, in introducing a new element, were graduated to exchange *in even sums* against the extant gold currency of Bengal and Orísá. Now the gold *marh* weighed, as we have seen, 43·75 grains, which, with gold as 1 to 8 of silver, would require 350 grains of the latter metal as its equivalent, or *two* 175 grain *tankahs*, reconciling alike the *fours* of the Hindú ideal, with the *fives* and *tens* of Muslim predilection; but as there is reason to believe that the local gold was not refined up to a high state of purity, this defective standard may readily account for the corresponding reduction of a few grains on the full total of the silver pieces, equally as it may have justified the acceptance of a lower *touch* in the silver itself.

Later in point of time, under Bahádur Sháh (710-730 A.H.), the progressive fall in the value of gold is more definitively marked by the diminution of the weight of the silver piece to the uniform standard of 166 grains,‡ in contrast to the 169 grains which are preserved in some of the primary issues here described (Nos. 6, 7).

* Pathán Chronicles, coin No. 207, p. 252. See also pp. 218, 219. I was mistaken in my first impression that the Bengal *tankahs* themselves might have a claim to this obnoxious designation. J.R.A.S., II, 160.

† In Akbar's time, even, the progressive alteration in the value of gold, since so much accelerated, had only reached the proportion of 9·4:1. Chronicles, p. 424. J.R.A.S., II., p. 63.

‡ Pathán Chronicles, p. 235. In my previous article in this *Journal*, I was led by

The central figure in the historical tableau, illustrated by these introductory coinages, stands prominently to the front in the person of Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz—an outline of whose career I now append.

Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz bin Al-Husain.

Husám-ud-dín 'Iwaz *Khiljí*, a native of Ghor in Afghánistán, on joining Muhammad Bakhtýár *Khiljí* in Bengal, was entrusted by that commander with the charge of the district of Gangautrí.* He was afterwards promoted to the important military division of Deokot,† by Qutb-ud-dín Aibak's representative commissioner in the South-east, and with his aid eventually defeated Muhammad Sherán and the other confederated *Khiljí* chiefs.‡ On

Ibn Batútah's indiscriminate use of the terms "Dirhams and Dínárs," in their local application in Bengal, to suppose that his definition of coin exchanges referred to the relative values of gold and silver, and that it in so far supported my estimate of 1 : 8 (*J.R.A.S.*, II., p. 61, note 1). I now find that towards the close of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, the exchange had come for the moment to be 1 : 10 (*Chronicles*, p. 227), in lieu of the ordinary 1 : 8. The entire difficulty of the obscure passage in the *Journal of the African Voyager* has, however, been set at rest by the more comprehensive tables of values furnished by the Egyptian traveller Shaikh Mubárak *Anbátí* (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii., 51), which show that the *dínár* of silver (*i. e.* the *tankah*) was equal to 8 *dirhams* (*hasht-kánt*). See also Elliot's *Historians*, iii., pp. 577, 582.

J.R.A.S. (N.S.), II., p. 157. The new and unworn pieces in the Koeh Bihár *trouville* averaged 166 grains; and the earlier issues, of 188, 189 grains, found with them, had generally been reduced in weight to correspond with the later official standard.

* Variants كنگتوري — كنگوري, Text, p. 158, and MSS. I have preserved Stewart's version of the name in my text, but the site of *Gangautrí* has not been identified. There is a town called Gurguri (24° 23'; 86° 55') on the line of country between Bihár and Nágor, but it is not known to have been a place of any mark. There is also a celebrated fort of high antiquity on the same line of communication, named Gídor (24° 53'; 86° 55'), which may have served as an outpost of the Bihár head quarters.

† Deokot (lat. 25° 18'; long. 88° 31'), the chief place in Gangarámpúr (district of Dínájpúr), is now known by the name of Damdamá. Hamilton states that "it received its present appellation from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan Government" (p. 50). Muhammad Bakhtýár, after his first success against the King of Bengal at Nadiyá (lat. 23° 25'; long. 88° 22'), contented himself with destroying that town, and withdrew his troops nearer to his base of communications, to a position about 90 miles to the northward, somewhere about the site of the future Lak'hnautí, Deokot again being some 50 miles N.N.E.

Minháji Siráj, in describing Lak'hnautí, at a later date (641 A.H.), mentions that the province lay on both sides of the Ganges, but that the city of Lak'hnautí proper was situated on the western bank. The author adds, that an embankment or causeway (پل) extended for a distance of ten days' journey through the capital from Deokot to Nágor in Bírghúm, (lat. 23° 56'; long. 87° 22').—Stewart's *Bengal*, p. 57. Persian text of *Ṭabaqát-i Náçirí*, pp. 161, 162, 243. *Aín-i-Akbarí*, ii. 14. Elliot's *Historians*, ii., p. 318, iii. p. 112. Rennell's Map, p. 55. Wilford, *As. Res.* ix., p. 72.

‡ The subjoined curious notice of the distribution of the boundaries of the kingdom of

the definite appointment of 'Alí Mardán Khiljí to the kingdom of Bengal by Quṭb-ud-dín Aibak, he paid his devoirs to the new Viceroy by meeting him on the Kúsi, and accompanied him to Deokot, where he was formally installed in power. When Quṭb-ud-dín died at Láhor, in 607 A.H., 'Alí Mardán assumed independence under the title of 'Alá-ud-dín; but after a reign of about two years, he was slain by the Khiljí nobles, and Husám-ud-dín was thereupon elected in his stead (608 A.H.). History is silent as to when he first arrogated kingly state, and merely records Shams-ud-dín Altamsh's expedition against him in 622 A.H., with the object of enforcing his allegiance to the Imperial crown, when, after some doubtful successes, peace was established on the surrender of 38 elephants, the payment of 80 *laks* [of *tankahs*?], and the distinct recognition of Altamsh's suzerainty in the public prayers, with the superscription of his titles on the local coinage. The Emperor, on his return towards Dihlí, made over the government of Bihár to 'Alá-ud-dín Jání, who, however, was not long left undisturbed; for the Southern potentate speedily re-annexed that section of his former

Bengal shortly before the Muhammadan conquest has been preserved in Hamilton's 'Hindustan.' The compiler does not give his specific authority.

"During the Adisur dynasty, the following are said to have been the ancient geographical divisions of Bengal. Gaur was the capital, forming the centre division, and surrounded by five great provinces.

"1. Barendra, bounded by the Mahananda on the west; by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges, on the south; by the Kortoya on the east; and by adjacent governments on the north.

"2. Bangga, or the territory east from the Kortoya towards the Brahmaputra. The capital of Bengal, both before and afterwards, having long been near Dacea in the province of Bangga, the name is said to have been communicated to the whole.

"3. Bagri, or the Delta, called also Dwípa, or the island, bounded on the one side by the Padma, or great branch of the Ganges; on another by the sea; and on the third by the Hugli river, or Bhagirathi.

"4. Rarhi, bounded by the Hugli and the Padma on the north and east, and by adjacent kingdoms on the west and south.

"5. Maithila, bounded by the Mahananda and Gaur on the east; the Hugli or Bhagirathi on the south; and by adjacent countries on the north and west."

"Bollal Sen, the successor of Adisur, is said to have resided partly at Gaur, but chiefly at Bikrampur, eight miles south-east of Dacea." Bollal Sen was succeeded by Lakshmana Sen, who was defeated by Muhammad Bakhtyár. The author continues, "it is possible that the Raja only retired to his remote capital, Bikrampur, near Dháká, where there still resides a family possessing considerable estates, who pretend to be his descendants. We also find that Soonergong, in the vicinity of Bikrampur, continued to be a place of refuge to the Gaur malcontents, and was not finally subjugated until long after the overthrow of Rájá Lakshmana."—Hamilton's *Hindustan* (1820) i., p. 114.

و چون او [محمد شیران] مهتر امراي خلج بود همگنان اورا
Text, p. 158.—خدمت مي كردند و هرامير بر اقطاع خود مي بود. Stewart's Bengal,
p. 51. Elliot's *Historians*, ii., p. 315.

dominions,—an aggression which was met, in A.H. 624, by the advance of Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the eldest son of Altamsh, in force, who, in the absence of Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz on distant enterprises, succeeded in obtaining possession of the new seat of government. In the subsequent engagement, the Bengal army was defeated, and Ghiyás-ud-dín killed, after a reign estimated by the local annalist at 12 years.*

This is all the information we are able to gather from the incidental biographical notices furnished by our sole authority, Minháj i Siráj, that most intelligent employé of the rulers of Dihlí, and welcome visitor at the Court of Lak'hnaúti in A.H. 641, where he saw and appreciated the material undertakings of this self-made king, whose memory he lauds enthusiastically. A tribute Altamsh had virtually anticipated, when he was at last permitted to behold the glories of his adversaries' capital, in 627 A.H., and then conceded the tardy justice of decreeing, that in virtue of his good works, Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz should, in his grave, be endowed with that coveted title of *Sultán*, which had been denied to him while living.†

We have now to examine how far the recently discovered coins will fill in this defective historical outline.

COINS STRUCK IN THE NAME OF ALTAMSH, in Bengal.

No. 1. Silver. Size, $7\frac{1}{4}$. Weight, 168 grains. *Unique*, in this date.

Pl. x. fig. 1. A.H. 614.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان المعظم	<i>Device.</i>
شمس الدين و الدين	Horseman at the charge.
ابو المظفر الدمشق القطبي	<i>Margin—</i>
ناصر امير المؤمنين	لا اله الا الله * * * [محمد] رسول الله
	بتاريخ سنة اربع عشر وستمائة

* Allowing 'Alí Mardán from 607—8 to 609—10, this leaves an interval up to 612 during which Husám-ud-dín 'Iwaz was content to remain head of the Khiljí oligarchy and local governor.

† *Tabaqát-i Náçirí*, Text, p. 163. Mr. Blochmann has an interesting paper, in the September number of the *Indian Antiquary* (p. 259), on Muhammadan Titles. Among other questions discussed is the derivation and early application of the title of *Sultán*. The author remarks that "the first clear case of *Sultán* having been used as a title belongs to the time of Rukn-ud-daulah, deputy over Fárs, under the Khalífah Al Muṭ' billah," A.H. 338, or A.D. 949. MM. Oppert et Ménant were under the impression that they had discovered the title so early as the time of Sargon, who, in his grand inscription at Khorsábád, is said to speak of Subaeo as "*Sillán*, or *Sultán d'Egypte*."—*Journal Asiatique*, 1863, p. 9, and *text*, p. 3. Commentary, 1864, p. 10. Some doubt has, however, since been thrown upon this identification, as the designation reads optionally, if not preferably, תרתן. Schröder, *Cuneiform and Old Testament Studies* (1872), p. 157.

The date of A.H. 614, this earliest numismatic record contributed by the Bengal mints, is further remarkable as the epoch of Altamsh's final assertion of supremacy on the defeat of his last powerful competitor in Hindústán, Náçir-ud-dín *Qubáchah*, after he had already disposed of his other prominent rival, Táç-ud-dín Ilduz, in 612 A.H. The issue of these provincial coins, at this conjuncture, would seem to attest the first voluntary recognition of Altamsh by Husám-ud-dín 'Iwaz, who was at this time in undisturbed possession of Bengal and its dependencies. The adoption of the Cavalier device on the obverse may have been suggested by the conventional acceptance of that design on the money of the native princes of the North-west, whose hereditary types were copied by Muhammad bin Sâm, and retained for a long period by Altamsh himself. In the new mintage, however, the Rájpút horseman with his spear is superseded by the Túrki Cavalier with the historical mace,* and the general outline of the coarse Northern steed may perchance have been heightened to record a triumph, or to carry a menace to the subjected Bangális,† who had left their king to escape ignominiously, and virtually surrendered their capital to the eighteen troopers of Muhammad Bakhtyár's advance guard.

Among other peculiarities of these coins is the tenor of their legends, which differ from the ordinarily adopted Imperial intitulations of the Sultán, who is here designated as *القطبي*, the slave or freedman of Quṭb-ud-dín Aibak, —a term which may have concealed a latent taunt to one who was now supreme in the chance virtue of his arms, or may otherwise indicate the independent Khiljí method of discriminating the followers of Quṭb-ud-dín

* Mahmúd of Ghazní's favourite weapon. Tradition affirms that it was preserved in all honour by the guardians of his tomb at Ghazní. (Atkinson, *Expedition into Afghánistán*, p. 222). So much credence was attached to this ancient legend, that we find Lord Ellenborough in 1842 instructing his generals in sober earnestness, to "bring away from the tomb of Mahmúd of Ghazní his club which hangs over it." Muhammad Bakhtyár himself had also won glory by the use of his mace in his gladiatorial encounter, single-handed, with an elephant, who was compelled to retreat before the first blow of his powerful arm.

† The name of *Aswapatis*, "Lords of Horses," was subsequently applied specifically in Orísá to the Muhammadan conquerors. Mr. Hunter remarks, "The Telugu Palm Leaf MSS. state that between (Saka 895) A.D. 972 and A.D. 1563, three great powers successively arose. During this period, the *Gajapatis*, 'Lords of Elephants,' ruled in Orissa and the north of Madras; the *Narapatis*, 'Lords of Men,' held the country to the southwards. The Lords of Horses were the Musalmáns, who, with their all-devouring Pathán cavalry, overthrew the two former."—Orissa, ii., p. 8. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, xv., p. 254. *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Gladwin's translation, i., p. 319. Abul Fazl, in describing the game of cards, affected by his royal master, speaks of "*Ashweput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horseback, like the king of Dehli, with the Chutter, the Alum, and other ensigns of royalty; and *Gujput*, the king of the elephants, is mounted on an elephant, like the king of Orissa."

as opposed to the Mu'izzí faction of the nobles of Hindústán, who had already tried conclusions with each other, to the disadvantage of the latter.

No. 2. Gold. Weight, 70·6 grains. *Unique.* *Gaur*, A.H. 616.*

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان المعظم	Horseman at the charge.
شمس الدنيا والدين	In the field—ضرب نكور
ابو المظفر الدمشقي	<i>Margin</i> —
القطبي برهان	لا * * * رسول الله بتاريخ سنه
امير المومنين †	ست عشر وستمائة

This unique gold coin of the period, put forth under Muslim auspices, is of more than usual value in confirming the locality of the mint of its counterparts in silver, which are deficient in any geographical record; indeed, none of the Bengal coins, which form the bulk of the *trouvaille* to which the present notice is devoted, bear any indication of the site of which they were struck. Found, however, in company with so many clearly local pieces, there would have been little hesitation in assigning them to the southern division of the new Muhammadan empire; but the distinct announcement of the place of issue of the gold piece is of importance, not only in fixing definitively the then head-quarters, but in presenting us with the name of *Gaur*,‡ regarding the use of which, at this epoch, there was

* For a figure of the coin, *vide* Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 78.

† Qilij Arsalán, the Saljúq of Anatolia (A.H. 656), uses this title of *برهان امير المومنين* (Fræhn, p. 156). The three sons of Kai Khusrau (A.H. 647) employ the term in the plural *براهدين*.

‡ I need have no hesitation in admitting that on the first examination of this piece, as an isolated specimen of a hitherto unknown mintage, I was disposed, in the absence of any dot either above or below the line of writing, to adopt the alternative reading of *نكور* instead of *بكور*, while confessing a preference for the latter transcription, on account of the need of the preposition *ب* (Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 79); but, at the time, I was unprepared to expect that Altamsh's sway had extended to the lower provinces, which were avowedly in independent charge of the Khiljí successors of Muhammad Bakhtyár. This difficulty is now curiously explained by the concurrent silver pieces, and the supposition that the local chieftain found it expedient to profess allegiance, nominal or real, to the preponderating influence of the master of Hindústán. In like manner, the recently discovered silver coins have supplied a clue to the more satisfactory decipherment of the marginal legend, and the explanation of other minor imperfections in the definition of the exotic characters of the gold coin, which it is useless to follow in detail.

some controversy.* Advantage has been taken in this, to the native comprehension, more elaborately-finished piece, to insert in the vacant spaces on the field, above and below the main device, the words, ضرب بگور “struck at Gaur,” and although the requisite dot below the *be* has escaped definition, there need be little doubt as to the purport of the entry, which it was not thought necessary to reproduce on the less-esteemed silver money, whose status with the mint officials, as equally with the public at large, ranged at a lower level.

The date of 616 A.H. on this coin, supported and in a measure explained as it is by the marginal legend on No. 3, proves that the professed allegiance of the local ruler of Bengal to the head of the followers of Islám at Dihlí, was no momentary demonstration, but a sustained confession of vassalage extending over one complete year, and portions of the previous and succeeding twelve months.

The topographical record on No. 2 would further seem to show that Husám-ud-dín had not as yet transferred his capital to the new site of *Lak'hnautí*, to the west of the river, whose designation first appears in a definite form on the coins of the Empress Raziyah, in A.H. 635.†

No. 3. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 168 grains. *Very rare.*

Pl. x. fig. 2. A.H. 616.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان المعظم	Horseman at charge.
شمس الدنيا والدين	<i>Margin—</i>
ابوالمظفر الدمشقي	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
القطبي برهان	بتاريخ سنة ست وعشرو ستماية
* *	

No. 3a. Variety. Weight, 162 grs. Pl. x., fig. 3. Date illegible. The Persian legend on the obverse is given in very imperfectly defined characters, and offers the peculiarity of the insertion of the Hindí letters स, for *Sháh*, above the name of the king, thereby indicating that both die-engravers and the local public were naturally better versed in the old alphabet than in the newly-imported letters of the conquerors.

* J.R.A.S. ii., N.S., p. 187. Cf. also Albirúní; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 298, quoted in J.R.A.S. i., N.S., p. 471. As. Res. ix., 72, 74; xvii. 617. Wilson's Glossary, *sub voce*, etc. Rennell, *Map of Hindústán*, p. 55. Stewart's *Bengal*, pp. 44, 57.

† *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, p. 107. J.R.A.S., N. S., II., p. 187, coin No. 14 *infra*.

COINS OF GHIYA'S-UD-DÍN 'IWAZ.

No. 4. Silver. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 161 grs. (full weight.)

Pl. x., fig. 4. A.H. 616. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد
و الدين ابو الفتح	رسول الله
عوض بن الحسين ناصر	Margin— ضرب هذه السكة في
امير المؤمنين	شهور سنة ست عشرو ستماية

Coin No. 4 teaches us that in the same year 616 A.H., in the early part of which Husám-ud-dín 'Iwaz had confessed allegiance to Altamsh, he seemingly grew weary of such pretences, and openly declared himself *Sultán* in his own right, assuming the regal title of *Ghiyás-ud-dín*, and the quasi-hierarchical function implied in the designation of *Náçir Amír Al Múminín*, "Defender of the Commander of the Faithful." Whether this overt assertion of independence was suggested by his own growing power, or was due to the imagined weakness of the suzerain, is not clear; but there can be no question as to his success in the extension and consolidation of his dominions, or to his vigorous administration of a country, fertile in the extreme, and endowed with such singular commercial advantages of sea and river intercourse.

At this particular juncture, Altamsh does not seem to have been pressed by any important home disturbances, but there were dark clouds on the N. W. frontier. The all-powerful 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad *Khárazmí*, whose outpost extended over so large a portion of Asia, had been coining money in the inconvenient proximity of *Ghazní* throughout the years 613, 614-616, A.H.;* and no one could foretell when he might follow the ordinary precedent and advance into Hindústán. As fate determined, however, it was left to his son *Jalál-ud-dín* to swim the Indus, at the risk of his life, as a fugitive before the hosts of Chingíz Khán, in 618 A.H.

The mention of *Chingíz Khán* suggests to me the desirability of repeating a correction, I have already recorded elsewhere, of a singular delusion, shared alike by native copyists and English commentators, regarding one of the supposed incidents of the sufficiently diversified career of this scourge of the world, to the effect that his unkempt savages had penetrated down to the impossible limit of the lower Ganges. The whole series of mistakes, Asiatic or European, may now be traced back to a simple clerical error in the transcription from a chance leading copy of the ordinarily rare work of Minháj i Siráj—where the name of *Chingíz Khán* جنگیز خان has been substituted for the more obvious designation of the ancient town of *Jájnagar* جاجنगर.

* J.R.A.S. ix., 381; xvii., 202; Chronicles of Pathán Kings, p. 86.

Modern authors, examining a single passage, might well have felt reserve in reconstructing at hazard a primary version; but the editors of the Calcutta official printed text have gone so far towards perpetuating the enigma they were unable to unravel, as to add to the difficulties of solution by making Chingíz Khán fight (so far on his way to Lak'hnaúti) the memorable battle of Perwán [$30^{\circ} 9' N.$, $69^{\circ} 16' E.$] on the conveniently converging site of Badáon (p. 348), which was situated on one of the favourite main lines of transit to the south, east of the Ganges. This conglomeration is, however, the less excusable, as Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, had already pointed out Firishtah's palpable mistake to the same effect; and the editors themselves unconsciously admit the preferable variant of *جانيك* inserted in the foot-note, p. 199. Dr. Hunter, I see, in his new work on Orissa (ii. 4), incautiously follows Stewart's first impressions, in the notion that the "vanity" of Muhammadan historians had intentionally "converted the attack of the humble Orissians into an invasion of Tartars" (Stewart, p. 62).* I myself prefer the more obvious and direct explanation above given, which perhaps reflects more upon our defective criticism than upon Muslim vanity.†

* Mr. Stirling, in his most exhaustive *Memoir on Orissa*, published in the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, observes:—"Major Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, places an invasion of Orissa by the Mussalmans of Bengal during this reign, that is A.D. 1243. The *Chronicles* of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus: 'In the year 614 (A.D. 1243), the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun, on the frontier of Jagepur, where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him'. . . . Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality, as here described; and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishtah is altogether silent on this subject in his *history of Bengal*, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, etc. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghrul into Jajnagar (A.D. 1279), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon as lying on the road, that Jajnagar is some place beyond the Ganges."—Stirling, *As. Res.* xv., p. 274.

It seems to have escaped Mr. Stirling's notice, that Stewart had already corrected his own error in speaking of "Jagepore" as "Orissa," pp. 61 and 65, by placing that town in its proper position in "Tipperah," in a later passage (p. 70); and he further improved upon his advanced knowledge by saying in a note, at p. 72, "Jagenagur is said to have been a town in Orissa, near Cuttack; but this passage proves it to have been situated on the eastern side of the Burhampooter. The Jagenagur mentioned by Ferishtah should have been written Jagepore." [?] Stewart, *Hist. Bengal*, p. 72. Dow, i. 202 (4to. edit.). Briggs i., 260. See also *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 121.

† Cf. Elphinstone (new edit. by Professor Cowell), p. 377. Elliot, *Muhammadan Historians* ii., pp. 264, 344, Dr. Lee's *Ibn Batúta*, *Oriental Tr. Fund*, p. 97. Firishtah

No. 5. Silver. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 165 grs. A.H. 617.
(2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا الله
المعظم غياث الدنيا	الله محمد رسول
والدين ابو الفتح عوض	الله
بن الحسين ناصر امير	Margin—ضرب هذه السكة في
المومنين	التاريخ السابع عشر وستمائة

No. 6. Silver. Size, 8. Weight, 169. (Coarse badly formed legends).
A.H. 617. (2 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
غياث الدنيا والدين	محمد رسول الله
ابو الفتح عوض بن الحسين	الناصر لدين الله
ناصر امير المومنين و	امير المومنين
ولي عهده علا الحق	Margin—ضرب هذه السكة في
والدين	شهور سنة سبع عشرة وستمائة

No. 6a. Variety. One example gives the altered marginal reading of

ضرب هذه السكة في ربيع الآخر سنة سبع * * ستمائة

Al Náçir li-dín Illáh was invested in the Khiláfat in A.H. 575, and died on the 1st Shawwál, A.H. 622 (5th October, 1225, A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, pp. 269–301. Ibn Aşir, p. 285, fixes his death at the end of Ramazán. Price, *Muhammadian History*, ii., 210.

The tenor of the legends of the consecutive issues of A.H. 617 disclose an increasing confidence in his own power on the part of *Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz*, in the addition made to his previous titles, and in the assumption of the superlative *Al A'zam*, “the highest,” as the prefix to the *Al Sultán* in place of the heretofore modest adjective of *Al Mu'azzam*, “the great.”*

Bombay Persian Text, i., p. 122. Badáoní, *Calcutta Persian Text*, p. 88. *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, *Calcutta Persian Text*, pp. 157, 163, 199, 243, 245.

* Altamsh himself seems to have been indifferent to this distinction, but its importance is shown in the early coinage of Muhammad bin Sám, who invariably reserves the superlative prefix for his reigning brother, while he limits his own claims to the virtually comparative المعظم. And further to mark these gradations, he prominently adopts the higher title after his brother's death. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, pp. 12, 13, 14. *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xx., figs. 29, 35.

Here, for the first time in this series, we meet with the official or regnant designation of the Khalífah of Baghdád, who has hitherto been referred to by the mere generic title of “Commander of the Faithful.”

It would appear from this innovation, as if Ghiyás-ud-dín had already, indirectly, put himself in communication with the Pontifical Court at Baghdád, with a view to obtaining recognition as a sovereign prince in the Muslim hierarchy,—a further indication of which may possibly be detected in the exceptional insertion of the *month* in addition to the ordinary *year* of issue on the margin of No. 6*a.*; a specification which will be found more fully developed in the succeeding mintages, where it admits of an explanation which is not so obvious or conclusive in this instance.

No. 7. Silver. Size, 9. Weight, 169 grs. Pl. x., fig. 5.* Dated 20th of Rabí’ ul ákhir, A.H. 620. (7 specimens.)

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
غياث الدنيا	لا اله الا الله
والدين ابو الفتح عو	محمد رسول الله
ض بن الحسين قسيم امير المومنين	الناصر لدين الله
سلطان السلاطين في الدنيا	امير المومنين
والدين ابو المظفر على يده	Margin — في التاريخ العشرين
امير المومنين	من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة
خلد الله ملكه	عشرين و ستمائة

No. 7*a.* Variety. Weight, 165 grs. Coin of the same date and similar character, which transfers the complete name of عوض into the third line; the dubious prefix to the second الدين و الدنيا reads more as معزز, while the suggested يده, above given, appears as ددو.

If the preceding coins had left any doubt as to Ghiyás-ud-dín’s designs in regard to the assumption of sovereign power, the tenor of the legends on Nos. 7 and 7*a.*, would conclusively set that question at rest. Here, not content with the recently-arrogated title of السلطان الأعظم, we find him calling himself “*Sultán of Sultáns*,” by direct appointment of the

* See also Marsden, No. DCCCLVII, p. 564. There are two coins of this type in his collection in the British Museum. Marsden remarks, “The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the Kings of Dehli, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words. . . . The titles and patronymics of the Sultán by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters.”

Khalífah,* associated with which is the entry of a specific date, with the still more unusual definition of the day of the month, which is preserved constant and unvaried throughout the entire issue. More remarkable still is the abnormal departure from the conventional form of coin legends, in the omission of the preliminary "*Al Sultán*," and the abrupt introduction of the regnal title of the once probational *Husám-ud-dín*, under his more ambitious designation of *Ghiyás-ud-dín*. In short, the entire drift of the altered superscription points to an intentional reproduction of some formal phraseology, such as would be eminently consistent with an official transcript of the *revered* precept emanating from Baghdád.

I should infer from these coincidences that a formal diploma had by this time been conceded by the Supreme Pontiff, admitting the newly-erected kingdom Bengal within the boundaries of Islám, and confirming the reigning monarch in possession, with added titles and dignities. The date so prominently repeated may either be that upon which the patent was originally *sealed*, or more probably it points to the auspicious moment of the reception of the ambassadors, who conveyed the formal document and paraphernalia of investment, at the Court of Lak'hnaúí. This assignment in no way disturbs my previous attribution of the inaugural piece of Altamsh,† marking his attainment of the like honours in A.H. 626. The very concession to the Bengal potentate possibly led his once suzerain to seek a parallel sanctification of his own rights, which he had previously been content to hold by the sword: and the difficulty of communication with Baghdád over alien kingdoms and disturbed frontiers would account for a delay of the emissaries on the one part and the other, which would not affect the open ocean passage between the mouths of the Ganges and the sea-port of Baçrah.

* The term علي يدى is of frequent occurrence on the early Muslim coinages, and is usually associated with the name of the officer—whatever his condition—responsible for the mint issues, as علي يدى احمد, which is translated by Fræhm as "*manibus*" (*i. e.* curâ et operâ) *Ahmadis* or "*curante*,"—a definition accepted in later days on the Continent as "*par les mains de, par les soins de, etc.*" In the present instance it would seem to imply a more or less direct intervention by the Commander of the Faithful himself in favour of his nominee.

† Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S. ii., N.S., p. 154, No. 1, *note*; Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46. Of course, this exceptional issue will now have to cede priority of date both to the Bengal coins of A.H. 614, etc., and likewise to the northern piece of Altamsh, No. 8, which must be taken as anterior to No. 10.

COIN OF ALTAMSH.

No. 8. Silver. Size $8\frac{1}{2}$. Weight, 168 grs. Square Kufic characters, which seem to belong to Láhór or some northern Mint.* Pl. x., fig. 6. A.H. 62*.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	لا اله الا الله
المعظم شمس	محمد رسول
الدين و الدين	الله الناصر لدين
ابو المظفر ايلدش	الله امير المو
السلطان يمين خليفه	مدين
الله ناصر امير	Margin— هذا الضرب ؟
المومدين	عش [رين و ست صايه

BENGAL COINS OF ALTAMSH SUBSEQUENT TO THE RE-ASSERTION OF HIS IMPERIAL SWAY.

No. 9. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 161 grs. Bengal type of coin. A.H. 622.

OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
السلطان	As in Nos. 6 and 7,—coins of
المعظم شمس الدين و	Ghiyás-ud-dín, with the name of
الدين ابو المظفر ايلدش	the Khalífah <i>Al Náçir-li-dín Illáh</i> .
السلطان يمين خليفه	Margin—
الله ناصر امير المو	هذا الضرب † في شهر سنه اثني
مدين	عشرين و ستماية

Altamsh does not seem to have found it convenient to proceed against his contumacious vassal, who was now ready to meet him on almost equal terms, till A.H. 622, when the coinage immediately attests one part of the compact under which peace was secured, in the exclusive use of the name

* Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 15. Pl. i., figs. 4—8.

† This word as designating the coin is unusual ; but we have the term *دار الضرب* for the Mint, and the *ضرب هذه*, etc., as the ordinary prefix to the *الفضة* or *السكة* of the Pathán monarchs. The letters on the Bengal coins look more like *الفرب*, which, however, does not seem to make sense. Fræhn long ago suggested that the word *ضرب* ought to be received as a substantive, especially in those cases where the preposition *ب* did not follow it, in the given sentence, as a prefix to the name of the mint city.

of the Emperor of Hindústán on the money of Bengal.* That the issue represented by No. 9, proceeded from the local mints, is evident alike from the style and fabric of the pieces, their defective metal, and the uncouth forms of the letters of the legends.

No. 10. Silver. Size 8. Weight 168 grs. (2 specimens.) Pl. x., fig. 7, A.H. 624.

OBVERSE.

السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر ايلدش
السلطان ناصر امير
المومنين

REVERSE.

لا اله الا الله محمد
رسول الله
الظاهر بامر الله
امير المومنين
ضرب هذا *** شهر سنة اربع
وعشرين و ست مائة
Margin—

Al Zâhir bi-amrillah, the Khalífah whose name is inscribed on this coin, succeeded his father on the 2nd of Shawwâl, A.H. 622, and died on the 14th Rajab, A.H. 623 (July 11, 1226, A.D.). Bar Hebræus, *Abulfaraj*, p. 302.

No. 11. Silver. Size, 7. Weight, 167 grs. *Unique*. Pl. x., fig. 8, A.H. 624.

Square area, within double lines, following the pattern of some of the examples of Muhammad Ghorí's coins.

السلطان الاعظم
شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر ايلدش
السلطان ناصر

The words امير المومنين are inserted in the interstices between the square area and the circular marginal line, as in the Dihlí coins of Bahráh Sháh.†

REVERSE.

Legend in the area as in the last coin, with the name of the Khalífah *Al Zâhir*.

ضرب *** سنة اربع
وعشرين و ست مائة

* غياث الدين عوض خلجي رقبه خدمت در ربقة انقياد آورد و سي [سي و هشت]
زنچير پيل و هشتاد لك مال بداد و خطبه و مسكه بنام مبارك شمسي كرد

Calcutta text, pp. 163, 171.

† Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 118.

It might be supposed to be an open question as to whether Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz or Náçir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*,—the eldest son of Altamsh and his viceroy in Bengal—presided over the mints which put forth the coins classed under Nos. 10 and 11. As regards the latter, at present *unique*, piece, there can be little doubt, from its assimilation to the ordinary Dihlí models, that it formed a portion of the revised and improved coinage of the south after *Mahmúd's* defeat of Ghiyás-ud-dín in 624 A.H. In like manner, the introduction of the term *الاعظم* on No. 10, as a prefix to the title of *Sultán* Altamsh, points to a feeling of filial reverence, which is altogether wanting even in Ghiyás-ud-dín's repentant manifesto in the legend of No. 9. *Mahmúd's* appointment to the government of Audh dates from A.H. 623,* and the tenor of one of the narratives of Minháj i Siráj would imply that he proceeded southwards with but little delay; so that all coins bearing the date of 624, with the name of Altamsh, might preferentially be assigned to his interposition, more especially as Ghiyás-ud-dín at, and prior to this, period had placed himself in a renewed attitude of insurrection.

Coin of Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, as Viceroy in Bengal.

The administration of the Bengal mints under the official auspices of Náçir-ud-dín *Mahmúd*, as developed in the issues Nos. 10, 11, leads up to and confirms with more full effect an identification I have hitherto been obliged to advocate in a less confident tone—that is, the attribution of the piece, figured in my 'Chronicles of the Pathán Kings,' p. 81, to the eldest son of Altamsh, at some period towards the close of his brief career. With these newly-discovered evidences of his overt intervention in the local currencies, the transition to a subdued and possibly paternally-sanctioned numismatic proclamation, in his own name, would be easy, more especially if that advance was made simultaneously with the effusive reception at Dihlí of the reigning Khalífah's earliest recognition of Altamsh's supremacy, coupled with the desirability of making this Imperial triumph manifest in those southern latitudes, where other dynastic names had already claimed a prior sanctification.†

* Persian text, 180.

† Minháj i Siráj, after completing his account of Náçir-ud-dín's conquest of Ghiyás-ud-dín 'Iwaz, and the transmission of the spoils to the Sultán at Dihlí, continues—

و چون تشریفات دار الخلافه بحضورت سلطان شمس الدین طاب ثراه رسید از آنجمله يك تشریف گرانمایه با چتر اعل بطرف لکهنوتی فرستاد ملك ناصر الدین علیه الرحمة بدان چتر و تشریف و اکرام مشرف گشت و همگان را از ملوک و اکابر مملکت هند نظر بدو بود که وارث مملکت شمسى او باشد - فاما * * بعد از یکسال و نیم * * بوحمت حق تعالی پیوست . p. ۱۸۱

(See also Elliot's *Historians*, ii., pp. 326, 329.) The Khalífah's emissary arrived at Dihlí on the 22nd of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, (3rd month of) A.H. 626, p. ۱۷۹, and news of the death of Náçir-ud-dín *Mahmúd* reached the capital in the 5th month of the same year, p. 174.

Such an authorized augmentation of the Prince's state is rendered the more probable, as Altamsh in a measure shared with his favourite son the honours and dignities conferred by the Khalífah, and simultaneously extended to him the right to use an umbrella with the tint of Imperial red.* Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the contemporary biographer remarks, was from that time looked upon as the recognized successor to the throne of Hindústán. Equally, after Mahmúd's premature death, his father still so held him in honour that his body was brought to Dihlí, and enshrined under one of the choicest domes that Eastern Saracenic art could achieve, which to this day, amid its now broken marbles, stands as a monument of the virtues of this prince, and preserves in its decaying walls the remains of† the *first* royal tomb of the slave kings erected near the capital,‡ on the shattered entrance arch of which we can still trace the devotional prayer of the father for the soul of his son, whose mundane glories he briefly epitomizes as "King of Kings of the East," implying, in the conventional terms of the day, all India beyond the Ghágrá.

And still further to secure a contemporary memento of his lost heir, Altamsh conferred the same name and title upon a younger son, who, in his

* The founder of the Ghaznawí dynasty, the Great Sabuktigín, assumed regal state under the shadow of a *red* umbrella. Altamsh's ensigns are described as *black* for the right wing رايات ميمنه سياع, and *red* for the left wing رايات ميسرة لعل. Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm's standards bore the same colours, but the discrimination is made that the *black* pertained to the Ghórís, and the *red* to the Túrks, p. ۱۲۷. Ghiyás-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm used *black* and *red* for the two wings respectively, p. 83.

† INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF SULTA'N GHA'ZI [NA'SIR-UD-DI'N MAHMÚD] AT DIHLÍ, DATED A.H. 629.

امر بدناء هذه القبة المباركة السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالك رقاب
الاعم ظل الله في العالم ذو الامان لاهل الذمة سلطان لسلطين شمس الدنيا
والدين المخصوص بعنايت رب العالمين ابي المظفر ابدمش السلطان ناصر امير
المومنين خلد الله ملكه اروضة ملك الملوك الشرق ابي الفتح محمود تعمرة الله
بغفرانه واسكنه كنف نعيم جنانه في شهور سنة تسع و عشرين و ستمائة ۱۱

This Tomb, which is known at the Maqbarah of Sultán Ghází, stands amid the ruins of the village of Malikpúr Koyi, about three miles due west of the celebrated Quṭb Minár. Aşar-us-Sanádíd, Dihlí, 1854, pp. 23, 30 (Nos. 12, 18, Facsimile), and 60 (modern transcript revised). See also Journal Asiatique, M. G. de Tassy's translation of the *Urdú* text; also Journal Archæological Society of Dehli, p. 57, and Hand-book for Dehli, 1863, p. 85.

‡ Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, another son of Altamsh, who for a brief period held the throne of Dihlí, found a final resting-place on the chosen site of Malikpúr; and his brother in deferred succession, entitled Mu'izz-ud-dín *Bahrám Sháh*, followed him into the Tomb of the Kings in the same locality.—Aşar-us-Sanádíd, pp. 25, 26. Elliot's *Historians*, iii, 382. *Chronicles of Pathán Kings*, p. 290.

turn, was destined to occupy the throne of Dihlí for twenty years, and the name of Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd was perpetuated anew in the next generation under another dynasty, as the designation of Balban's heir, who carried it back to Bengal, where he was permitted to found a new family of southern kings, who for half a century succeeded in maintaining a fitful sovereignty, seldom disturbed by the more powerful Sultáns of Hindústán.

No. 12. Silver. Size 8. Weight, 163.1 grs. *Unique.* British Museum. *Vide* Chronicles, p. 81.

OBVERSE.

السلطان الاعظم
ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابوالمظفر محمود
شاه بن سلطان

REVERSE.

في عهد الامام
المستنصر بالله امير
المومنين

Al Mustançir billah was inaugurated on the 14th of Rajab, 623 A.H. = 1226 A.D., the same day that his father Al-Záhir died. Bar Hebræus, p. 303.

I quote in illustration of my previous remarks, the legends on the special issue of Altamsh on the occasion of the receipt of his diploma of investiture in A.H. 626.

Weight of the B. M. Coin, 164 grains.

OBVERSE— لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

REVERSE—As above, in No. 12, with similarly formed characters.*

It may be noted that on a like occasion of the reception of the Egyptian Khalifah's diploma at Dihlí in 744 A.H., Muhammad bin Tughluq adopted a similar method of exhibiting his respect by introducing the pontiff's name on the coinage to the exclusion of his own.

The identification of the individual, who styles himself Daulat Sháh with many high-sounding prefixes, on the subjoined coin, demanded a certain amount of patient patch-work, which I have relegated to the note below.†

* Chronicles of the Pathán Kings, p. 46.

† در ماه جمادى الاولى سنة ست و عشرين و ستمائة خبر فوت ملك سعيد ناصر الدين محمود برسيد بلكا ملك خلجي در ممالك لكهنوتي عصيان آورد و سلطان شمس الدين طاب ثراه لشكرهاي هندوستان بطرف لكهنوتي برد و در شهر سنة سبع و عشرين و ستمائة آن طاغى را بدست آورد و تخت لكهنوتي بملك علاء الدين جانى داد عليه الرحمة و در رجب همين سال بحضرت جلال دهلي باز آمد ۱۱

Suffice it to say that *Daulat Sháh bin Maudúd* is the person who is spoken of elsewhere as Ikhtiyár-ud-dín BALKÁ* *Khiljí*, and who appears in history on the single occasion of his possessing himself of the kingdom of Bengal on the death of Náçir-ud-dín Mahmúd, and his subsequent suppression and capture on the advance of Altamsh's forces in the selfsame year, 627 A.H., he was unwise enough to record on his unauthorized coinage.

No. 13. Silver. Size $9\frac{1}{4}$. Weight., 168. *Unique*. Plate x., fig. 9.
A.H. 627 ?

OBVERSE.

المستنصر بالله
امير المومنين السلطان
الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابوالفتح ايلدش السلطان
برهان امير المومنين

REVERSE.

السلطان
العدل شهنشاه باذل
علاء الدنيا و الدين ابوالغازي
دولتشاه بن مودود
عضد خليفه الله ظهير امير المومنين
Margin—** شهر سنه سبع
عشرين و ستمائة

The reading of *ابوالغازي* is speculative: the letters *العا* are distinct, as are also the two dots of the *بي*, but that latter *itself* cannot be traced, and the visible remains of the character succeeding the *العا* are more like *لي* than the suggested *زي*.

سلطان سعيد شمس الدين چون بديار لكهنوتي رسيد بعد از فوت ملك ناصر الدين
محمود طاب ثراه و دفع فتنة ملك اختيار الدين بلكا ۱۶۲
Calcutta Text, p.

In the printed text, under the *first* Court Circular list of the *اقرباء و ملوك* of Sultán Shams-ud-dín, we find the following entry *دولت شاه خلجي ملك لكهنوتي*; and in the *second* document, purporting to be a variant of that official return, we read *بلكا خلجي* (pp. ۱۷۷ and ۱۷۸), which latter version is greatly improved by the Oriental Lord Chamberlain's list preserved in a MS. in the B. M. (Addit. No. 26,189), which associates more directly the *title* with the *name*, and identifies the individual as *ملك اختيار الدين دولتشاه بلكا*.

* The word *Balká* has exercised the commentators. It may be found, however, in the early Ghaznawí name of *Balká-tigín*. *بلكا* means a "camel colt," and *تگین* is "handsome."



1



7



2

3



4



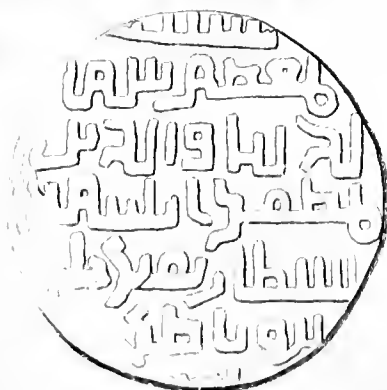
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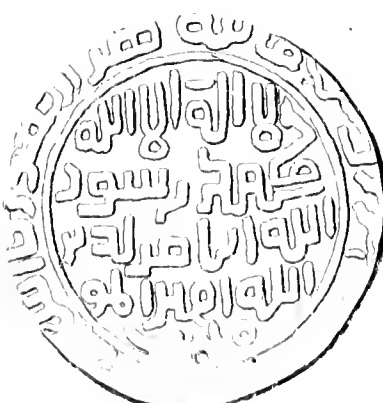
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I N D E X

TO

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APPENDIX

TO THE

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,

VOL. XLII,

PART I., FOR 1873.

CONTAINING

VOCABULARIES OF NAGA HILL TRIBES,

by Capt. J. BUTLER and S. E. PEAL, ESQ.

A Rough Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Dialects spoken in the "Nágá Hills," District.—Compiled by
Captain JOHN BUTLER, Officiating Political Agent.

The plan I have adopted for designating the long sound of all vowels has been by placing an accent immediately over the vowel; thus á is pronounced like the Italian *a*, or like the English long *a* as pronounced in such words as "mast," "father," "ask," &c.

é like the English *a* in "fate," or *e* in "prey," "convey," &c.

í in like manner has the sound of the French *i*, or English *ee* as in "peep," or *i* as it is pronounced in such words as "fatigue," "marine," &c.

ó as the *o* in "notice"; and finally

ú similarly to the English long *o* as in "move," "prove," &c., or *oo* as in "school," "tool," "fool," &c.

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Rengmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
A, an, or one, <i>a</i> .	Etá,	Sáosi, Mási,	Isi,	Khat,	Po,	Kémmé,	
Abandon (let-go), <i>v</i> .	Eridé,	Háigár,	Honkí,	Lhátan, Dhá-létan,	Khasiché,		
Abdomen, <i>n</i> .	Tolpét,	Hoh,	Ipoh,	Koi-Káoi,	Váká, Vádi,	Aghén,	
Above, <i>prep</i> .	Ūporot,	Psháo,	Ūnhoi,	Chúng,	Mho,	Tésho,	
Absent, <i>a</i> .	Gorházér, Khotiá,	Girri,		Aúmhi,	Tomo,		
Abundance, <i>n</i> .	Horoh,	Kébang,	Anúng,	Atúm,	Kia-pézé,	Kéchang,	Kédá
Accept, <i>v</i> .	Loh, Grohon-kor,	Lá,	Ponon,	Látún,	Lélé,	Khilé khé,	Lúlú

Accompany, <i>v.</i>	Logot Já,	Logúthang,	Langlongdúno,	Hengchetang,	Kézétollé,	Háligákhé,
Accurate, <i>a.</i>	Thik,	Báusi,	Chingbarchit,	Kibang,	Tú,	Kégwénto,
Ache, <i>n.</i>	Bédéná, Bikh,	Sádú,	So-ong,	Anái,	Chi, Shi,	Thébénio,
Acid, <i>a.</i>	Téngá,	Mikhrí,	Háuthor,	Thé,	Kroh, Khié,	Késhang,
Acquaintance, <i>n.</i>	Sinákí,	Bussáo, Mithi-ré,	Nidou,	Kéhét-ngái,	Késimá, Ur-chimá,	Kenthonmé,
Advance, <i>v.</i>	Ág-ho,	Séangjá,	Aphráng,	Mashatun,	Rále,	Régatá,
				Amalunché-tang,		
Advantage, <i>n.</i>	Lábh,	Lábh,	Aláp,	Alép,	Mévi,	Akurraché,
Adversary, <i>n.</i>	Hotrú,	Sotrú,	Arléng hingo,	Migilo,	Kéngúma,	Phinimú,
Adult, <i>n.</i>	Déká,	Nágá,	Rissomár,	Thungwál,	Khisámá,	Ponniu,
Adze, <i>n.</i>	Sáns,	Gaphá,	Sát,	Hékhupga,	Kethi,	.....
Afar, <i>ad.</i>	Dúroi,	Kajain,	Heloving,	Alá, Gumlapi,	Sháchá,	Kétháng,
Affection, <i>n.</i>	Isto,	Hainthi,	.....	Alúngshie,	Khré,	.....
Affray, <i>n.</i>	Kilá-kili,	Choslágbá,	Chichok,	Akidélui,	Kevo,	Kégá,
After, <i>prep.</i>	Pásot,	Yaonghúnga,	Aphi,	Núngsung,	Sá,	Shéki,
Afternoon, <i>n.</i>	Abéli, or Bha-tibélá,	Samliha,	Anibéng,	Niságéhitai,	Thékhévá,	Sungweméso,
Again, <i>ad.</i>	Akáo, or Ponorai,	Arúdang,	Apar,	Humbolkahir,	Lá,	Hiangwo,
Age, <i>n.</i>	Boyoh,	Hajaiba,	Nikúnkun,	Nésuna,	Képénotá,	Chán,
Aged, <i>a.</i>	Búra,	Karrásá,	Sarbúrra,	Téhsi,	Kétchá,	Péthiniu,
Ague, <i>n.</i>	Konp-jor,	Lémbá,	Sodét Kéch-úng,	Akihot,	Kipé,	Luvénio or Ru-vénio,
			Timon,	Húi,	Timelhu,	Chembé,
Air, <i>n.</i>	Botáh,	Bár,	Chinlidong,	Múnkhutto-bang,	Kémhá,	Altháágwén-to,
Alike, <i>ad.</i>	E'ké-likhiá,	Baúshilái,		Ahing,	Rhi,	Akérhung,
Alive, <i>a.</i>	Jiá,	Gathang,	Akering,	Abonin,	Pété,	Ataiung,
All, <i>a.</i>	Átái,	Khrúp,	Kédoh,			Haimná

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Rengmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Alligator, <i>n.</i>	Ghoríal,	Géné,	Timong,	Wallé,	Rá, Khokérrá,	Kérrá,	
Almighty, <i>a.</i>	Hokoloré-hok-ti,	Khoribjong-boldong,	Aiakúng thé-ong,		Petekiké me-chiashwe,	Athaké árhénia,	
Alone, <i>a.</i>	Okol,	Sáojang,	Inúná,	Kutchung,	Thé, Rébi,	Mémé, Empú	
Aloud, <i>ad.</i>	Borkoi,	Ráohi,	Yásomét,	Hápinsétum,	Rékré,	Unré, Kézong,	
Also, <i>ad.</i>	Árú,	Ar,	.....	.....	Ri,	.....
Altogether, <i>ad.</i>	E'ké logé,	Gáthaisi,	Kédokávé,	Númchat,	Pété-Kézé,	Kechang,	
Always, <i>ad.</i>	Hodái, Oréo, Níto,	Nállé,	.....	.....	Té-sonhá,	.....
Amid, <i>prep.</i>	Maj, majat,	Gájér,	Angbong,	Aláilung,	Métcho-mi,	Azogá,	Kát
An, a, one, <i>a.</i>	E'tá,	Sáosí, mási,	Inúnan or Inút,	Khat,	Pó,	Kémme,	
Ancle, <i>n.</i>	Bhorir gánthi,	Yasuthái,	Kéhangbi,	Káokhimit,	Phimhi,	Phábéro,	Dé
And, <i>conj.</i>	Árú,	Ar,	.....	.....	Ri,	.....
Anger, <i>n.</i>	Khong,	Thámsí,	Nimingthip,	Alúngsáahi,	Nimo,	Aionkhé,	
Annually, <i>ad.</i>	Bosoré-bosor,	Maithai-maithai,	Aninkan-aninkan,	Kúmkhút,	Tichiképrá,	Achang,	
Ant, <i>n.</i>	Porúa,	Khashima,	Misú,	Kummi,	Mháché,	Tenta,	Ntiéná
Ant-hill, <i>n.</i>	Hápholo,	Horimá-há-phlo,	Téplong-ánú-rák,	Léwangin,	Repá,	Unpiong,	
Apiece, <i>ad.</i>	E'tá-étá,	Mási-mási,	Isi-isi,	Khut-chiang-khut-chiang	Po-po,	Kémé-kemé,	
Armadillo, <i>n.</i>	Kémtai,	Kháútai,	Kárpú,	Sephú,	Tépphu,	Tépphé,	Héppá
Armlet, <i>n.</i>	Kháru,	Yáoshér,	Roi,	Nathankul,	Kétho,	Gi,	
Armpit, <i>n.</i>	Kákhloti, Bokol,	Phám-khor,	Jing káp,	Kájánui,	Sochú,	Aniohsong,	

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Bark, (of a tree)	<i>n.</i> Sál,	Pongúr,	Théngú,	Thingoh,	Pokú, Sijha,	Sháinhél, or Shingél,	
Bark,	<i>v.</i> Bhúnk,	Shongmá,	Kánú,	Ahup,	Ré-shi,	Kérúan,	
Barn,	<i>n.</i> Bhonráli ghor,	Mainoh,	Sokporú,	Changin,	Telha-ki,	Tiswán,	
Barrel, (gun)	<i>n.</i> Nolli,	Nolli,	Allangpong,	Meipúmlong,	Pú,	Pong,	
Barter,	<i>v.</i> Holáo,	Salái-jalainú	Chilárná,	Kilhénghété,	Kéllí,	Kélléché,	
Basin,	<i>n.</i> Kanhi,	Khophrá,	Kású,	Kúng,	Mékhú,	Túkhong,	
Bastard,	<i>n.</i> Johorrah,	Paujik péssá, or Pophá-giri-yábá, péssá,	Sorongro,	.....	Tékhrono,	Kéohlángnin,	
Bat,	<i>n.</i> Bádoli,	Taupámá,	Wárlák,	.....	Ché-chá,	Sémphong,	Téllá
Bathe,	<i>v.</i> Gá-dho, or Snáankor,	Digrúnang,	Chinglúji,	Késiltum,	Zúrélúché,	Lahté,	Dúpá
Battle,	<i>n.</i> Ron,	Chéba,	Ron,	Gál,	Térh,	Téri,	Hérnéo
Beak,	<i>n.</i> Thont,	Bokho,	Anktúr,	Ánú,	Ta,	Méng,	Múi
Beam,	<i>n.</i> Sóti,	Súkúr	Kárdong,	Inkúm,	Ki-pér,	Kásun,	
Bear,	<i>n.</i> Bhálúk,	Mússúbromá	Thogwám,	Vompi,	Thégá,	Thágúá,	Hégúám
Beard,	<i>n.</i> Dánri,	Khámphor,	Múng,	Khámul,	Támá, Mekh-wémá,	Mangha,	Múmai
Beat,	<i>v.</i> Kúbáo, Már,	Sho,	Choknún,	Votun,	Vúché,	Vúché or Vútá,	
Beautiful,	<i>a.</i> Húndor,	Naibahami,	Méong,	Védi náphai,	Ngú-kévi,	Gwáswá,	Ngáu-ída
Bedstead,	<i>n.</i> Húa-khát,	Thúthani,	Ki-iádim,	Jálkhun,	Thézi,	Náng, Long,	
Bedding,	<i>n.</i> Túli,	.....	Káchlimápé,	Ponphá,	Zikhrá,	Zikéshéngphé,	Jéokum
Bee,	<i>n.</i> Mo,	Péréká, or Pé-ré,	Pio,	Húivá,	Mékhwi,	Lhui,	Héliá

Beef,	<i>n.</i>	Gorúrmongoh,	Méshoháin,	Cháinongáok,	Shilhutshá,	Mithúchi,	Ménthútha,
Before,	<i>prep.</i>	Agot, Hamú- khé,	Sékang,	Aphráng,	Mésang,	Mohzú,	Hodi,
Beg,	<i>v.</i>	Mañg,	Sainji,	Chúháng,	Thúménétun,	Krohchiléché,	Hétah, Hélo- tah,
Beggar,	<i>n.</i>	Mogoniá,	Sainjiába,	Kédúkébang,	Miváicha,	Kroh-kéchi- má,	Hékátániu,
Behind,	<i>prep.</i>	Pisot, Pásot,	Yáonhúng,	Aphi,	Núnglam,	Sáchá,	Shégi,
Behold,	<i>v.</i>	Dékh, Sá,	Nái,	Lángnún,	Vetún,	Pilé,	Phitá,
Belch,	<i>v.</i>	Hĩnkoti kor,	Hánglúngmu- mainbá,	Ijoi,	Kasañie,	Pékhé,	Kénja,
Bellow,	<i>v.</i>	Béba,	Kérrábá,	Kágrong,	Sélábú,	Moché,	Kánga,
Belly-ache,	<i>n.</i>	Bét-kámor,	Hohsádú,	Apoksodet,	Káowai onái,	Vadiché,	Ghéntha,
Belly,	<i>n.</i>	Pét,	Hoh,	Apok,	Káowai,	Vádi, Váká,	Ghén,
Below,	<i>ad.</i>	Tolot,	Paklá,	Abér, Arúm,	Anoi,	Kho, Khro,	Téshang,
Belt,	<i>n.</i>	Tongáli,	Chishidao,	Ari,	Kongkánna,	Sésá,	Sangkhuéng,
Bend,	<i>n.</i>	Pák, Mosor,	Pháikhong,	Pékéknún,	Hékontun,	Kéréguilé,	Akéngkhúi,
Best,	<i>a.</i>	Utom,	Hámdáo,	Jérsomémo- chot,	Aphápéntá,	Kévithou,	Athaiángwá- shwá,
Better,	<i>a.</i>	Tátkoi bhál,	Késsá-hám- dáo,	Jérsoméong,	.....	Sésá Kévi,	Hiángwhá,
Between,	<i>prep.</i>	Majot,	Kéjar,	Angbong,	Alaiúlúng,	Donú, Metcho- nú,	Káká
Beware,	<i>v.</i>	Háodhán-ho,	Tátháng,	Phréremá,	.....	Chiswéléché,	.....
Big,	<i>a.</i>	Dáñgor,	Tébi,	Théong,	Léupíahi,	Kézá,	Kégáng,
Bill-hook,	<i>n.</i>	Dáu,	Shishong,	Nokpák,	Chimpong,	Jé,	Jhén,
Bind,	<i>v.</i>	Bándh,	Khá,	Koknún,	Kántan,	Phálé,	Phénogotá,
Bird,	<i>n.</i>	Sorái,	Táo,	Vo,	Vachá,	Pérá,	Téga,
Birth,	<i>n.</i>	Jonom,	Gokhá, Hájai- bá,	Amangáthé,	Naoasowé,	Péno, Képéno,	Rhinna

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Birth-place, <i>n.</i>	U'pojá-thai, or Jonomo-bhúmi,	Hájaiba, Hathani,	.....	.....	Képénophé,	Kénuphén,	
Bitch, (female of dog,) <i>n.</i>	Máiki Kúkúr,	Sémájúk,	Mithunapi,	Winú,	Phukrr,	Téhiphú, or Téhitenin,	
Bite, <i>v.</i>	Káamor,	Wái,	Kornoi,	Petún,	Méki,	Unkáté or Un-káché,	Nki
Bitter, <i>a.</i>	Titá,	Khábi,	Akého,	Akhái,	Kékú,	Kéká,	
Black, <i>a.</i>	Kólá,	Késhim,	Akéik,	Avom,	Kéti,	Kéché,	Ketibé
Blind, <i>a.</i>	Kóná,	Kána,	Amikávé,	Mitcho,	Michie,	Hékécháng,	Michiépe
Blood, <i>n.</i>	Téz,	Théi,	Ávi,	Thi,	Thézá, [béba,	Tézié,	Hézái
Blossom, <i>n.</i>	Koli,	Khém,	Mir,	Ámúmbim,	Puniba, or Thé-	Mién,	Mapá
Blow, <i>v.</i>	Phúñ-dé,	Shú,	Kibút,	Mútun,	Mhélé,	Téshi,	
Blue, <i>a.</i>	Kám boroniá,	.....	.....	Adumé,	Loshi,	.....	Nizai
Board, <i>n.</i>	Pát,	Bongflong,	Kápát,	Thingphél,	Méla, Sobja,	Shénpáng,	
Boat, <i>n.</i>	Náo,	Rong,	Tillong,	Koung,	Rú,	Rúng or Rong,	Liámkúá
Boatman, <i>n.</i>	Náoworiá,	Rongjáoyábá,	Tillongkévé,	Koungjábhó,	Rú kethumá,	Rúngécho,	Liam-Ketsaimi
Body, <i>n.</i>	Gá,	Sáo,	E'bang,	Kati,	Moh,	Meh or Um-	Méo
Boil, <i>v.</i>	U'tolái de, or Hjai dé,	Méthonghá,	Kárlók,	Go-omsán,	Mékhrolé,	mén, Und-wávéshe,	
Bold, <i>a.</i>	Háhiál, or Nir-bhoi,	Bakhárobi,	Phéréré,	Kékichapúi,	Kérézá,	Kémé késsa,	
Bone, <i>n.</i>	Hár,	Pákrain,	Répi,	Shágú,	Rú,	Thirra,	Rá (Pérá)
Book, <i>n.</i>	Púthi,	Khitáp,	Khitáp,	Léká,	Léshi,	Láshi,	Léshú
Boot, <i>n.</i>	Jútá,	Jútá,	Kengok,	Kéng-kó,	Phikú,	Pházaka,	
Borrow, <i>v.</i>	Dhár-kor,	Jáolá,	Rámnún,	Athunginlätun,	Thépúlé,	Tépúrétá, or Tépérétá,	

Bottom,	<i>n.</i> Tol, Gúri,	Pákhla,	Abér,	Atókú,	Khro,	Téshingí,	Hérrai
Bough,	<i>n.</i> Dál,	Bondé,	Aro,	Théngbá,	Si Chié, Sicho,	Shémphá,	Héllé, Piar
Boundary,	<i>n.</i> Himá,	Hári,	Ahoi,	Gichang,	Thérá,	Térré,	
Bow,	<i>n.</i> Dhénú,	Chilli,	Battli,	Gophél,	Thilla,	Lobú,	
Bowels,	<i>n.</i> Nari-bhunrú,	Púbú,	Phég,	Kágil,	Poriá,	Ré,	
Box,	<i>n.</i> Pérá,	Sundú,	Pirá,	Théng kong	Kúzo,	P'rá,	
Boy,	<i>n.</i> Lorá,	Ársá,	U'sú,	Chápang,	Nichumá,	Unchainin,	Hénami
Bracelet,	<i>n.</i> Khárú,	Khádú,	Roi,	Cháu,	Yétsé,	Pén,	Hétá
Brains,	<i>n.</i> Múror ghium,	Bithlim,	Atarloh,	Lhobú,	Khrú,	Sha or U'nsha,	Khúá
Brass,	<i>n.</i> Pitol,	Phislé,	Bitol or Bitoi,	Shúméng,	Méréní,	Péngi,	Pitalaigéo
Breadth,	<i>n.</i> Potháli,	Kébéng,	Arpún,	Avaiyalin,	Zá, Poza,	Ádá,	
Break,	<i>v.</i> Bháng or Sing,	Sépaihá,	Phlangúnnon	.....	Béswélé,	Voségo,	
Breast,	<i>n.</i> Hiya, Búkú,	Khábo,	Ning,	.....	Mérr,	Miong,	Káká
Breath,	<i>n.</i> U'háh,	Háng,	Ánghoáugh- win,	.....	Há,	Untéshi,	
Breathe,	<i>v.</i> U'kháh lo,	Hánglabú,	Echéthé,	.....	Há shiché,	Untéshi thétá,	
Bridge,	<i>n.</i> Dolong,	Dolong, Yao- khrái,	Dolong,	Léi	Péh,	Long,	Kepúm
Bring,	<i>v.</i> Án,	Labú,	Wanún,	Honchoitan,	Séphiri, Pé- khor,	Séngrotá,	Pépélo
Broad,	<i>a.</i> Bohol,	Kétho,	Héong,	.....	Méjá,	Kezang,	
Broad-cloth,	<i>n.</i> Bénát kápor,	Banor-ri,	Mánát apé,	.....	Búlá-Khwé,	Bánaphé,	
Broken, <i>part.</i>	Bhángá or Singá,	Páikhá,	Lokpé,	Akéatai,	Vaphroá, Bét- swéwá,	Akésé,	
Broom,	<i>n.</i> Bárhoni,	Naoship,	Arphék,	Múnthé,	Nizwéro,	Kázékhá,	Sosingbé
Brother (el- der,)	<i>n.</i> Kokái,	Dádá,	Niik,	Káupá,	Zoráo,	Ságah,	
Brother,	<i>n.</i> Bhái,	Jányáng,	Nimú or	Kánaupá,	Sázéo,	Sézhing áhor,	Sárebé
(younger) <i>n.</i>		Adong,	Nékor,	.....		Sezhingé,	
Brother-in- law,	<i>n.</i> Jéthéri,	Aghnu,	Némé,	.....		Amú,	

English.	Assamese.	Kachari.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angami Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Brow,	<i>n.</i> Konpál,	Thám,	Téhang,	Kédéápáng,	Tikhá,	Samphuh,	Késí
Buck, (deer)	<i>n.</i> Motá pohú,	Chéllá,	Thiokálo,	.....	Téklúa-poshí,	Téshangpécha,	
Buffalo,	<i>n.</i> Moh,	Missép,	Jilong,	Loi,	Rélli,	Sainchong,	Rélli
Build,	<i>v.</i> Hojá,	Tángmá,	Kimnun,	Sátan,	Siléché,	Thélotá,	Télo
Bull,	<i>n.</i> Hár, Bhotorá,	Mesú-jéllá,	Chaimongalú,	Bongehul,	Thúdo,	Máúthé,	Ké túmséo
Bullet,	<i>n.</i> Goli, Gúli,	Golli,	Golli or Amú	Mechang,	Mishi-shi.	Páché,	
Bundle,	<i>n.</i> Topolá,	Pákho,	Abor,	Ponchún,	Kéri,	Golli,	Hégebaichi
Burden,	<i>n.</i> Bhár,	Papain,	Bhár,	.....	Pé,	Adúa,	
Burn,	<i>v.</i> Porá, [Phútá	Sáohá,	Kainon,	Ghaltún,	Révála, Pétú-	Rolota,	
Burst,	<i>v.</i> Phútái dé,	Pérékhokla,	Phúkdak,	.....	Baphroá, Pro,	.....
Bury,	<i>v.</i> Pót,	Phabá,	Pibnon,	Gáphútun,	Khrúálé,	Shonko,	
Butterfly,	<i>n.</i> Pokhilá,	Támá,	Pipling,	Péngpilép,	Sopro,	Ása,	
Button,	<i>n.</i> Gúdám,	Gútám,	Gúdám,	Shankhokil,	Búllá-Kékú,	Gúdám,	
Buy,	<i>v.</i> Kin,	Párai,	Námnún,	Chútán,	Khri-léché,	Hilota,	Lúlúlo
By-and-by, <i>ad.</i>	Athoni,	Yaokhúng,	Mo-áphi,	.. ..	.....	.....
Bird cage,	<i>n.</i> Soráior hojá,	Khangkhrá,	Vo-úm,	.....	Yá,	Térrékhén or	
						Togakhen,	
Calf,	<i>n.</i> Dámúri,	Mésopéssá,	Chainongáso,	Chilutmi,	Mithúno,	Ménthinio,	Kétumpúina
Calf- (ofleg,)	<i>n.</i> Kol phúl,	Yákithú,	Sárti,	Kátangái,	Phitsá,	Chén,	
Call,	<i>v.</i> Mát,	Longhá, or	Hángnún,	Gákotun,	Késhi-ché,	Kolokottá,	Kúlo
		Chirhúikhá,					
Cane,	<i>n.</i> Bént,	Rái,	Pri,	Ting,	Théri,	Térta,	Daria
Canon,	<i>n.</i> Bor Tóp,	Kámon,	Bortope,	.....	Sidi,	.....	Higibé-kedibé
Cap,	<i>n.</i> Túpi,	Topi,	Photú,	Lúkhú,	(Misi kédí, <i>i.e.</i>	Pithong,	Potchom
					great gun,)		
					Chúré,		

Carry,	v. Búk, Boja lo,	Horbá,	Inghornon,	Potan,	Poulé,	Pvulotá,	Pélla
Cat,	n. Mekúri,	Mú,	Méng,	Méngté,	Munno,	Ái,	Hanina
Catch,	v. Dhor,	Rém,	Niébnún,	Mántún,	Télé,	Ténota,	Tulo
Caterpillar,	n. Bisá,	Yongshimá,	Unki,	Lúngmúl,	Chopé,	Pongi,	
Centipede,	n. Sélá,	Sénthrékomá,	Lútiki,	Chingling,	Zárr,	Sémbé,	
Chaff,	n. Ghúlá,	.....	.....	.....	Phá,	.....
Chain,	n. Hikoli,	Jingiri,	Ghainhemáre,	.....	Kédú,	Bengriso,	
Change,	v. Holoni kor,	Shlainung,	Chilarnung,	.....	Kélilé,	Kélilé,	
Charcoal,	n. Éngár,	Hàngár,	Hogwái,	Méhol,	Mijé,	Mégi,	
Chase,	v. Khéd,	Rúphái-rú- phaintha,	Húngdonon,	Dilijitun,	Holé,	Hagatá,	
Cheap,	v. Hostá,	Pángiá,	Mélo,	Áménédong,	Méli,	Gwáso,	Lalé
Cheek,	n. Gál,	Khaolái,	Om,	.....	Jwé, Jo,	Riánto,	Bía
Chicken,	n. Kúkúrá púali,	Dáopéshá,	Voáso,	Anúsén,	Thévno,	Térreno,	
Child,	n. Lorá,	Anchá,	Oso,	.....	Nichúmá,	Anin,	Hénami
Chin,	n. Thontorá or Thútori,	Khoshika,	Bip,	Kékhlang,	Mékho,	Soko or Sokhe,	
Civet Cat,	n. Géndérá,	Múru,	Kethoi,	Sángá,	Thékr,	Khonjú,	Shéhwí
Clap,	v. Sápóri bojá.	Támbá,	Chendép,	.....	Bída,	Inbámkhé,	
Claw,	n. Nókh,	Yáoshúkór,	Rí,	.....	Phitché,	.....
Clean,	a. Sophá, Nirmol,	Hámkhá,	Mésénlo,	Angúnshé,	Mésá,	Gwa,	
Cleave,	v. Phál,	Phíkháobá,	Képú,	Kénishútun,	Phrolé,	Diokhologotta,	
Cloth,	n. Kápor,	Réi,	Pé,	Pon,	Khvé,	Phé,	
Cloud,	n. Mégh, Dáor,	Kolkhútá,	Inghon,	Méi,	Kémhú,	Khella-Késsi,	
Cobweb,	n. Mokorár jál,	Pémankhuno,	Aram,	Ápán,	Séréchá,	Hántéroka,	
Cock,	n. Motá Kúkúrá,	Dáojéllá,	Volo,	.....	Votzú,	.....
Cold,	n. Sénsá,	Késhánné,	Kánsám,	Ádupnávé,	Mekú, Sí,	Shéshé, Kong,	
Cold season,	n. Járkál,	Máising,	Ningkreng,	Phálbi,	Tisi,	Chiénshe,	
Come,	v. Ah,	Phái,	Vángnún,	Hongtun,	Phirché, Vor- ché,	Rotah or Ku- lokotta,	
Comprehend, v.	Bújpá,	Méthilá,	Arijúnon,	Néhétnaém,	Siléché.	Réchénphitá,	

English.	Assamese.	Kachari.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angami Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Conceal,	v. Lúkúá,	Hoidádén,	Chipátúnón,	Gashéltun,	Kévaléché,	Kébéleché, or Kébélegot- tá, Vánlogottá, Rénganú, Amén, Téphú,	
Cook,	v. Hijúá,	Shong,	Túnón,	Hontán,	Shaléché,		
Copper,	n. Tám,	Tám,	Tám,	Shomshún,	Páisáji,		
Cord,	n. Jorí,	Wátú,	Phámri,	Kháohúl,	Kérré,		
Cost,	n. Dám, Dor,	Péshén,	Ador,	Amún,	Pomá,		
Cotton,	n. Kopáh,	Khún,	Phéllo,	Patbo,	Chopsa, Chot- sá,		
Cover,	v. Dhák,	Tháphúnátun,	Limnon,	Khúkhúntun,	Whéshiché,	Shénota,	
Count,	v. Lék, Gononá- kor,	Sain,	Lékhanún,	Shimtémin,	Phréleché,	Phúlo-gotá,	
Cow,	n. Gorú,	Meshojo,	Chainong ápi,	Chilhatnun,	Thukr,	Ménthainio,	Kétum púi
Cow-dung,	n. Gobor,	Méshokhi,	Chainong áhi,	Chilhaté,	Mithúbo,	Ménthébu,	
Coward,	n. Bhoiátúr,	Khéníabásé- bong,	Phénéong,	Mimédoi,	Kémithímá,	Unthúbinio,	
Cowree,	n. Kori,	Kháodi,	Súbai,	Lúngchung,	Késha,	Táshí,	
Crab,	n. Kénkorá,	Kháng-Khrái,	Chéhé,	Ái,	Ségo,	Chégú,	
Crazy,	a. Boliá,	Kébir,	Angchámdu,	Mingolahi,	Kéloho, Kén- wémá,	Kénoiniu,	
Crooked,	a. Bénká,	Kokú,	Kékdáng,	Akon,	Kérégwi	Khurá,	Hégá
Crow,	n. Káúri,	Dáokhá,	Voák,	Vá-ú,	Shijja,	Tégú,	
Cry,	v. Kánd,	Kérrádé,	Chirúnót,	Káptan,	Králé,	Chilota,	
Cubit,	n. Hát,	Khújalá,	Echák,	.....	Thú,	U'nká,	
Cup,	n. Bati,	Phongtho,	Harlong,	Vaulhéng,	Télhi,	Hánpén,	[gotta,
Custom,	n. Dostúr, Niom,	Tará,	Aron,	.....	U'zié,	Déta or Délo-	
Cut,	v. Kát,	Tain,	Thúnón,	.....	.....

Daily,	<i>a.</i>	Diné-diné,	Sainphrim,	Árni,	Nisé Nisé,	Tisonhá,	Achungabán,	Ting-ná
Dance,	<i>v.</i>	Nás,	Pái,	Kánnon,	Gálámtun	Kéhu-chié,	Náshitá,	
Dark,	<i>a.</i>	Andhár,	Anár,	Ingtingtanglo,	Ngúpémé- moté,	Tinginkosho,	.....
Daughter,	<i>n.</i>	Jié,	Shio,	Sopi,	Chánúng,	Nopvu,	Nío,	Ting-ná
Day,	<i>n.</i>	Din,	Sáin,	Árni,	Súnlai,	Khinhi,	Héka,	
Dead,	<i>a.</i>	Morá	Thekha,	Gé- Thingtanglo,	Athitai,	Satalé,	Shégozo,	
Deaf,	<i>a.</i>	Kolá,	Náthong,	Nothong,	Nangong,	Poniorogúwé,	Sémúa,	Ting-ná
Dear	(cost-	Mohongá,	Dorraobi,	Adórsóong,	Amánahajien,	Répézé,	Aminchén,	
ly),	<i>a.</i>	Dortán,	Méi,	Thiok	.....	Tékhiá,	Téshang,
Deer,	<i>n.</i>	Pohú,	Nokhai,	Nanghirnon,	Honkúmtan,	Lákerlé,	Chéngrotá,	Ting-ná
Descend,	<i>v.</i>	Nám,	Motainhainy- an,	Arnamingo,	Thilhagilo,	Térho Késhe,	Terrogagwé,	
Devil,	<i>n.</i>	Rákhioh,	Karráo,	Alám,	.....	Nekhwé,	Khwen,
Dialect,	<i>n.</i>	Dúan,	Hamiájákhá,	Abidi-thekthé- lo, or Boyong,	Aputengheng- sho,	Ting-ná
Difficult,	<i>a.</i>	Tán,	Cháo,	Túgnon,	Anéndédúí,	Thé,	Sologóttá,	
Dig,	<i>v.</i>	Khánd,	Doshimi,	Térong,	.....	Kérhú,	Hiongbah,
Dirty,	<i>a.</i>	Moilá,	Phé- dúá,	Késo,	Shá-chá,	Gwámo,	Ting-ná
Disease,	<i>n.</i>	Rog, Bémár,	Léomdo,	Hilohong,	.....	Zú-rishádú,	Kejagi.
Distant,	<i>a.</i>	Dúr,	Cháimbi,	Lonchor,	.....	.....	Tégilo,
Ditch,	<i>n.</i>	Lúr,	Hadirong,	Chétháknon,	Kénjinogóttá,	Hétóhí
Divide,	<i>v.</i>	Dú bhág kor, Phál,	Ronjélainon,	Méthun,	.....	Téfoh,	Téhi,
Dog,	<i>n.</i>	Kúkúr,	Shissá,	Ungháp,	.....	Ki-Khá,	Kákhén,
Door,	<i>n.</i>	Dúár,	Térká,	Vothúng,	Mokhrú,	Insha,	Hétóhí
Dove,	<i>n.</i>	Kópó,	Dáothú,	Vongnon,	.....	Kí,	Shilotá,
Drag,	<i>v.</i>	Sún-súrá,	Sháin,	Túngláng,	.....	Krá,	Chilogóttá,
Drink,	<i>v.</i>	Khá,	Lúng,					

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Drum,	<i>n.</i> Dhol,	Khrám,	Chéng,	.....	Kébbá,	Bén,	
Drunk,	<i>a.</i> Motoál,	Poglájábá,	Hongángri,	Kémézá,	Injévémon,	.....
Dry,	<i>a.</i> Húkán,	Ráinkhá,	Akréng,	.....	Késsá,	Akénkoh,	
Dry,	<i>v.</i> Húkúá,	Karrainkhái,	Khréngnon,	.....	Só,	Phologottá,	
Dung,	<i>n.</i> Gú,	Khi,	Hi,	.....	Bo,	Abú,	
Dysentry,	<i>n.</i> Khor,	Hoshábá,	Képávi,	.....	Thézá-bo,	.....
Ear,	<i>n.</i> Kán,	Khámáo,	E'no,	.....	Nié,	Nitun,	
Earring,	<i>n.</i> U'ntí,	Kherri (for male),	Nothengpi,	.....	Rénni (for males),	Umbén (for males),	
		metai (for female),	Nori, and Keding-chingro,		so, (for females),	binié (for females),	
Earth,	<i>n.</i> Prithibi, Máti,	Há,	Longlé,	.....	Kízi,	Kázi,	
Earthquake,	<i>n.</i> Bhúinkonp,	Pánglá,	Chikâli,	.....	Kiéki,	Chingánié,	
East,	<i>n.</i> Púb,	Sáinphnébá,	Niháng,	.....	Náki-kéthú-chá,	Hékápi,	
Eat,	<i>v.</i> Khá,	Chi,	Choláng,	.....	Chi,	Túlogotta,	
Egg,	<i>n.</i> Koni,	Dáoti,	Voti,	.....	Dzo,	Di,	
Eight,	<i>a.</i> Áth,	Chái,	Nirkép,	Ghít,	Théthá,	Tassé,	Héssa
Eighteen,	<i>n.</i> Othéro,	Mágichái,	Khrénérkep,	.....	Mékú-pomothéthá,	Kípúmtassé,	
Eighty,	<i>a.</i> Ási,	Pishábri,	Throknirkép,	Shomghit,	Lhé-théthá,	Hain-tassé,	Rhé-héssá
Elbow,	<i>n.</i> Kilákúnti,	Yáoshúkong,	Eritúngdé,	.....	Bútú,	Khoshé	Heppúa
Elephant,	<i>n.</i> Hátí, Hánti,	Méyung,	Ingnár,	.....	Chú, Tsú,	Piong,	Kéké
Eleven,	<i>a.</i> E'gháro,	Májishé,	Kré-ísi,	Shom-le-khat,	Kerr-o-po,	Sérrah-kame-sha,	
Evening,	<i>n.</i> Godhúli,	Sárriri,	Ningvétung,	Hojinkon,	Théva,	Téugémésó,	
Eye,	<i>n.</i> Sokú,	Mhú,	Mék,	Mít,	Mhi,	Nghé,	

Eye-brow,	<i>n.</i> Sélaúri,	Mhúgú,	Mékum,	Kémitkho,	.....	Nghésan,
Eye-lash,	<i>n.</i> Bhrúb,	Mosráng,	Méksúm,	Kémitmúl,	Mhimá,	Nghé-ha,
Eye-lid,	<i>n.</i> Pirikoti,	Mhúgúr,	Mékhom,	Kémitné,	Mhi-né,	Nghéghi,
Fall,	<i>v.</i> Por,	.....	Kalchikoi,	Lhútán,	Krr,	Képan,
False,	<i>a.</i> Misá,	.....	Chúbé,	Mijú,	Kétichi, Ké- chirr,	Nokúngki,
Far,	<i>a.</i> Dúr, Antor,	.....	Héloving,	.....	Shá-chá,	Kajógi,
Fat,	<i>a.</i> Motá, Téliyá,	Debi,	Aóktánon,	Milin,	Lo,	Nthegâchâng,
Father,	<i>n.</i> Bópái,	Pábá,	Apo or Po,	Hépá,	Pú or Apú,	Apé,
Fault,	<i>n.</i> Dái,	Khosúr,	Népáp,	Ashúshé,	Gwákémo,	.....
Feather,	<i>n.</i> Pákhi,	Dáoprung	Arving,	Álhá,	Má,	Tégaha,
Feeble,	<i>a.</i> Asokti, Nir- boli,	Bolgiri,	Aiakonga vé- dép,	Athaompúi,	Méné,	Anéndá,
Feed,	<i>v.</i> Khúa,	Bokojiri,	Phinon,	Nésatan,	Váchi,	Totári,
Female,	<i>a.</i> Máiki,	Mesáinjé,	Api,	Núme,	Pokrr,	Támio,
Fetch,	<i>v.</i> An,	Labo,	Vanun,	Húnehaitan,	Péphirché,	Ratá,
Fever,	<i>a.</i> Jor,	Léndú,	Késo,	Akihat,	Rokí,	Rúvion,
Few,	<i>a.</i> Tákor, Alop,	Káisha,	Ongédelo,	Thémchá,	Isá,	Khérhonin
Fifteen,	<i>a.</i> Pondhéro,	Májrá,	Knéphongo	Shomléngá,	Kerr-o-péngú,	ontésho, Sérra-pung- cha,
Fifty,	<i>a.</i> Ponsás, or Dú- kúri Doh,	Pishágini thú- ji,	Phungo-Kep,	Shom-ngá,	Lhi-péngú,	Phéngé
Fight,	<i>v.</i> Ron kor,	Shóilai,	Chichoktamé,	Kikáptún,	Kénné Zerrh,	Kégátá,
Fill,	<i>v.</i> Bhorá, Púrkor,	Rém,	Peplingnun,	Shúngtan,	Sú-shi,	Phúshítá,
Fin,	<i>n.</i> Másor phánd,	Pákráng,	Abéng,	Lén,	.....	Chahasha,
Find,	<i>v.</i> Bisár po,	Shémáihá,	Rinún,	Holtan,	Ngú-shí,	Phiphítá,
Finger,	<i>n.</i> Angúli,	Yáóshi,	Chimon,	Kakhútjúng,	Bichino,	Jóngú,
Fire,	<i>n.</i> Júi, [thom,	Wái,	Mé,	Méi,	Mí,	Má,
First,	<i>a.</i> Pónor, Pro-	Sékáng,	Aphráng,	.....	Kéraó	Kéréga,
Fish,	<i>v.</i> Másdhor,	Nárún,	Oknem-nún,	Ngá-Mánin,	Khoté,	Sátáténotá,

English.	Assamese.	Kachari.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angami Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Fish,	<i>n.</i> Más,	Ná,	Lángok,	Ngá,	Kho,	Diniú saha,	
Fish-hook,	<i>n.</i> Borokhi,	Phishá,	Arpi,	Ngá-kui,	Khoshégwí,	Hekhúbú,	
Fishingrod,	<i>n.</i> Brokhiánri,	Pishaphéng,	Arhiápúl,	Apó,	Khosési,	Késhibú,	
Five,	<i>a.</i> Páns,	Wá,	Phúngo,	Ngá,	Péngú,	Púng,	Méng ai
Flat,	<i>a.</i> Homán,	Shoniaibi,	Kéklám.	Akibáng,	Mézi,	Jéjángménié,	
Flint,	<i>n.</i> Páthor,	Wáiding,	Arlong,	Shúng,	Jipvorú,	Cho,	
Flower,	<i>n.</i> Phúl,	Khúem,	Mir,	Pácha,	Ménipú,	Nién,	
					Nhapú,		
Fly,	<i>v.</i> U'í,	Pénilang,	Iniornoí,	Lengtán,	Proché,	Giénlotta,	
Fog,	<i>n.</i> Kúnoli,	Kúál,	Inghún,	Améi,	Kembú,	Khélégesi,	
Foot,	<i>n.</i> Bhorí,	Yáká,	Ekéng,	Kakéng,	Phi,	Phá,	
Forefinger,	<i>n.</i> Bámún angúli,	Yáoshi,	Múnjong,	Kakhútchal,	.....	Jongú,	
Forehead,	<i>n.</i> Konpál,	Tháin,	Téháng,	Kadáepang,	Tikha,	Insompú,	
Forest,	<i>n.</i> Káthoni,	Hakra,	Ingnám,	Gámang,	Si, Nhá,	Tére, héu,	
Forgive,	<i>v.</i> Khémákor,	Dákhlaishi,	Pédolánáng,	Elúngshianin,	Khásiché,	Khigotta,	
Forget,	<i>v.</i> Pahor,	Plao,	Tengnedet,	Háitan,	Rékra motá- ché,	Shángósha,	
					Kériáki,	Nháka,	
Formerly,	<i>ad.</i> Táhani, Púrbé,	Shikánghá,	Hákoké,	.....	Kúdá,	.....
Fort,	<i>n.</i> Kónth,	Khórong,	Korkébui,	Kúl,	.....	.....
Fortify,	<i>v.</i> Kónth-mara,	Khórongká,	Korbuinon,	.....	.....	.....
	or Gor-dia,						
Forty,	<i>a.</i> Solis, Dúkúri,	Pishágni,	Phili-kép,	Shom-li,	Lhidá,	Hainghé,	Rhé dai
Four,	<i>a.</i> Sári,	Mábri,	Phili,	Ll, Li,	Dá,	Kéjhé,	[ché Mé dai
Fourteen,	<i>a.</i> Choidho,	Magibri,	Kréphli,	Shomléli,	Kerr-o-dá,	Sánnépégé-	
Fowl,	<i>n.</i> Kúkúrá,	Daono,	Vo,	Achá,	Théva,	Térré,	
Friend,	<i>n.</i> Mitá,	Kháp'hiong,	Edonéráp,	Kájol,	Áso,	Kámé,	
Frog,	<i>n.</i> Béng,	Imbrú,	Chongho,	U'keng,	Gwirno,	Sággé,	

Front-door, <i>n.</i>	.....	Nosékántékra,	Hongthúang- háp,	Kot-pi,	Ki-Khá,	Kákhén,
Fruit, <i>n.</i>	Gúti,	Bokrong,	Athé,	Thingá,	Shi,	Térráshá,
Gall-bladder, <i>n.</i>	Pitt,	Pokhlú,	.....	Ihing,	Thésíéh,	.....
Ginger, <i>n.</i>	E'dá,	Hájing,	Hánsopi,	Númé,	Kévú,	Gasen,
Girl, <i>n.</i>	Sóali,	Péhi,	Arlúso,	E'pén,	.....	Tanienu,
Give, <i>v.</i>	Dé,	Ri,	Pinon,	Chétan,	Chi-shi,	Lopimú,
Go, <i>v.</i>	Já,	.....	Damnún,	Kélchá,	Totá,	Gókhé, Gotá,
Goat, <i>n.</i>	Ságoli,	Brén,	Ví or Bì,	Páthénlúnjái,	Tanen,	Tami,
God, <i>n.</i>	Iswor, Déo,	Mattai,	Arnám,	.....	Térrogha,	.....
Gold, <i>n.</i>	Hón,	Kacháo,	Sér,	Soná,	Soná,	Honúngi,
Good, <i>a.</i>	Bhál, Báru,	Hámbeí,	Méong,	Áphái,	Kéví,	Gwá,
Goose, <i>n.</i>	Rájhánh,	Daophlando- haiúng,	Vopitúnga,	Náchákáng,	Tophá-Kedi,	Tophá Kédági,
Grand-father, <i>n.</i>	Koká,	Ajú,	Thú,	Hépu,	Apúcháó,	Abáng,
Grand- mother, <i>n.</i>	Búri Ái,	Abi,	Phi,	Hépi,	Ácháp fú, or Azápú,	Athi,
Grandson, <i>n.</i>	Náti,	Chathai,	Isúpo,	Kátú,	Nono,	Aninga,
Grand- daughter, <i>n.</i>	Nátini,	.....	Isúpi,	Katúnú,	Nokimá,	Anu-gi,
Grass, <i>n.</i>	Ghánh,	Sham,	Tipli,	Hámpá,	Nhá,	Lorú,
Grass-hopper, <i>n.</i>	Phoring,	Gúúng,	Phélong,	Kháó,	Tékú,	Sékhú,
Grave, <i>n.</i>	Moidám,	Phébtthani,	Arléng-Kipi- adúng,	Mikivúiná,	Mokhrú,	Témékesóng,
Great, <i>a.</i>	Bor, Dángor,	Debi,	Kéthé,	Alin,	Kédi, Kézá,	Kégang,
Great-toe, <i>n.</i>	Burá angúli,	Gáshima,	Kemúnpi,	.....	.....	Ajong pú,
Green, <i>a.</i>	Hiám boron,	Kékháng,	Káchinjok,	.....	Pezié or Ké- pézié,	Akésin,
Green (raw) <i>a.</i>	Kénsá,	Kétháng,	Akévé,	Aling,	Kérbé,	Alékhú,
Ground, <i>n.</i>	Máti,	Há,	Longlé,	Léshit,	Kézi,	Kázi,
Gullet, <i>n.</i>	Nelú,	Dilam, or Ká- rángthoroh,	.....	.....	Mácháro,	.....

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Gun,	<i>n.</i> Hiloi,	Hiloi,	Hilé,	Mépúm,	Missi,	Másápúng,	
Gun-powder,	<i>n.</i> Khár, [ro,	Pakhár,	Phélo,	Mélú,	Bákhár,	Khorri,	
Guts,	<i>n.</i> Nari, or Bhun-	Púbú,	.....	.....	Rieh,	.....
Hail,	<i>n.</i> Hil.	Kédithai,	Hérré,	Gil,	Prr,	Tégwangácha,	
Hair (of	Súli,	Khnai,	Ichú,	Shám,	Tsú-thá, Thá,	.....
man),	<i>n.</i>						
Hair (of ani-	Nom,	Pékhmi,	Angmi,	Ámúl,	Má,	.....
mals),	<i>n.</i>				Téchá,	.....
Half,	<i>a.</i> Adhá, E'do-	Kejar,	Abéng,	Akéhat,			
	khór,						
Half way,	<i>n.</i> Adhá bát,	Lámá kéjar,	Ajítim,	Akimjánetá,	Chákhwipo,	.....
Hammer,	<i>n.</i> Hántúri,	Dáukabú,	Kibú,	.....	Rékri,	Kéchásén,	
Hand,	<i>n.</i> Hát, [dor,	Yáofá,	Nérri, [ong,	Kékhút,	Bi, or Bhi,	Bén,	
Handsome,	<i>n.</i> Húwoni, Sun-	Mechángbi,	Méssén or Mé-	.....	Ngú-vi,	Kágwá,	
Hawk,	<i>n.</i> Hén,	Dáolinghá-	Vomú,	.....	Múvino,	.....
		khri,					
He,	<i>pro.</i> Hi,	Bo or Po,	Báng,	Hipá,	Po,	Higá,	
Head,	<i>n.</i> Múr,	Khro,	Niphú,	Kálúcháng,	Tsú,	Api,	
Headache,	<i>n.</i> Múror bikh,	Khró sháda,	Niphúsodé,	.....	.....	.....
Hear,	<i>v.</i> Hún,	Khána,	Arjúnón,	Ngaitan,	Réniélé,	.....
Heart,	<i>n.</i> Koládil,	Laikhúnthái,	Avibong,	Kálúngchang,	Mélú,	Akísá,	
		or Khemsoh,					
Heavy,	<i>a.</i> Godhúr, Bhári,	Rishibi,	Ardigúng,	Agítá-áhi,	Meswi,	Nsúri,	
Heel,	<i>n.</i> Géroá,	Yáshintho,	Kéngti,	Kakhú-tájum	Phitso,	Phájha,	
Heir,	<i>n.</i> Wáris, Poriál,	Hajirjáthá,	Paténg,	.....	.....	.....
Help,	<i>v.</i> Upokár kor,	Khánáriha,	Hangdamún,	.....	.....	.....
Hen,	<i>n.</i> Máiki kúkúra,	Dáomá,	Voápi,	A-ánúng,	Vokrr,	.....

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Jungle,	<i>n.</i> Jongol, Hábi,	Hágrá,	Ingnám,	Gamlá,	Nhá,	.....
Keep,	<i>v.</i> Rakh,	Mtháo,	Pédonáng,	Néngátan,	Pévéléché,	Khénottá,	
Kick,	<i>v.</i> Lathimár,	Jiúphá,	Túrphit,	Chúntan,	Phitchá-pot- ché,	Nshishítá,	
Kid,	<i>n.</i> Sagolir Poáli,	Brinsha, [thái,	Béaso,	Kélnóú,	.....	
Kidney,	<i>n.</i> Ghilá,	Tháráp, Mi-	Hámbi,	.....	Mécha,		
Kill,	<i>v.</i> Mar, Bodhkor,	Shúthai,	Pithinún,	That-tan,	Dúkhrléléché,		
Kilt,	<i>n.</i> Mékhlá,	Rigú,	Pini,	Ni,	Ni,	.....
Kind,	<i>a.</i> Morom,	Kásháo,	Kánghou,	Alúnáshi,	Mezié,	.....
King,	<i>n.</i> Rojá,	Rája,	Réchó,	Háoshá,	Kédimá,	.....
Knee,	<i>n.</i> Ánthú,	Yáshgú,	Kéngphú,	Kákhúbú,	Khútzá,	.....
Knot,	<i>n.</i> Gánthi,	Khát-ho,	Kéthit, [ká,	Akikhitboh,	Pélé,	Kho,	
Knuckle,	<i>n.</i> Angulirgánthi,	Yáoyén,	Rechimúnási-	Kakhútchéng,	Bikhr,	Abél,	
Ladder,	<i>n.</i> Jokhlá,	Yaokhléng, or Yathomai,	Don-don,	Léi,	Khéa,	Jonghú,	
Lame,	<i>a.</i> Khorá,	Khorrá,	Kátékok,	Kéngbai,	Réhié,	Nphágwágé- mü,	
Language,	<i>n.</i> Mát, Bhákhá or Dúán,	Kérokhabá,	Lámkáchésák,	Kapáo,	Khvé,	.....
Leaf,	<i>n.</i> Pat,	Pllái,	Arvo,	Ná,	Nié,	Jongni,	
Leather,	<i>n.</i> Sál, Sámorá,	Bokúr,	Arreng,	Sáwún,	Chiza,	Agi,	
Leg,	<i>n.</i> T-héng,	Yágá,	Kéng,	Kékéng,	Phi,	Phá,	
Lemon,	<i>n.</i> Némú-téngá,	Tháisháyán- shúgár,	Thésó	.....	.....	Tháshúshá,	
Length,	<i>n.</i> Dighol,	Káláo,	Ajon,	Adúng,	Kéchá,	Atháng,	
Leopard,	<i>n.</i> Náhor-phúté- ká Bágh,	Mísíhathre,	Kéthoi,	Ajé,	Tékhú-khútti,	Mamo,	Kaoti

Lick,	<i>v.</i> Séléká,	Spáo,	Kangléknún,	Aléetan,	Méieché,	Juta,	Choi
Lightning,	<i>n.</i> Bijúli,	Shráp,	Chétúrkéang,	Ké,	Ngúkhwe,	.....
Lip,	<i>n.</i> Onth,	Khújar,	Túr,	Kánél,	Sho,	Méngsi,	
Listen,	<i>v.</i> Hún,	Khániólá,	Arjunon,	Ngáitan,	Zú,	.....
Little,	<i>a.</i> Horú, Olop,	Khásébi,	Kébi,	Anéo,	Kechi, Chi,	Keshén,	Choi
Little-finger,	<i>n.</i> Kényá angúli,	Yaoshisha,	Múnso,	.....	Blehono-ré	Jonguantén-
					khócho,	ga,	
					Seh,	..... [nin,
Liver,	<i>n.</i> Agmongoh,	Páká,	Asháo,	Phiéh,	Kotojoninahé-	Umpémí
Long,	<i>a.</i> Dighol,	Khaláo,	Keding,	.....	.....	.....
Lungs,	<i>n.</i> Háon-phao or	Poshroh,	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Ukhá-ghor,						
Man,	<i>n.</i> Mánúh,	Shibúng,	Arléng,	Mihim,	Thépvomá,	Tamé or Pe-	Umpémí
	rúh,				Themmá,	choniú,	
Mangoe	<i>n.</i> Ám,	Thaíjú,	Thárve-athé,	Háithé,	Merrosi,	.....
(fruit),							
Meat,	<i>n.</i> Mongoh,	Mokong,	Ok,	Sá,	Themnio,	Tha,	Jémbé
Medicine,	<i>n.</i> Dorob, Dárú,	Múli,	Bábámúng,	Loú,	.....	Méi,
Mend,	<i>v.</i> Botá,	Shúkábá,	Kághon,	.....	Phréléché,	Raté,
Middle,	<i>n.</i> Maj,	Kéjar,	Angbong,	Akinjang,	Métso,	Alénin,	
Midnight,	<i>n.</i> Honmájh,	Hokéjar,	Yérlo,	Jánkháng,	Tilloki,	Hopénso,	Jémbé
Milk,	<i>n.</i> Gákhir,	Abúdi,	Amokláng,	Silatnoitúi,	Núdzú,	Niéde,	
Monkey,	<i>n.</i> Bándor,	Mákhúsa,	Thévo,	Jong,	Tékwi,	Thékú, Tégú,	
Month,	<i>n.</i> Máh,	Tain,	Chiklo,	Lhá,	Khrr,	Sharmé,	
Moon,	<i>n.</i> Jún,	Táin,	Chiklo, or	Lhá,	Krr or Khrr,	Chákágon,	Héké
			Chiklolongpi,				Apúi
Mosquitoe,	<i>n.</i> Moh,	Thámphi,	Chitún,	.....	Virú,	Tékhú,
Mother,	<i>n.</i> Ai, Mátri,	Mámá,	Pé,	Anú, Hénú,	Azo,	Azo,	
Mountain,	<i>n.</i> Porbot,	Hajiu,	Inglong,	Molshang,	Kíj-Khrú or	Réncho,	
					Sájé-Khrú,		Apúi
Mound,	<i>n.</i> Háphlú,	Háphlo,	Téplong,	Lhimlúng,	Répú,	Umpiong,	
Mouse,	<i>n.</i> Nigoni,	Mécho,	Gokingsho,	Júchá,	Zúché,	Tépú,	
Mouth,	<i>n.</i> Múkh,	Kho,	Ho,	Kámú,	Tá,	Mángkhong,	

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Mud,	<i>n.</i> Boká,	Hádebu,	Inghán,	Abang,	Kia,	.....	Ké
Musket,	<i>n.</i> Hiloi,	Hiloi,	Hilé,	Mépúm,	Missi,	Másápúng,	
Moustaches,	<i>n.</i> Gonph,	Khámphor,	Ingúm,	Khámúl,	Támá,	Ménghá,	
Nail (finger),	<i>n.</i> Nokh,	Shérshú,	Asésélét,	Tin,	Bitsé,	Dáchén,	
Naked,	<i>a.</i> Nángtá,	Lángthá,	Aréngángsi,	Akongmái,	Métho,	Niákémo,	
Navel,	<i>n.</i> Nai,	Hotmai,	.....	... [kom,	Loh,	.....
Near,	<i>prep.</i> Osorot,	Sámphábi,	Tébokhét,	Náichá,	Képénoki,	Núnan,	
Neck,	<i>n.</i> Dingi,	Koto,	Chithok,	Kangong- chang,	Vo or Voo,	Ghúndá,	
Needle,	<i>n.</i> Béji,	Shimi,	Ingprim,	Héú,	Thépré,	Pén,	
Nephew,	<i>n.</i> Bhátijá,	Lúra,	Nékoraso,	.....	No or Sazeono,	Aséjinganiu,	
Nest, (bird),	<i>n.</i> Báh,	Pathib,	Atár,	Abú,	Pérrá-krú,	Aché,	
Net,	<i>n.</i> Jál, Phánd,	Ché,	Lán,	Lén,	Zú,	Jhó,	
New,	<i>a.</i> Notún,	Katáin,	Kémi,	Athá,	Késsá,	Késhé,	
Niece,	<i>n.</i> Bhágini,	Bishá,	Koráso,	.....	Mé,	Asénganiu,	
Night,	<i>n.</i> Ráti,	Hor,	Ajio,	Ján,	Tizi,	Chéngarzén,	Tingmúi
Nine,	<i>a.</i> Náú,	Shiko,	Sirkép,	Kó,	Thékú,	Tákká,	Hékowi
Nineteen,	<i>a.</i> U'nois,	Majishigú,	Krésirkép,	Shom-lé-kó,	Mekúpomo- thékú,	Kemmélo- shiánki,	
Ninety,	<i>a.</i> Nowoi, Noboi,	Bishá brithogi,	Throk sirkép,	Shom-kó,	Lhi-thekú,	Háin-takká,	Rhé-hékowi
No,	<i>ad.</i> Nái, Nohoi,	Niá,	Káli,	Aompoi,	Mo,	Múlé,	La
Nose,	<i>n.</i> Nák,	Pokúng,	Nokán,	Nákúi,	Nhitchá,	Hikong,	Chú
Now,	<i>ad.</i> Etiya,	Dúha,	Non,	Tún,	Ché-Tsé,	Ncho,	
Oil,	<i>n.</i> Tél,	Tháo,	Yángthú,	Shatháo,	Gakridzú,	Féchéudi,	
Old,	<i>a.</i> Búrá, Púroni,	Karáshá,	Késsor,	Téshé, Alúi,	Kétsá,	Kéthén,	
Once,	<i>ad.</i> Ebeli, Ebár,	Alángshi,	Ipúr,	Khátvé,	.....	Gwéngwo,	
One,	<i>a.</i> Elk, Etá,	Mási,	Isi,	Khat,	Po,	Kámmé,	

Onion,	<i>n.</i> Piáz, [téugá,	Shámphráng,	Arsún,	Lothúltí,	Khová,	Shongín,
Orange,	<i>n.</i> Húmthirá-	Héndrá,	Homthirá,	Shamátalái,	Chiffo,	Homthirá,
Orphan,	<i>n.</i> Máúra,	Pomagéthé,	Yángré,	..... [lip,	Méronomá,	Teghoniú,
Owl,	<i>n.</i> Phénsá,	Dáokhú,	Voinghú,	Chimbúcháng-	Rékhró,	Khénsén,
Pain,	<i>n.</i> Bikh,	Shábá,	Késo,	Anái,	Chi,	Rivénion,
Peacock,	<i>n.</i> Moirá,	Dáútái,	Vóram,	To-oiai,	Rádí,	Gédá,
Pig,	<i>n.</i> Gáhúri,	Hono,	Phák,	Vo-áchá,	Thévo-(Wild-	Tébo-(Wild-
Pigeon,	<i>n.</i> Pá rò,	Dáophri,	Vothúng,	Vapár,	pig, Méngi),	Habbák-(wild-
Plantain	<i>n.</i> Kol-gos,	Tháilúpháng,	Phéngúá-	Náchang,	Topér,	pig, U'nkia)
(Tree),			pháng,		Tekwé-Si,	
Poison,	<i>n.</i> Bih,	Rú,	Bi,	Thalgú,	Théri,	Méi,
Poor,	<i>n.</i> Dúkiyá,	Dúkhía,	Kédúk,	Vaichá,	Mhéji,	Tégheinin,
Porcupine,	<i>n.</i> Kotla-pohú,	Médei,	Yohí bong,	Sákú,	Sékrú,	Unchong.
Potato,	<i>n.</i> Alú,	Thátái,	Phérúathé,	Há,	Réphé,	Kénrhashá,
Pull,	<i>v.</i> Tán,	Sháin,	Vongnong,	Loitan,	Téshile,	Shilogottá,
Push,	<i>v.</i> Thélidé,	Né,	Doinún,	Shontau,	Néshi,	Jhenta,
Raft,	<i>n.</i> Mār,	Rúngmár,	Phán,	Púm,	.....	Pien,
Rafter,	<i>n.</i> Rúá,	Phérai,	Yárbop,	Vákhái,	Kárhong,	Chinaurha,
Rain,	<i>n.</i> Borokhún,	Hádi,	Arvé,	Go,	Tir,	.....
Rat,	<i>n.</i> Endúr,	Moshi,	Júpi,	Júnam,	Thézú,	Tepú,
Raw,	<i>a.</i> Kénsá,	Kétháng,	Akévé,	Áhing,	Kérhi,	Tegi,
Red,	<i>a.</i> Rongá, Lál,	Kajáo,	Aké-ér,	Ásan,	Keméri,	Keháng,
Rest,	<i>v.</i> Jirá,	Léngboba,	Sángnún,	Kingátan,	Rélité,	Chongtá,
Return,	<i>v.</i> Ubhoti áh,	Phoiniphái,	Chivoimún,	Honkítan,	Lákérlé,	Vochiniurottá,
Rhinoceros,	<i>n.</i> Gónr,	Koná,	Kindú,	Gondá,	Kwédá,	Kwendá,
Rib,	<i>n.</i> Kámi-har,	Sangkhreng,	.....	Bú,	Tié,	.....
Rice	<i>n.</i> Bhát,	Makhám,	An,	.....	Té,	Tún,
(cooked),	<i>n.</i>					
Rice	(un-	Máirong,	Sáng,	Chángchang,	Chiko,	Cheko,
cooked),	<i>n.</i>					

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Rich,	a. Sohoki, Dhoni,	Kanáng,	Kiri, Keplang,	Aháwá,	Méni,	Kéwaniu,	
Ring,	n. Angothi,	Yáosdám,	Arnán,	Khotjém,	Kéká,	Bénkhi,	
Ripe,	a. Poká,	Kémén,	Kémén,	Amintái,	Mé	Kémén,	
River,	n. Núi, Nodi,	Dikhong,	Langroipi,	Vádúng,	Kér,	Dikéong,	
Road,	n. Bát, Áli,	Lámá,	Továr,	Lampi,	Chá or Shá,	Cháng,	
Root,	n. Hipá, Gúri,	Popháng,	Aukúr,	Thingbal,	Mi,	Rongmá,	
Rope,	n. Jori,	Dúshá,	Ari,	Kháo,	Kerré,	Rong,	
Rotten,	a. Posá, Gélá,	Sháokhá,	Thúok,	Amon,	Titta,	Réngosho,	
Rupee,	n. Toká, Rúp,	Ráng,	Rúp,	Shúmchéng,	Ráká,	Tébipong,	
Salt,	n. Lón,	Shém,	Inti,	Chi,	Métsá,	Ché,	
Same,	a. Eké,	Ebúno,	Chingbarchit,	Gotkhat,	Kémhá,	Kégwénto,	
Sand,	n. Báli,	Háchén,	Sangti,	Pilnél,	Hochá,	Hácháng,	
Sap,	n. Roh,	Didongwá,	Théngpéan,	Ánái,	Sidzú,	Shinkong-	
			kokarláng,			niudi,	
Save,	v. Udhákor,	Máthángbá,	Jokflotlonone-	.....	Pévelé,	Théwékhí-	
			phong,			losho,	
Say,	v. Koh, Bol,	Thi,	Púnón,	Sétan,	Pulé,	Chogotta,	
Scratch,	v. Ánsorá	Púrúpá,	Káchéphú,	Khot-tan,	Pekhwásiché,	Nkhné,	
See,	v. Sá, Dékh,	Nái,	Lángnún,	Vétan,	Pisiché,	Phita,	
Seize,	v. Dhor,	Rém,	Népnún,	Mánin,	Téléché,	Ténotá,	
Seven,	a. Hát,	Máshni,	Throksi,	Sági,	Théná,	Séni,	Héná
Seventy,	a. Hotor,	Pishákéthám-	Throksi-kép,	Shom-sági,	Lí théná,	Hain-sini,	Rhé-bená
		thúji,					
Seventeen,	a. Hotéro,	Thojishní,	Kréthroksi,	Shom-lé sági,	Mekú-pomo-	Unkipému-	
					théná,	seni,	
Shade,	n. Sáníá, Sán,	Shainkhlím,	Abin,	Alim,	Tisú,	Asa,	
Shallow,	a. Torang,	Pábi,	Lángákángde,	.....	.....	Dikshem,	

Shame,	<i>n.</i> Láj,	Lágikhá,	Thrágdúk,	Ajá, áchai,	Méngá,	Kéjómáré,
Share,	<i>v.</i> Bontá,	Bánthá-khlai,	Thágnún,	Homin,	Kézáléché,	Kéngéno-
Sharpen,	<i>v.</i> Dhoróá,	Soká-	Arsúnon,	Nolhimin,	Kérsiché,	gotta, Sérrálogotta,
Shave,	<i>v.</i> Khúruá,	Shin,	Soinún,	Votan,	Thésiché,	Thégottá,
Shield,	<i>n.</i> Phor, Dhal,	Phi,	Chong,	Lúmbong,	Pézhí,	Ki,
Short,	<i>a.</i> Sunti, Khatá,	Heibi,	Ajongathi,	A'chom,	Kézza,	Kéddi,
Shoulder,	<i>n.</i> Kán, Kándh,	Pháophrong,	Pháng,	Kalinkó,	Búkhé,	A'bé,
Shut,	<i>v.</i> Bondh kor,	Phúnghá,	Káng'háp,	Nágátongin,	Kévásiché,	Dwánogotta,
Sick,	<i>a.</i> Moriá,	Lémdhé,	Késo,	Aná,	Mháchi,	Rú-gwámó,
Silver,	<i>n.</i> Rúp,	Sháthi,	Rúp,	Shúmchéng,	Rákajé,	.....
Sing,	<i>v.</i> Gánkor,	Réjáp,	Lúngilún,	Lásan,	Chellisiché,	Léthéta,
Sister,	<i>n.</i> Bhoni, [káli,	Bhándáo,	Ningjirpi,	Kánaómí,	Alápvo,	Aléki,
Sister-in-law,	<i>n.</i> Jéháhú Khúl-	Púai	Korpi,	.....	Balé,	Amó,
Sit,	<i>v.</i> Boh,	Khám,	Nínón,	Tovin,	Súrú,	Bhéintá,
Six,	<i>a.</i> Soi,	Máto,	Thrók,	Gúp,	Kerr-o-Súrú,	Séro,
Sixteen,	<i>a.</i> Holo,	Majito,	Kréthrok,	Shom-lé-gúp,	.....	Unkipémo-
Sixty,	<i>a.</i> Háthi,	Bishágothám,	Throk-ké,	Shomgúp,	Lhi-Súrú,	Séro,
Skin,	<i>n.</i> Sal,	Púgur,	.....	.....	Jih,	Hain-Séro,
Sky,	<i>n.</i> Ákáh,	Nákasháo,	Sinég,	Vánchúng,	Ti,	.....
Sleep,	<i>v.</i> Hó, Toponijá,	Thúda dong,	Inot,	Lúmtan,	Jiléché,	Chém,
Slowly,	<i>ad.</i> Dhiré-dhiré,	Khéré-khé,	Péiu-péiú,	Olcháchan,	Rékrihe-rek-rihé,	Jibénkhé,
Sly,	<i>a.</i> Téngor,	Láthúa,	Kérré,	Achingthé,	.....	Gwén-gwén,
Small,	<i>a.</i> Horú,	Khashibi,	Bihék,	Anéo,	Chi, Kéchi,	Kessérú,
Smell,	<i>v.</i> Húngá,	Márrámbeí,	Angnimdo,	Nátan,	Théngúsiché,	Keshén,
Snake,	<i>n.</i> Háp,	Jibú,	Phirúi,	Gúl,	Tínhi,	Arréníé,
So,	<i>ad.</i> Ené, Téné,	E'dinú,	Lápú,	Hiti,	Hídi,	Pérré,
Son,	<i>n.</i> Putro, Puték,	Anshá,	So,	Kachápá,	No,	Hichá,
						Nio,
						Hanéi
						Achú

Ali-púi

Hérro

Rhé-herró

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
Sour,	Téngá,	Mékhri,	Hánthor,	Théthú,	Khié,	Késsáng,	
Sow,	n. Maiki gáhorí,	Homá,	Phákápi,	Vo-ánú,	Vokrr,	Tébohpú,	
Span,	n. Bégot,	Khújílá,	Ichák,	Kháp,	.....	Nka,	
Spear,	n. Jathi,	Chong,	Chir,	Téngchá,	Réngú,	Méi,	
Spider,	n. Mokorá,	Pémá, [laibá,	Sangman,	Máimom,	Siré,	Kautéroh,	
Spit,	v. Thúi-péloá,	Khúdi-thúk-	Kángthoknú,	Nechilpaitan,	Métsáchiché,	.....
Spleen,	n. Jorkhapori,	Pem, or Bothla,	.....	.....	Nútú,	.....
Square,	a. Sári súkiyá,	Korombri,	Konáphili,	Ningli,	Pokadá,	Péj-je,	
Stab,	v. Khóns,	Yébá,	Kétok,	Súntan,	Pézachi,	Chémá,	
Star,	n. Torá,	Hathrái,	Chiklo-longso,	A-ási,	Thémú,	Chama,	
Steal,	v. Súr kor,	Kháúbá,	Kéchonghú,	Gútan,	Réguléché,	Kérrahé,	
Steam,	n. Bháp,	Kohúdi,	Angúi,	Tikhú,	Dzú melloh,	Akénnú,	
Stick,	n. Bári, Láthi,	Yájémú,	Chin,	Tingol,	Kéthé,	Than,	
Stone,	n. Hil,	Longthai,	Arlong,	Shong,	Kétché,	Cho,	
Stomach,	n. Pét,	Hoh, or Búbúi- ong,	Pok,	Kaol,	Vádi, Váká,	King,	
Straight,	a. Pón,	Péléngbi,	Kékéng, Kengsíh,	Ajángké,	Mézi,	Jíjí,	
Stream,	n. Ján, Júri,	Dishá,	Lángso,	Tidung, dung,	Kérr,	Dírikéssé,	
Strength,	n. Bol, Hokti,	Bol,	Yákong,	Ahat,	Káméti,	Arénia,	
Strike,	v. Már,	Súhá,	Chongnú,	Votán,	Vosiché,	Bvútá,	
Suck,	v. Sohá, Hohá,	Sopá,	Kángsip,	Chéptan,	Kélháléché,	Chéntá,	
Sun,	n. Béli,	Sain,	Arni,	Nisa,	Náki,	Héka,	
Swear,	v. Hopotkhá, [dé,	Sémaídaonbá,	Sémétángnú,	Keháchélin,	Réswéléché,	Chwéngottá,	
Sweep,	v. Honrá, Jháru-	Hasipkhlái,	Károk,	Théin,	Khowáleché,	Khogottá,	
Sweet,	a. Hoád, Mithá,	Kéddi, Dibi,	Kédok,	Alhúm,	Kémú,	Néni,	

Tail,	<i>n.</i> Négúr, or Nez,	Permái, or Khernai,	or Armé,	Améi,	Mi,	Amá,	
Take,	<i>v.</i> Loh,	Lang,	Ponún,	Lán, Látan,	Léléché,	Klilogottá,	
Tall,	<i>a.</i> Ukho,	Chobá,	Kángtoi,	A'sángpi,	Rékré,	Táchosáng,	
Tear,	<i>v.</i> Pholá,	Chikháo,	Ségnún,	Loiétan,	Kihásiché,	Shirhéngshot-tá,	
Ten,	<i>a.</i> Doh,	Tháuji,	Kép,	Shom,	Kerr,	Sérráh,	Kérré
Testicle,	<i>n.</i> Phol-guti, [lak,	Lidaodi,	.....	Hitého,	Dza,	.....
They,	<i>pro.</i> Hihont, Hibi-	Poshi,	Látúm,	Hitého,	Liko,	Hidén,	
That,	<i>a.</i> Ho, Hoto,	Obo,	Hála,	Hiacho,	Lú,	Li,	
Then,	<i>ad.</i> Tétiyá,	Dánaughá,	Mú,	Hiténg,	Tsé,	Nchángki,	
There,	<i>ad.</i> Táté,	Horáhá,	Yaláda,	Héachún,	Chinú Lúkí,	Lúki,	
Thick,	<i>a.</i> Dáth,	Réjábí,	Kárhát,	Asábébu,	Méllöh,	Sémépan,	
Thief,	<i>n.</i> Sór,	Mhkáo,	Chonghú,	Gúchá,	Kérégúma,	Kéréhéniu,	
Thin,	<i>a.</i> Pátol,	Pábi,	Kángár,	Apádidé,	Repvo,	Répúbén,	
This,	<i>pro.</i> Ei Eíto,	Ebo,	Lá,	Héché,	Hao, Chú,	Hi,	
Thirty,	<i>a.</i> Tris,	Bishasi-maji,	Thomké,	Shom-thúm,	Séri,	Shánrá,	
Thirst,	<i>n.</i> Piyáh,	Shámfráng,	Arsún,	Kadangácháé,	Térh,	Songni,	
Thorn,	<i>n.</i> Kaint,	Shú,	Insú,	Ling,	Chohú,	Sáha,	
Thou,	<i>pro.</i> Toi,	Núng,	Náng,	Náng,	No,	Né,	Náng
Thousand,	<i>a.</i> Héjár,	Rijinchí,	Súri,	Já-shom,	Nié,	Né,	Né
Three,	<i>a.</i> Tíni,	Kéthám,	Kéthom,	Thúm,	Sé,	Shám,	Késhúm
Throw,	<i>v.</i> Pélóá,	Khébibá,	Pédátnún,	Páitan,	Péiesiché,	Phéngottá,	
Thunder,	<i>n.</i> Gorjou,	Nokhasáogá-rémá,	Siningkáng-ring,	Vánágungé,	Prthé,	Chingashén,	
Thus,	<i>ad.</i> Ténékoi,	Ei E'dlái,	Lápú,	Hithúchú,	Hidi,	Jong,	Achú
Tie,	<i>v.</i> Bondhá,	Khá,	Ráknoi,	Kántan,	Phaléché,	Phén',	Herrakedi
Tiger,	<i>n.</i> Béntásorábág,	Raikhon,	Téke,	Ajé,	Tékhú,	Téma,	Nái
To-day,	<i>ad.</i> Aji,	Tinni,	Pinni,	Túnin,	Thá,	Nthé,	
Toe,	<i>n.</i> Bhorir angúli,	Yáshishá,	Kéngchimún,	Kákéng jún,	Phichino,	Ajongro,	

English.	Assamese.	Kachári.	Mikir.	Kúki.	Angámi Nágá.	Réngmá Nágá.	Kutchá Nágá.
To-morrow, <i>ad.</i>	Káli,	Dákhná,	Pénnáp,	Jinglé,	Sodú,	Séndú,	Chonai
Tongue, <i>n.</i>	Jibá,	Sálái,	Dé,	Káléi,	Mélla,	r,	
Tooth, <i>n.</i>	Dánt,	Háthái,	So,	Káhá,	Hú,	Háh,	
Torch, <i>n.</i>	Ariyá,	Wainchéng,	Théngthom,	Mésél,	Mítú,	Máná,	
Touch, <i>v.</i>	Sóá, Hát-dé,	Káding,	Otnún, [pi,	Thámtan,	Bésiché,	Hollottá,	
Tree, <i>n.</i>	Gos,	Wongphang,	Arong, Theng-	Shing,	Si,	Sén,	
Tribe, <i>n.</i>	Khél, játi,	Shéngfong,	Akur,	Kahi,	Thino,	.....
Truth, <i>n.</i>	Honsá,	Kébéi,	Yásamét,	Tá-ábe,	Kétho,	Késan, [sha,	
Twelve, <i>a.</i>	Báro,	Máji-jini,	Kré-hini,	Shom-lé-ni,	Kérr-o-kéná,	Serrah-kéhiun-	Kérré-kéná
Twenty, <i>a.</i>	E'kkúri, Bis,	Bishási,	Nkoi,	Shom-ni,	Mékú,	Nki,	Nkai
Two, <i>a.</i>	Dúi,	Gini,	Hini,	Ni,	Kénná,	Kénhiun,	Kénna
Unbind, <i>v.</i>	Mél, Khól,	Khrú,	Pioknú,	Lhámtan,	Phishiché,	Tingottá,	
Uncle (Father's side) <i>n.</i>	Dodái,	Adi,	Ponú,	Hépangá,	Né,	Anio,	
Uncle (Mother's side) <i>n.</i>	Momái,	Maoshi,	Pinú,	Hénungá,	Amúi,	Ajhú,	
Unite, <i>v.</i>	Mil-kor,	Jorájú,	Kangthún,	Kihotavin,	Kéméthúsi- ché,	.....
Unripe, <i>a.</i>	Nopoká, Kén- [sá,	Kéthang,	Akévé,	Aminto,	Mémo,	Miémo,	
Vegetable, <i>n.</i>	Hák,	Shámlái,	Hán,	Mé,	Ghá,	Hén,	
Village, <i>n.</i>	Gaon,	Nolai,	Rongso,	Kho,	Rénná,	Phén,	
Warm, <i>a.</i>	Kúhúmiyá,	Túngbé,	Párom,	Ásá,	Lé,	Kéiyéng,	
Warm, <i>v.</i>	Goromkor,	Túngbékh- láiha,	Páromn ún,	Olúmtan,	Péléleché,	Thikéiyéng,	
Wash, <i>v.</i>	Dhoá,	Shú,	Késhoknú,	Shoptan,	Késhúché,	Káthú,	
Water, <i>n.</i>	Jol, Pani,	Di,	Láng,	Túi,	Dzú,	Di,	
Wax, <i>n.</i>	Mom, mo-hitá,	Péreshlái,	Júir,	Khoilú,	Mékhwi,	Khúchién,	

Vocabulary of the Banpará Nágás.—By S. E. PEAL, Esq., Síbságar, Ásám.

(Continued from Journal, A. S. Bengal, Part I, for 1872, p. 29.)

In the following vocabulary á represents the *a* in *bar*; â stands for *au* as in *naught*; ai, as in *aisle*; au, as in *loud*; e, as *ei* in *eight*; é, as in *hen*; i, as in *hill*; í, as *ee* in *heel*; ó, as the *o* in *not*; o, as in *note*; u, as in *full*, and ú as *oo* in *fool*.

Abdomen,	vók.	Bait,	púsên.
Able,	túák.	Bamboo,	nyad.
Above,	dinko.	Bank,	shwak túm.
Ache,	kak (kuk).	Banyan-tree,	ngau, mú.
Acid,	mák.	Barn,	púng.
Across,	árêm.	Bark,	pan kan.
Acute,	jún.	Base,	hâtâng.
Adder,	pú.	Basket,	shók shâ.
Adze,	vá.	Bat,	âpák.
Afraid,	râ.	„	pâk pí.
After,	pai tú.	Battle,	ran, rón.
Aged,	arúpá.	Bead,	lík.
Air,	vin.	Beam,	páng láng.
Alive,	áráng.	Bean,	piá sâ.
Alike,	táve.	Bear,	tchap, chup.
All,	pang ve.	Beard,	mun pú.
Amber,	násâ.	Beat,	pít.
Among,	hótán.	Bee,	nánaí.
Ancestor,	ápú.	Beetle,	tchóng.
Angel,	háráng.	Before,	tât le.
Animal,	maií, <i>lit.</i> flesh.	Bell,	linglo.
Ankle,	tchi ding.	Bellows,	zêtpú.
Ant,	tzik tzâ.	Belly,	vâk.
Antelope,	mai kí.	Below,	hâpâng.
Ape,	saákáng.	Belt,	rú pák.
Arm,	tzak <i>or</i> chuk.	Bench,	liá.
Armadillo,	ha bí.	Bent,	kúm.
Arrow,	sán.	Best,	hánkú.
Ashes,	lábú.	Betel-nut,	kovai.
Astray,	sam.	Between,	hâtâng.
Atmosphere,	rang.	Big,	chóng.
Awl,	jan mat.	Bird,	â.
Away,	pau tú, pau ha.	Bird-cage,	shókshâ.
Axe,	vá.	Bitter,	kâ.
„ (dao),	chang, tchang.	Black,	nu nak.
Babe,	nâsím.	Blacksmith,	cháng lík.
Back,	tâkí.	Blanket,	ní.
Bad,	man me.	To bleed,	adzí le,
Badger,	ran vak.	Blind,	dók.
Bag,	nítzúng.	Blindness,	mík dók le.

Blood,	adzí.	Cave,	ha kon.
Blossom,	púá.	Centipede,	pú soí.
Blue,	nak che.	Charcoal,	mák.
Boar,	vák la, mai la.	Cheap,	ná.
Boil,	tâ.	Cheek, <i>n.</i>	navêm, bomzróng.
Bone,	rzán, orzán.	Chest,	khá tók. [bird]
Bone,	hórá, rá.	Chicken,	â sa (<i>lit.</i> young
Bough,	panchak.	Chief,	vang hum, vang sá.
Bow,	yántú.	Chillie, <i>n.</i>	hing bú.
Box,	shwák.	Chin,	ká rá.
Boy,	nausá, man sá.	Chunga(Bamboo	} tún.
Bracelet,	kapsan.	tube,) }	
Branch, (tree),	pan kang.	Chrysalis,	chóng púá.
Brandy,	zú.	Claw,	chakin.
Bread,	án.	Clay,	há.
Breakfast,	kan sá há.	Cloth,	ní.
Breeze,	vin.	Cloud,	rang shai.
	{ rang vin le.	Coal,	ha nak.
	{ sky wind makes.	Cock,	â pâng.
Brick,	há (<i>lit.</i> earth).	Cold,	dang.
Bridge,	shai.	Come,	pau hi, pau he.
Brimstone,	hing.	Cord,	rú.
Bring,	pau he, pau hai.	Corn,	tzá.
Broad,	kau.	Cost,	láhí.
Broken,	pak.	Cotton,	pai.
Brook,	shwa sa.	Cough,	âhai le.
Broom,	hâjá.	Countenance,	tún.
Brother,	átai.	Cow,	mai hú.
Brow,	kong ra.	Crab,	shán.
Buffalo,	lúi.	Crack,	hák (hak le).
„ wild,	lúi hing.	Crag,	há húng.
Bug,	ve koí.	Creeper,	rú ká.
Bull,	mai hú, hapang.	Cricket,	do mo.
To Burn,	van súng le.	Crocodile,	kún kí.
Burial,	rúk túá.	Crook,	kúm.
Bush,	pau ká.	Crossbow,	háp.
Butterfly,	pí twák.	Crow,	âká.
Cable,	rú.	Cucumber,	mai kú.
Cake,	ân, án.	Cushion,	káng tai.
Calamus,	re.	Cut, <i>v.</i>	hut ko, hat ko.
Calf,	mai hú sá.	Cymbal,	sí.
Camphor,	shâ.	Dagger,	bít sa.
Cane,	re.	Damp,	shún.
Cannon,	ján túá.	Dance,	ázai.
Canoe,	kwá sá.	Dancing,	ázai le.
Cap,	kohom.	Dark,	núk, nak.
Carcass,	zí le (<i>lit.</i> dead is).	Darkness,	{ rang núk le.
Cascade,	ti chóng le.		{ sky blaek makes.
	(water great is).	Dart,	ná hí.
Cat,	míá.	Daughter,	á phe.
Caterpillar,	tchóng.	Dawn,	shom shák.

Day,	túng tâ.	Escape,	pau le.
Dead,	zí, jí.	Evening,	hang shang.
Deaf,	na ba.	Ever,	pang vai.
Dearth,	no le.	Exact,	hút zing.
Death,	zi.	Expanse,	man kam.
Debt,	tá.	Extinguish,	a mut le.
Deep,	zú.	Eye,	mí.
Deer,	mai, <i>lit.</i> flesh.	Face,	tún.
Deity,	há ráng.	Fall,	dat le.
Deluge,	ti chóng le.	False,	man pai.
Demon,	lún pú.	Family,	horiêm.
„	harang mun me.	Famine,	nâ le.
Dense,	ping.	Fan,	rang zêp.
Depart,	pau há.	Far,	átai.
Descend,	jú dú.	Father,	ápá.
Dew,	rang phúm.	Feast,	mí tú le.
Diarrhoea,	mong chai le.	Feather,	â koí.
Die,	zí, zí le	Fence,	jávát.
Dig,	há tâ le.	Fern,	tak shoí.
Dike,	shwá tá há.	Fever,	kak.
Dinner,	po sá há.	Few,	hí.
Dish,	kap kú.	Fig,	púk ják.
Distant,	ántái le, atai le.	Fin,	nyêk kan.
Ditch,	shwa kún.	Finger,	chákí.
Don't,	támúk.	Finish,	múi.
Dog,	hí.	Fire,	van (vun).
Done,	múi (mui le).	Firewood,	há.
Door,	káhák.	Firmament,	rang.
Dore,	â shú.	Fish,	nyá.
Drake,	â pák pong.	Flannel,	ní.
Drink,	ling.	Flat,	tam kak.
Drown,	zí le.	Flea,	tselí.
Drum,	sám.	Flesh,	mai í.
Dry,	rán.	Flint,	van hong (fire stone).
Duck,	â pák nú.	Flood,	ti chong le.
Ear,	nâ.	Flour,	án, á.
Early,	rang ai le.	Flower,	púa, mai pua.
Earth,	há.	Flute,	toá pít.
Earthen-ware,	páke.	Fly,	hât.
Earthquake,	shí le, mítí.	Foot,	chia.
Eat,	sa le.	Footstep,	chíá tíng mán.
Eclipse,	rang phú.	Forest,	pau.
Edge,	chungh na.	Foul,	â.
Eel,	nya { kan lú.	Frog,	lúk.
Egg,	á tí.	Fruit,	pan ják.
Elastic,	lâ le.	Fuel,	há.
Elbow,	chak lo.	Fur,	mún.
Elephant,	loák.	Gale,	rang tai.
Equal,	tam vai.	Gander,	â chong.
Erect,	á jóng.	Gate,	ká hák.

Giant,	mí chóng.	Javelin,	pá.
Girl,	shí kú.	Jaw,	ká.
Gnat,	mún kau.	Joint,	tsá vát.
Go,	pau lá, pau há.	Jump,	pat.
Goat,	roan.	Jungle,	paú.
God,	há ráng,	Kid,	roan sá.
Gold,	siên.	King,	vang ham.
Good,	mai mai le.	Kitten,	mía sá.
Goose,	â chóng.	Knee,	chi kúí.
Grain,	tzá.	Knife,	bít sá
Granary,	púng.	Knot,	lúng ká.
Grass,	hing.	Knuckle,	chakí.
Grasshopper,	do mo.	Ladder,	chí túng.
Great,	chóng.	Lake,	núánú jí.
Grief,	on.	Lance,	chí áp aí le.
Gum,	tá.	Large,	chong, chong le.
Gun,	ján túá.	Lazy,	húrúk.
Gunpowder,	kat.	Lead,	jántáng.
Hail,	jún.	Leaf,	pan chak, <i>lit.</i> tree-hand.
Han,	kâ, ko.	Leech,	vát.
Half,	hat (hut le).	Leg,	chiá.
Hand,	chak, chák.	Leopard,	tzánák, chánák.
Handle,	chang ko.	Lift,	pai pau le.
Hard,	tiák.	Lightning,	rang dung le.
Hatchet,	cháng.	Lizard,	hât, hâát, pelo ?
Head,	khúng.	Locust,	kak.
Heavy,	lí le.	Long,	là le.
Heel,	chídún.	Loose,	nai lí.
Hen,	â nú.	Lost,	má lí.
High,	tang lí.	Loud,	ní á lúng.
Hill,	hápá.	Low,	hâtâng.
Hinder,	pai kí.	Mad,	bo le.
Hip,	ke rong.	Man,	mí.
Hoe,	hâ.	Many,	tai hú le.
Hog,	vák lá,	Mat,	dam.
Honey,	ná tí (bee-water).	Meat,	maií.
Hornbill,	ârzá.	Medicine,	hing.
Hornet,	lím.	Middle,	hótán.
Horse,	mán.	Milk,	tzam tí.
Hot,	kám.	Mire,	hátam.
House,	ham (humm).	Mist,	rang phúm.
Hunger,	{ vok no le. stomach nothing is.	Mole,	tehá tehú, tú pá.
Hurricane,	rang chai.	Molasses,	nam síng.
Husband,	hasam pa.	Monkey,	mai nák.
Hut,	pam.	Month,	â chang.
Instep,	chi tok.	Moon,	lênú.
Iron,	ján.	More,	á tá.
Ivory,	{ loák vá. elephant tooth.	Mother,	á nú.
Jackall,	hían.	Mouth,	tún.
		Mud,	há tam.

Nail,	chakín.	Samber deer,	tchók.
Narrow,	tík.	Same,	tam rí.
Navel,	súng.	Sand,	sák.
Neck,	dinkú.	Seed,	hâtúng.
Needle,	mat koi.	Sharp,	áná.
Nest,	â zap.	Shell,	káptúng.
New,	haz án.	Short,	tút, tut le.
Night,	{ rang nak.	Shoulder,	swa kông.
No,	{ sky black.	Shrew,	tsá tsú.
North,	man tai le.	Sick,	kak.
Nose,	ngá.	Silent,	dáng.
Not,	nákúng	Silk,	shóng.
Old,	man.	Silver,	ngúng.
Otter,	haz áng.	Sister,	á ná.
Path,	rá rom.	Skin,	kan.
Perpendicular,	lam.	Sky,	rang.
Pig,	á jóng.	Sleep,	mík nú, mik nu le.
Pigeon,	vák.	"	zip, zip le.
Plantain,	yâ.	Slip,	nan.
Point,	nga.	Small,	hí le.
Pond,	júng.	Smoke,	van kút.
Porcupine,	tí kút.	Snake,	pú.
Porpoise,	â zí.	Soft,	naí.
Pull,	te ít?	Son,	ko sá.
Quail,	lín pau he.	Sour,	tsánam.
Quick,	â múk.	Spear,	pá.
Rain,	kí kí.	Spider,	mák.
To Rain,	rang vat.	Spirit,	zú.
Rat,	rang vat le.	Squirrel,	ú rút.
Raven,	jú, zú.	Star,	lítzú.
Raw,	â lá.	Stay,	támúk.
Red,	áráng.	Steel,	jántú.
Rhinoceros,	khí.	Stone,	lóng.
Rice, as grain,	mai nú.	Stop,	támúk, zákaí.
" husked,	tzá.	Storm,	rang chai le.
" boiled,	vông.	Straight,	jang mai.
Ripe,	sa.	Straw,	tásá.
River,	júm.	Stream,	swáká.
" small,	shwa ko.	Sunshine,	rang han.
Road, large,	shwa nú.	Sweet,	tí.
" small,	lum, lum twa.	Take,	pau tú.
Rock,	lum nú.	Tank,	tí kút.
Roof,	lóng.	Thick,	tat.
Root,	ham tok.	Thin,	pák.
Rope,	pan ting.	Thirst,	lá.
Rum,	rú.	Thorn,	húk.
Rust,	zú.	Throat,	dín kú.
Sago,	yán, ján.	Thunder,	rang dúng.
" large,	zí.	Tiger,	tchánú, chánú.
Salt,	zók.	Tight,	chub le.
	húm.	Tobacco,	hé hing.

To-day,	á ní.	8.	a chut, chut.
Toe,	chíkí.	9.	a kú, kú.
To-morrow,	nai ní.	10.	a bn, bn.
Tongue,	lé.	Come,	pau hí.
Tooth,	vá.	Go,	pau la.
Tough,	kai.	Pull,	lin he.
Tree,	pan.	Lift,	pai ha.
Tribe,	nok,	Take,	„ tu.
Truce,	mímúl.	Bring,	la he, pau he.
True,	hotzing.	Bring water,	tí la he.
Unable,	mun túak.	Bring fire,	va chup hai.
Vegetable,	súi.	Bring fuel,	he la hai.
Village,	tíng kong.	„	ha pau hai.
Waist,	khê da.	Bring more,	lá hai.
Wait,	támúk.	Bring men,	mí jen hai.
Water,	tí.	What's that?	tem áváng?
Wax,	mú.	What hill?	tem hápá?
Weasel,	â kan.	What stream?	tem swáka?
Weed,	pau.	What tree?	tem pan ai?
Well,	tí kaí.	What name?	bílám an pú.
Wet,	kah le.	What's this?	hai tem ai?
What?	tem.	How large?	ávát chong pú.
Wind,	vin.	How far?	ávát tá tai pú.
Wolf,	shán.	„	abat ta.
Woman,	shí kú.	What making?	tem zing pú?
Wool,	roan mú.	Why?	tem mók pú.
Wrist,	chak { lo ding.	Where come from?	azang to pia?
Yam,	tong.	„ „ „	tem tung oi pú.
Yes,	tai le.	Where gone to?	o ma ai o manpú?
Young,	sá.	Are there deer?	mai te chá?
1.	e tá, tá.	Are there fish?	nya te chá?
2.	a ni, ní.	Yes,—good,	tai le—mai.
3.	a jam, jum.	No—bad,	man tai—man mai.
4.	a lí, lí.	None,	man tai le.
5.	a gá, gá.	Cut this,	hut ko.
6.	a rok, rok.	Throw this rub-	
7.	a nat, nut.	bish away,	avátko vúng va.
		Work quick,	kí kí le.

This is mainly Banpará Nágá. Contiguous tribes often have so many words in common as to be able to converse; while in other cases the differences are so great, that the dialects are mutually unintelligible.

The letter *r* at end of a word seems rare, so far I have not met a single case, and I am inclined to think it is never used, inasmuch as all Assamese words used by them that so end, have the final *r* turned into *t*, as *khar* (gunpowder) to *khat*, *kapor* (cloth) into *kaput*, &c.

The letter *s* also seems to follow the same rule. In saying *mas* (fish), they say *mat*, and *got* for *gos* (tree).

Some words are very widely used as ‘rang,’ which applies to most atmospheric phenomena, and may even be traced in their word for ‘god’ and ‘devil’. Nágá ideas of Divine persons being very limited, the same word that stands for ‘devil’ also serves for ‘god.’ Indeed their god at best is a local and generally malignant sprite, who can be propitiated by small presents of eatables.

The word ‘mai’ is very generally used as prefix to names of animals. The word *good* seems derived from this source, and it is equally suggestive to note that the word for *sweet*, *tí*, means also *water*.

Generally speaking, Banpará Nágá is as monosyllabic as it can be, and in speech is cut up short and jerky, especially when they are excited.



